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INSTITUTTET FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING



SERIE B: SKRIFTER

XXXV

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE:

INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

OSLO 1938

ASCHEHOUG & CO (W. NYGAARD)

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*LES BELLES LETTRES»

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

INSTITUTTET FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

BY

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

VOL. II

IRANIAN PAMIR LANGUAGES

(YIDGHA-MUNJI, SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI AND WAKHI)

OSLO 1938

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GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

IN VENERATION AND GRATITUDE

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PREFACE

The following description of some Iranian languages of the Pamir and Hindukush regions is based mainly upon the material collected by the author in Chitral in 1929 and specified in the Introductions to the various sections of this book. To this has been added a few Shughni sentences taken down in Kabul in 1924. With the permission of the Institute and of the Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund the late Dr. Skold's Ishkashmi and Wakhi material has also been incorporated. And, finally, Colonel Lorimer has kindly allowed me to make use of his manuscript Wakhi Vocabulary. Material from other, printed, sources has been utilized as far as it helps to throw light on the historical development and etymology of the languages in question.

It has not been possible to give an exhaustive survey of the Pamir dialects. And, as none of my informants were good story-tellers, the texts are restricted in quantity and not very satisfactory in quality. But it is hoped that this publication will add something to our knowledge of some highly interesting, but rapidly decaying relics of Iranian, that most important but imperfectly known branch of Indo-European. I have preferred the term 'languages' to 'dialects'

¹ V H Skold, Materialien zn den iranischen Pamirsprachen, Skrifter utg av Kungl Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XXI, p VI, sq—The editor of this work, Professor H Smith, has included Wakhi in the Vergleichende Wortliste given pp 132 sqq, to which is referred for a systematic arrangement of part of Skold's Wakhi material

² V below, p 433

because, in spite of their numerical and cultural insignificance, these vernaculars can no more be reduced to a common standard than can for instance modern English, German and Norwegian

The Vocabularies of the Pamir languages are of a very composite nature. The most interesting part consists of genuine Iranian words inherited within each separate language. They are of special importance because of our limited knowledge of the ancient Ir vocabulary. Fortunately, the isolated Iranian vernaculars of the Pamirs, and notably Wakhi, have preserved a number of ancient I.E words, many of which are not known elsewhere in Iranian or Indo-Aryan. On principle I feel no diffidence in comparing words from a single Pamir tongue with such found in other I.E. languages. But opinions may differ as to how far one ought to go in including uncertain etymologies. In a work of this kind I have thought it useful to suggest even doubtful derivations for the critical examination of specialists.

Also from the purely Ir point of view the vocabularies of the Pamir dialects are of great interest. I feel convinced that the only possible method of localizing the language of the Avesta is a minute study of its vocabulary in the light of the modern dialects, and its character appears to me to be preponderantly Eastern Ir We may also mention the curious fact that while in Yidgha-Munji the word for 'sun' $(m\bar{\nu}ra)$ goes back to $M\nu\partial ra$, the neighbouring Sanglechi has preserved the name of Ahura-Mazdā in the same sense

The loan-words of the Pamir languages are of various kinds Some, not always easily recognizable, have come in from one of the neighbouring Ir dialects. A few are borrowed from Turkish or I.A. But a very large and rapidly increasing number of words are of Persian origin. It would be of great interest to investigate the different strata of such loans and the various roads of invasion

An interesting element are such Pamir-Hindukush words of unknown origin which appear to be common to several of the Ir. and I.A. languages of this region, in some cases also to Burushaski-And, finally, we find within each dialect, and especially in Wakhi, a number of apparently isolated words

A firm basis for our understanding of the phonetical and morphological development of the Pamir languages has been laid by Geiger, and Munji and Ishkashmi-Zebaki have been dealt with separately by Gauthiot, Grierson and Zarubin I am indebted to these my predecessors at every step in my investigation, but I have not thought it necessary or practical to quote them constantly With the help of the new material at my disposal I have tried to carry out an historical explanation as far as possible, being well aware that much remains uncertain and hypothetical.

If the phonological and systemological view point has not been followed up as much as might be desirable, this is to a great extent due to the character of the material, which is often incongruous and insufficient for such purposes 'Especially the vocalic systems of the languages in question are not easily definable, and the swamping with loan-words makes it difficult to decide exactly what phonemes belong to the genuine systems of the dialects Still greater are the obstacles which meet us if we try to reconstruct the phonetical system of a Pamir language at some earlier stage, in order to be able to consider the sound-changes which have taken place from a phonological point of view Yet an attempt may be made to offer a few remarks of a more general nature

If we look at the changes through which the Yidgha-Munji consonant system has developed from Old Iranian, we find that the most striking feature is the dissolution—as in most modern Ir. languages—of the harmony in the system of fricatives. Among the unvoiced fricatives x and f are retained, but their position in the system has been changed through the introduction of epenthetic vowels in the groups fr, etc., through the metathesis of fr, etc., and through the change of ft > vd, etc. How long θ has been retained is impossible to tell. We can only prove that the change into x is later than the dropping of unstressed t, and point to the

¹ In the section-headings 'Historical Phonology' the word phonology has not been used in the modern, "phonological" sense

² Cf Yd --Mj. § 172, 9

fact that common Yd—Mj still retained ϑ , just as Shgh does to the present day But while * ϑrai , * $\check{x}rai$ '3' and * $\check{c}\vartheta \vartheta \varphi \bar{u}r$, * $\check{c}\vartheta \check{x}\varphi \bar{u}r$ '4' have remained long, - ϑi - was reduced to -i- at an early date, e.g in $p\bar{u}r$ 'son'

Phonetically δ may have become l very early,² but phonologically speaking the change was not completed till it coalesced with $l < r\delta$, and with l in loan-words, thus forming a new phoneme, and breaking up the series v (β), γ , δ

The system of sibilants was profoundly altered through the early change, common to many E Ir languages, of j > i, of -i > -i. (from which Yd—Mj. -y-, etc.), and of s(t)r > i, opposed to s(t)r > i.

It is not probable that the introduction of cerebrals in Yd—M_J should be due merely to the influence of Indo-Aryan loanwords, of which few, if any, appear to be of great antiquity. In most East Ir languages ancient rt is represented by a sound which probably has passed through a common stage d. Thus Shgh $m\bar{u}d$, Rosh, $m\bar{u}g$, Yazgh $m\partial g$, Yd, Par mur, Sgl $m\partial l$, Psht $m\partial r$, Orm mull, Saka mula, but Oss mard, Wkh $m\partial rl$, Yaghn murta < mrta.

The intermediary stage between it and d may either have been it or t. The latter alternative seems the more probable one on account of the treatment of secondary -rt - < it in Shgh, Rosh $c\bar{v}rd$, Yazgh $c\bar{v}rd$, Yd $c\bar{v}t$, Par $c\bar{v}t$ 0 'yellow' (and $m\hat{u}t$ 'killed') A development of c1 of c2 of c3, and of c1 of c3 of c4 in Shgh would imply that c4 had twice changed into c6, and the tentative chronology of Yd—Mj tabulated on p. 109, 7) 3 presupposes a sonorization of

¹ Cf also Sgl.—Ishk § 37.

² Cf, however, Yd -MJ § 127

^{3 *1}t > *1d > *1

t after r earlier than that of intervocalic occlusives. It is therefore, I think, more plausible to assume an early assimilation of rt > t in this group of E.Ir. dialects, and it is perhaps not excluded that Av. " \S " represents an attempt to denote a cerebral sound of this type ¹

'In pre-Yd —Mj other cerebrals appeared through the assimilation of rn, and rzn > n, of rn + t > nt (nt), and the absorption of the variety of t pronounced after an \check{s} into the cerebral series. The subsequent fate of these early Yd —Mj cerebrals may be tabulated as follows:

*ārtaka- flour*yātay*yāday
$$\begin{cases} Y \ yāre \\ M \ yōriy \end{cases}$$
*arnati grinds> *yēnt $\begin{cases} Y \ yeik^y \ (= *yeig') \\ M \ yēn'g' \end{cases}$ *arn + ta- ground> 'yant> Y yagy*arnami I grind> *yānam $\begin{cases} Y \ yān/n - \\ M \ yān^{gy} - \ (= *yān'g') \end{cases}$ *barzna- long> *\beta an> \beta n*am(a)rnā apple> *amună $\begin{cases} Y \ vàn \\ M \ vàn'g' \end{cases}$ *parna- leaf> *\beta ān > *\beta ān > \beta \beta n\ m \beta g\ y \beta n - a \mathrm{\mathrm{M}} m \beta g\ y \beta y\ o\ s\ co\ m \oxidon \beta n \oxidon \beta n \be

Also Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is characterized by the late loss of ϑ (> S t, I s), but early assimilation of ϑr , by the dissolution of the system of fricatives, the development of \check{s} from s(t)r, the opposition between \check{c} and c, the introduction of cerebrals and q, and by the

¹ At any rate no E Ir dialect lends any support to Junker's assumption of a "unvoiced, fricative r" as the intermediate stage.

B - Kulturforskning

development of l (from rt/d and -š-), which appears at present to be about to coalesce with l. Characteristic of Sgl. is the phonological equivalence of -d- and - δ -, while in Ishk the two sounds have coalesced also phonetically

From Wkh may be mentioned the differentiation of γ and $\check{\gamma}$, and of x and \check{x} The unvoiced fricatives, which had to a great extent disappeared, have been reintroduced in loanwords and in secondary formations. Also cerebrals have been adopted into the system

It is not possible to reconstruct a common phonological system for all Pamir languages Only a few sound-changes are common to all of them, and these are also shared, e.g., by Psht Examples are $sr > \check{s}$ (but note the preservation of $s\dot{t}r$ in Wkh.), $\check{s}m > \check{z}m$, etc., ft > vd, etc., nt > nd, and probably b., d., g. $> \beta$., δ ., γ . Note also the tendency to avoid a vocalic initial through the prothesis of y- and w. With the exception of Wkh. they have sonorized sn > zn, and intervocalic $\dot{s} > \dot{s} > \dot{z}$, and to a varying degree intervocalic surd stops. Regarding the development of rt see above The treatment of ϑr and of $\dot{s}t$ varies from language to language.

There is a common tendency towards a relaxation in the articulation of i and u, ai and au were monophthongized, as everywhere in Middle and Modern Iranian, and it is possible that the development of $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ is common to the southern group of Pamir languages (Yd —Mj, Sgl —Ishk., and Wkh).

Ancient "a" appears in various forms in the modern dialects It is impossible to decide at which stage the variations of this sound became separate phonemes

Common Sgl.—Ishk. appears to have known four sounds developed from a, viz 4. 1) o, e.g., in Sgl. dos, Ishk, das 'ten', 2) a, e.g.,

¹ Cf. Wkh § 42.

² Sgl —Ishk. d- may be due to a secondary influence of Prs.

⁸ But various instances of a-umlaut show that final \tilde{a} had not become labialized before it was dropped in Shgh and Sgl.—Ishk, and also in Parachi Cf p 324, IIFL. I, p 23, and NTS. I, p. 84 Probably it was shortened to -a at an early date

⁴ Cf Sgl.—Ishk, §§ 78 sqq

in Sgl—Ishk kas-'to see'; 3) \bar{o} , e.g., in Sgl $v\bar{o}st$, Ishk $v\bar{u}st$ 'bound', 4) \bar{u} , e.g., in Sgl. $v\bar{a}nd$ -, Ishk. $v\bar{o}nd$ - 'to bind' In the modern dialects the quantity is perhaps not relevant, but it certainly was so in common Sgl.—Ishk We therefore find early Prs lws with \bar{o} in Class 3 (e.g. $k\bar{o}r$) $k\bar{u}r$ 'blind'); and such with Prs. \bar{a} in Class 4 (e.g. $n\bar{a}f$ $n\bar{o}f$ 'navel').

Type 1 frequently goes back to words with a in originally open syllable. Thus, Sgl. dos 'ten', oyo δ 'came', $v\bar{o}r$ 'door', $x\bar{o}f$ 'foam', $z\bar{o}\delta$ 'killed', $mo\delta(ak)$ 'here', $nov\bar{o}k$ 'rain'

Type 2 may represent a in open syllable before an \bar{a} in the following syllable. Thus kasen 'I see' < ' $kas\bar{a}mi$, $xw\bar{a}ran$ 'I eat' < * $hwar\bar{a}mi$, 1 fras- 'to ask', nav- 'to rain', tar 'from' < * $tar\bar{a}$, etc Type 3 contains chiefly words with a in ancient closed syllable. Sgl $v\bar{o}st$ 'bound', $\gamma\bar{o}ndam$ 'wheat', $v\bar{o}s$ 'rope' (< *bastra-), kot 'saw' (< *kasta-), $\bar{o}vd$ 'seven', $f^{s}r\bar{o}t$ 'asked', etc.

But there are numerous exceptions, which do not fit in with this scheme.

Thus $w\bar{a}t$ wat 'fell' belongs to Type 2 and not, as expected, to 3, warf 'snow' ($< *wafr\bar{a}(h)$) to 2, and not to 4, * $orm\bar{o}zd$ 'sun' to 3 and not to 4, * $xu\bar{a}l$ $x\bar{o}l$ 'six' must, in order to fit in, be derived from $*xwa\dot{s}\dot{s}\bar{a}$, but Sgl. $h\bar{o}t$, Zeb. ut 'eight', points to * $a\dot{s}ta$.

¹ But xwōi ō-î < *hwarati Cf Shgh. xārum xīrd, Par xarem (not *xōrem, ef Par. Gramm, § 189).—But M3 (xarəm) xūt prob < *xārt < *xwart.

² But note Yd čam, pad, lad.

³ Perhaps Ishk. got its a from Prs barf.

⁴ Ahuramazda(h) may have been transferred into the a-declension at an early date

⁵ Ishk at with a from Prs ašt?

In the suffixes $-\delta k$ (< *-akah) and $-\delta k$ (< *-akā) the vowel must have been lengthened Especially difficult to explain are sor. sur 'head', xor. xur 'ass', tovōr. tuwur 'axe', yōz yūz 'firewood', which belong to Type 3, although one would expect to find them together with vōr: var 'door' in Class 1.¹ It ought, however, to be noted that we also find Wkh. xur 'ass', yūz 'firewood', purk 'rat' in contradistinction to būr 'door', pūrg 'ashes', but Wkh. also has $t^{2}p\bar{a}r$ 'axe'.

In spite of these irregularities, which may partly be due to mixing of dialects, the factors mentioned above appear to be the only ones which might explain at any rate the majority of cases. And, at all events, it seems certain that common Sgl—Ishk. must already have possessed four separate phonemes: a, o, \bar{a} , \bar{o} , all derived from ancient "a".

In the Vocabularies the words have been arranged in order of their consonants (cf. IIFL. I p. 230)

Words quoted from other sources have as far as possible been adapted to the transcription used in this work

Thus Shaw: $\hat{a} = \mathring{a}$, a = A, $\hat{e} = \bar{e}$, i, $\hat{i} = \bar{i}$, \hat{o} , $\hat{o} = \bar{o}$, \bar{u} , $\hat{u} = \bar{u}$, $th = \vartheta$, $dh = \delta$, $sh = \check{s}$, $sch = \check{s}$, $z = \check{z}$, khh = x, $kh = \check{x}$, $gh = \gamma$, italic $g = \check{\gamma}$, $ch = \check{c}$, ts = c, $j = \check{j}$ and dz = j

I have also changed Skold's and Lentz's χ , u, ts, $t\dot{s}$, etc., into y, w, c, \check{c} , etc., and \check{x} , $\check{\gamma}$ in Shgh, etc., into \check{s} , \dot{z} . Thus, e.g., $y\hat{o}\check{c}$ for Skold's yo $t\dot{s}$.

I have retained Lorimer's u for the high, mixed vowel. Skold himself has frequently altered the u of his original notations into \tilde{i} , but u has sometimes remained unchanged.

In words taken from Bellew's and Biddulph's lists I have tran-

¹ Sgl. pōrk Ishk purk 'rat, mouse' < *pōrk < *pork, with early contraction < *paruka·, but Zeb. park 'ashes' < *parakă

² The Afghan author of the list of Shughni words in Annuaire de la revue de Kaboul, 1934—35, pp. 148 sqq , writes غُغ , but غُ ž

scribed \check{a} with \check{a} , gh with γ , sh with \dot{s} , ch with \check{c} , and th with ϑ , wherever the correctness of the transcription seemed to be certain. But I have quoted, e.g., Bellew's "zaghit", Biddulph's "thurght", and Capus' "dghogit, dzogit" 'daughter' within quotation-marks, without attempting to restore the true phonetical form (< * $\delta \ddot{a} \gamma^i d$, $\dot{c} \delta \bar{c} \gamma d$, and * $\delta c \gamma^i d$?).

In a few cases I am afraid that I have not been consistent in the use of final, postvocalic -1, -u and -y, -w

The Prs and Khowar translations added to words and phrases in the Vocabularies are given in the exact, not always very correct, form in which they were given by my informants

In the Yd.—Mj Vocabulary "Y" after a word denotes that identical forms were given by Yzh, Ysh and at least two other Yd informants Similarly "Sgl p." in the Sgl.—Ishk. Vocabulary means that the form is common to Sgl p 1, 2, and 3

The English-Iranian Index which I hope may be of some use to Iranian scholars, has to a large extent been compiled by my wife.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Konow for his advise during the proof-reading, to Mr G K Laycock, Lecturer at the University of Gothenburg, for correcting the English of the greater part of the volume, and to the printers and the diligent and patient compositors I desire also in this place to express my gratitute to the authorities of Chitral, who kindly helped me and received me with hospitality during my work in the country.

The printing of this volume began in June 1936, and later publications have only occasionally been referred to

ABBREVIATIONS

Languages.

Bal	= 1	Balochi	O Prs	==	Old Persian	S(gl)	=	Sanglechi
Bart	= 1	Bartangı	Or	=	Oroshori	Shgh	=	Shughni.
Bur	= 1	Burushaski	Orm	==	Ormuri	Sogd	=	Sogdian
IA.	= 1	Indo-Aryan.	Oss	=	Ossetic	Wan	=	Wanetsı Pashto
ΙE	= 1	Indo-European.	Par	=	Parachi	W(kh)	=	Wakhı
Ir	= 1	Iranian.	Prs	=	(New) Persian	Y(d)	=	Yıdgha.
I(shk)	=]	Ishkashmi	Psht.	=	Pashto	Yaghn	==	Yaghnobi
Khow.	== 1	Khowar	Rosh	=	Roshanı	Yazgh	=	Yazghulamı,
M(j)	= 1	Munji	Sar	=	Sankolı	$Z\mathbf{b}$	=	Zebakı

Books and Periodicals, etc.

AIM = Herzfeld, Archaologische Mitteilungen aus Iran

B = Biddulph, Yidghah Voc., in Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh

Barth. Miran Mund = Bartholomae, Mitteliranische Mundarten, I-VI, Sitzb · Heidelb. Ak d Wiss 1916-1925.

Be. = Bellew, Voc. of Sárigh Cúlí, Wákhi etc, in Forsyth, Report on a Mission to Yarkund 1873

Benv. Gr. Sogd = Benveniste, Grammaire Sogdienne, II

Bi. = Biddulph, Voc of Sirikol, Wakhan and Kunjoot dialects, in Forsyth, Report (v above)

Burhan ud Din Bu D = Burxan-ud-Dın-xan-ı-Kuškekı, Kattagan i Badaxšan, Taškent, 1926

Cap(us) = Voc Wakhi, in Bull de la Societe d'Anthropologie de Paris, 3° Série, Tom. 12, p 206 sq

Et Voc Psht = Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto

G = Gauthiot, Quelques observations sur le Mindjani, MSL XX, pp. 133 sqq

Geiger, Pamirdialekte, or Gr Ir Ph = W Geiger, Die Pamir-Dialekte, in Grundriss d iranischen Philologie, I, 2

Gramm = Grammophone record

Grierson = Sir George A Grierson, Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami As Soc Prize Publ. Fund. V

Herzfeld, v. AIM.

Hjuler = A Hjuler, The languages spoken in the Western Pamir, in The Second Danish Pamir-Expedition, conducted by O. Olufsen

Houtum-Schindler == H Sch, Beitrage zum kurdischen Wortschatze, ZDMG, 38, pp 43 sqq.

HFL., I = Morgenstierne, Indo Iranian Frontier Languages, I.

Junker, Drei Erz. = H Junker, Drei Erzahlungen auf Yaγnåbī, Sitz. d. Heidelb Ak d Wiss., phil hist. KI 1914, 14

KI = S I Khmčickiy, Vaxanskie teksti, in Trudy Tadžikistanskoy bazi, Tom III.

Lentz = W Lentz, Pamir-Dialekte, I. Ergánzungsheft z. Zeitschr. f vergl Sprachforschung, Nr 12

Lorimer, Bur Gramm. = D. L R Lorimer, Burushaski Grammar.

Mir Man = Andreas-Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica (in SBAW)

Munshi Faiz Bakhsh. = Vocabularies collected by M F B, and publ by Shaw, in Ghalchah Languages, pp 134 sqq.

Or Stud Pavry = Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London 1933.

Ol = Olufsen, Through the unknown Pamirs

Rep (on a lingu, mission to) Afgh = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan.

Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) N.W. Ind = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India

Shgh. ABC and abc = Inqilöbi Madanı Pöndand (Shughnı primer for grown up people), and Xuşnöni Alifbə (Shughni primer for children), Stalinabad 1932 and 1931.

Skold, Mater. = H. Skold, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen Skr. utg. av kgl. Hum. Vetensk. samf. 1 Lund, XXI.

Stein = Material collected by Sir A Stein, and published by Grierson (v. above)

Studia Indo-Ir = Studia Indo Iranica, Ehrengabe fur W. Geiger

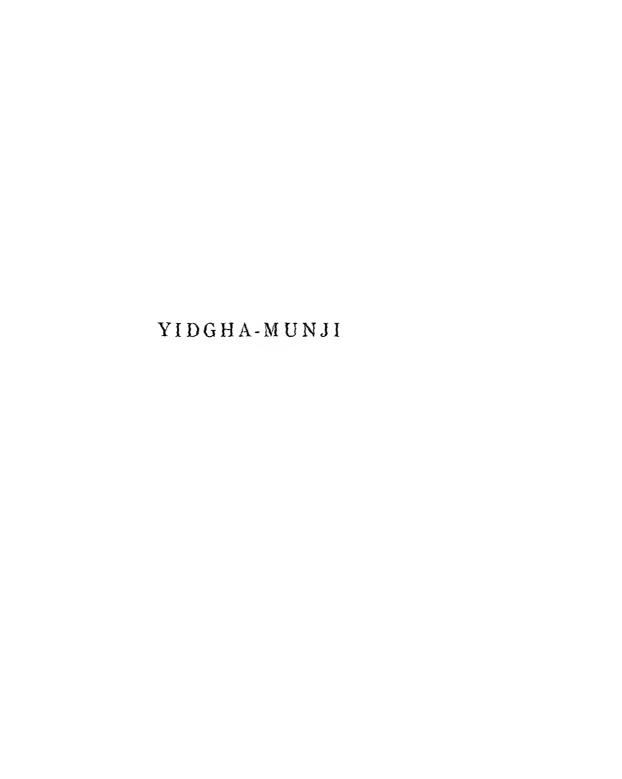
Tomaschek = W. Tomaschek, Centralasiatische Studien, II

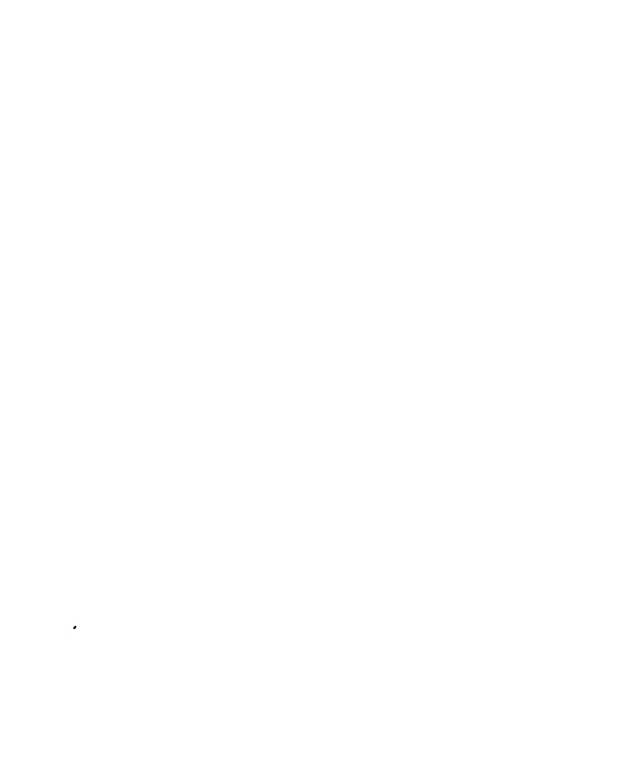
Vavilov, Agricultural Afghanistan = N. I Vavilov and D D Bukinin, Agricultural Afghanistan, Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian)

W(alde) P(ok) = A. Walde, Vergl Worterbuch d indo germ Sprocheu, herausgeg von J Pokorny

Zar = Zarubin, K xarakteristike mundžanskogo yazika, Iran. I.

Zai Očerk razg yaz. samark. = Zarubin Očerk razgovornogo yazika Samarkandskix Evreev. Iran , II





INTRODUCTION

A bibliography of the scanty literature dealing with the two closely related Iranian dialects Munji and Yidgha has been given in LSI, X pp 509 and 518, and it has been brought up to date by Zarubin¹ and by Lentz² Cf also the present author's review of Zarubin's article,⁵ and the short remarks about Yidgha and Munji, Report on a Linguistic Mission to NW India, pp. 69—72.

The material for the study of Yidgha was previously limited to the Vocabulary of some 500—600 words with introductory remarks given by Biddulph in his Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh,⁴ and to the translation of the Parable and the Standard List of words contained in the LSI

Munji was made known to philologists four years earlier than its sister dialect through the vocabulary of some eighty words collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh and published by Shaw ⁵ This list is, however, disfigured by numerous errors and misprints ⁶

Apart from the material published in LSI, the only contributions to our knowledge of Munji in recent times have been

¹ К характеристике мунджанского языка, Иран, I, 111 sqq, Leningrad, 1927.

² Pamir-Dialekte, I, p 29

³ NTS, III, 296-98

⁴ Calcutta 1880, pp CLIV-CLXIX

⁵ On the Ghalchah Languages, JASB, 1876

⁶ Eg kara 'ass', with k- for x-, taráví 'black', with t (i) for n (i), pástí 'bone', with p (i) for y (i), ghaoda 'cow', with d (i) for w (j), yàrgh 'rat', with y (i) for p (ii), voiah 'goat', with r (j) for z (j), etc

Gauthiot's Quelques observations sur le mindjâni, containing some 300 words, and Zarubin's above-mentioned article (about 850 words of vocabulary, with a valuable grammatical introduction)

Probably no part of this material has been collected in Yidgha or Munji-speaking territory. Gauthiot took down his vocabulary in Samarkand from a Kulābī peasant who was born in Wakhan in a small colony of Munjis settled there. Zarubin's material is derived from two Munji emigrants living in Ishkashim, and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, the chief informant of the LSI, probably collected his data about the various Pamir dialects from visitors to the capital of Chitral. Biddulph may, of course, have taken down his vocabulary of "Yidghah spoken in the upper part of the Lutkho valley and in Munjan" in Lutkuh itself, but it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that he made his diverse linguistic investigations in Chitral Headquarters

As a matter of fact, very few Europeans seem to have visited Munjan, and none of them gives any information about the language spoken there. Wood never proceeded beyond the lapis lazulimines above Firgamu which are still in Persian-speaking territory. The only other European visitors known to me are Robertson, who in 1892 (?) paid a flying visit to a Munjan village bordering upon Kafiristan, and the Russian botanists Vavilov and Bukinich, who passed through Sanglech and Munjan. But Vavilov did not even notice that the language spoken in Munjan differed from that of the rest of Badakhshan

Lutkuh, the home of the Yidgha-speaking *Idəγs*, is much better known, and has, owing to its belonging to the British Indian protected state of Chitral, been visited by numerous British officers. But

¹ MSL, XIX, pp 133-157

 $^{^2}$ A personal narrative of a journey to the sources of the Oxus $\,$ London 1841. V $\,$ pp $\,$ 262 $\,$ sqq $\,$

³ The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush, pp. 315 sqq

⁴ Agricultural Afghanistan Leningrad 1929, pp 112 sqq

none of them has, as for as I am aware, published anything about the local dialect

My material about Yidgha was collected in the summer of 1929 partly in Chitral Town and partly at Garm Chishma and other places in Lutkuh During a visit to the Dorah Pass I twice came through the Yidgha settlements in Lutkuh. The political unrest in Afghanistan rendered it impossible to obtain permission to visit Munjan, but I came into contact with several Munjis in Chitral They came there as traders, and some of them used the opportunity to bring with them for sale lapis lazuli from the famous mines which under normal conditions are exploited by the Afghan government

My Yidgha informants were

- 1) Mahmad from Zhitr. My best informant, from whom I got an Yzh extensive vocabulary, besides sentences and paradigms About 30 years old (I worked with him at Garm Chishma)
- 2) Hawala Khan from Parabek, havildar in H. H.'s bodyguard, a Yp comparatively young man—Two short songs, and a vocabulary taken down in the fields and houses of Burbunu (with some contributions from the villagers). (Garm Chishma).
- 3) Bik from Gufti, havildar in His Highness' bodyguard A young, Yg brown-haired and blue-eyed, brachycephalic Homo Alpinus. Quite intelligent and willing —Vocabulary and some sentences. (Chitral)
- 4) Kurban Alı, born in Zhitr, but living in Ughutı since many Yu years 50—60 years old, and not easy to work with —Two tales—(Garm Chishma)
- 5) Haidar Ali from Rubāt-i-Kərōn in Munjan, but settled for the Yr last 20 years in Garm Chishma About 40 years old—His language was in the main Y, but interspersed with some M forms.1—Vocabulary and sentences. (Chitral and Garm Chishma)
- 6. Ghulām Haidar, who first asserted that he was a native of Ysh Shahr-i-Munjan, but later turned out to be from Zhitr He

¹ Thus eg $br\bar{u}t$ mustache, $b\bar{t}wo$ widow, ojuzyo frog, $t\bar{v}ust\bar{v}n$ summer, $zimist\bar{v}n$ winter (with M \bar{v}), v Voc s vv

probably thought that the dialect of a more distant place would fetch a higher price in the marked—Quite intelligent—Vocabulary, sentences, and a long tale. (Chitral)

- 5. My Munji informants were
 - 7) Ali Mahmad from Miāndeh in Munjan. Ysh denied that A M Mm was a native of Munjan, probably in order to appear to be my—at that time—only purveyor of Munji. There can be no doubt whatever that Mm spoke good and pure Munji, and he was my chief informant as regards that dialect—Vocabularies, sentences, and a short tale (Chitral)
 - 8) Kurbān Mahmad from Gaz, below Miāndeh—Middle-aged Mg Vocabulary, sentences (Chitral)
 - 9) Naurōz from Gaz Short vocabulary (about 300 words) (Chitral). M(g)
 - 10) Jawār from Tagou Vocabulary (Chitral) Mt
 Besides I made quite short enquiries from the following persons
 whom I came across in Chitral village, or on the road.
 - 11) A man from Tili (Xuli) Vocabulary (125 words). (Chitral) Mti
 - 12) Nazar Shāh from Shahr-i-Munjan Voc (some 50 words) M(sh)
 - 13) Alı Nazar from Shahr-i-Munjan Numerals only Msh
 - 14) Kurban Mahmad from Tagou.—A few words and grammatical M(t) forms
- 6. Unfortunately none of my informants were any good as story-tellers, and it was only with difficulty that I could get tales out of some of them Moreover, the Munjis were eager to return to the harvesting work as quickly as possible, and not even the persuasive powers of my Pathan servant Yasin Khan could induce them to stay in Chitral. In most cases I could only work with the Munjis for a day or even less.
- 7. The origin of the name Munjan has been discussed in an article in BSOS, VI, pp 29 sqq Prs Munjān is an arabized form of Mungān, cf Sgl. Mandežān While the Munjis themselves use the Prs. form, the Y name of the valley is Bre'γεyo, which together

with Kati $Mr'\tilde{u}$ -gul and Khowar $Mirj\bar{u}n$ (in poetry) points to original *Mrga- or a similar form

The Kati name used in myths and legends is $K \ni m \bar{o}r$, v op cit p 442², and cf the name of the pass leading from Prasun to Munjan Kamah (Robertson), Kamarbida (= Kamār bi dā 'on the K Pass', Survey Map), Komah (Vavilov), Kamar Bīda (Voigt, Kafiristan)

8 Munjan is mentioned for the first time in the 7th century AD by Huan Tsang, who says that the people depend on the Turks and that their "manners... resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country" (Kunduz = Tokharistan) 1

Very little is known about the subsequent history of the district Yule ² has rendered it probable that the Munjan of the Arab travellers must have extended towards the north right up to the neighbourhood of Talikan and Khanabad. However this may be, the evidence of some place-names seems to indicate that Munji was once spoken further north than is the case at present ³

Whether Melengad (р 131 Melengan) ne of Jurm on Burhan ud Din's map (Бадахшан и Каттаган, р 120) contains Mj malane 'middle', is of course quite uncertain, as other "l-dialects" exist, cf below §§ 27, 28.

. In more recent times Munjan came under the sway of the Mirs of Badakhshan, and, according to Burhan ud Din,⁴ paid a yearly tribute of two Kafir slaves. It is not quite clear how they were able to procure these slaves, since Wood ⁵ tells us about frequent Kafir inroads into Badakhshan through Munjan, and adds that-since

¹ Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, 288

² Cf Marqwardt, Eranshahr, 226, 231.

³ Cf eg Frrqamu, Firghamiru s of Jurm, Firgam Tal, n of Faizabad, etc (cf Voc s v $f \varepsilon r' \gamma \bar{a} m \bar{a}$), and Gharmai, s of Jurm.

⁴ Op cit p 138

⁵ Op cit p 266

the time of an especially violent attack some time before his visit, there had been no permanent settlers in the valley above Firgamu. This last information must be greatly exaggerated and is probably due to some kind of misunderstanding. But the peaceful and dull Munjis, who according to Burhan ud Din himself, only possess some 30—40 matchlocks and 5—6 (') knives and swords between them, are hardly likely to have been able to capture slaves from the Kafirs, even from the meek and peaceful Prasuns. But possibly they bought Kafir slaves for the purpose

In 1859, on the conquest of Kataghan by the Afghans, Munjan together with the rest of Badakhshan became a tributary to Kabul and, according to Burhan ud Din, agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 300 rupies Vavilov and one of my informants state that there is a small Afghan military post in the valley

9. Munjan is an excessively poor district. Vavilov writes that the inhabitants gain their bread with enormous difficulties. They have few children because as they say, there is not enough food for more The inhabitants of Tili have only sufficient bread for nine months, the rest of the year they subsist on grass and roots. Only on rare occasions do they eat meat They cannot keep large flocks on account of the scarcity of pasture, but rely on agriculture

Vavilov and Burhan ud Din agree that apricots and other kinds of fruit are of no importance. There are a few apricot-trees in the lower villages, but the fruit is bitter, and the blossoms are frequently destroyed by frost Mulberries are not grown. The snow remains in Tili for from three to six months. Barley, millet

¹ Cf for the following pp 112 sqq. and 526 sq.

² Acc to B ud D the 2500 inhabitants of Anjuman and Munjan possess 111 horses, 898 cows and asses, and 4149 sheep Vavilov found 25 horses, 40 cows, 25 sheep, 15 goats and 4 donkeys in Tili, a village of 20 houses with 50—60 inhabitants. The position of Tili at the foot of the pass leading to Kafiristan probably accounts for the number of horses.

³ Robertson (l.c) mentions the good quality of the grazing grounds, but this may apply only to single localities. Nowhere is the exploitation of summer-pastures in the hills mentioned, nor did I hear about it

mixed with rye, and peas form the staple crops, but "the fields are heaps of stones amongst which small patches of ground are sown with millet and barley."

The inhabitants eke out the meagre produce of agriculture by trading on a small scale. They carry on their backs salt from Faizabad to Nuristan and sell it in exchange for wool, butter, hides and felt (palas) ²

But, as I had occasion to observe, Munjis also take part in the export of blocks of red Badakhshi rock-salt to Chitral, and employ horses or donkeys for its transport.

Munjan is not altogether cut off from the outer world. According to B. ud D a "big government road" leads through Munjan from Jurm and across the Hindukush to Prasun in Nuristan (= Kafiristan).³ Another road, or track, leads from Maghnawul in Munjan across the Khelargai and Dorah Passes to Chitral, without touching the inhabited part of the Sanglech valley And finally there is a rough track from Maghnawul to the Bashgal Valley

The road across the Hindukush to Prasun and further into the Kunar valley is of quite recent date and the traffic which it carries has as yet had little influence upon the population of Munjan and their language. The main route, at any rate in earlier times, branched off below Munjan proper, followed the Anjuman river, and crossed into Panjshir and the Kabul region.

Among the three regions which may have influenced Munjan linguistically and culturally there is no doubt that Persian-speaking Badakhshan has for geographical and political reasons played, a more important part than Chitral⁴ or Kafiristan. But there is one factor which has tended to isolate Munjan from the neighbouring districts on the same river-system The Munjis are Ismailis

¹ Vavilov, 1 c.

² B. ud D p 137

⁸ In Woods time the road between Jurm and Munjan was very bad.

⁴ The trade in the small bazar at Chitral village appears to have been insignificant prior to the British occupation in 1895

and pay their tribute to the agents of the Agha Khan, just as the Yidghs and most other Pamir tribes do, while Kuran and Anjuman, with the exception of two villages Rabat and Sekui, bordering upon Munjan and probably originally Munji speaking, are of the Sunni persuasion ¹

According to Vavilov, the inhabited part of the Munjan valley extends for 22—24 km from Shahr (-i- Munjan) to Tili In a side valley branching off towards the east at Shahr lies "Torau", 8—9 km. from Shahr, and close to it Maghnawul ² From Tili to the top of the Prasun Pass the distance is 42 versts.³

Most of the existing maps of Munjan are far from being exact Thus, on the map accompanying Abdur Rahman's memoirs the whole valley has been turned upside down, and on the apparently very detailed map in B ud D's book the villages have been thrown about in a most fanciful manner And even Vavilov, who passed through the district, on both of his maps places Maghnawul and "Torou" in the main valley below Shahr! The information I received about the position of the villages agrees in the main with the Survey of India maps

Our only material for determining the number of inhabitants in Munjan is to be found in the particulars given by Vavilov and Burhan ud Din. Burhan ud Din estimates the population at 1500 persons, and the number of houses at 237 5 He does not, however,

 $^{^1}$ Cf. B u D., 1e—According to my informants $Rob\tilde{a}t$ now speaks Farsi, but place-names such as Tuyakaf are evidently of Mj. origin

² Acc to Vavilovs map, p 113, 10 versts, a little over 10 km from Shahr

³ This agrees fairly well with the Survey of India map $17^{1/2}$ in (29 km) from Shahr to Tili, and 26 m (= 43 km) from Tili to the pass. Vavilov gives the height of Shahr as 2 900 metres, of Tili as 3 025 mètres, and of Maghnawul as 3 340 metres.

⁴ Vavilov (p. 115) violently attacks Sir G Robertson to whom, without any foundation in fact, he attributes the absurdity of including Munjan orographically in Kafiristan

⁵ Exclusive of the summer kishlak of Nao with 6 houses

mention the villages of Wulf, Mianshahr and Wayo Vavilov counts 464 houses, and as he reckons 2—3 inhabitants to each house (in the case of Tili), this would give us a population of some 1200 persons. It ought, however, to be noted that he does not mention the villages left out by B ud D, and, besides, he gives no information about Ghaz and Shah Pari. In details the calculations of the two authors as to the numbers of houses in each village vary, but Vavilov is no doubt the more reliable source. But on the whole we shall not go very far wrong if we assume that the total Munji-speaking population amounts to something between 1000 and 1500 persons.

While it is probable that Munji once extended over a wider area, there is nothing, either in written history, or in local tradition, which refers to the immigration of the Munjis into their present home. Probably the growth of the population in the lower valleys, and may be also political disturbances, forced their ancestors to extend their settlements up to the highest possible limit. But we have no means of knowing when Munjan first became inhabited. The archaic character of some place-names (cf. Tili, Wulf, Miliyeg, etc.) points to a comparatively early date.

¹ Cf List of Names s v v

11

List of Villages in the Munjan

Indian Survey (and other official sources)	Vavilov	Burhan ud Din
Skarzer (left bank)		Iskarzer, 40 houses
Yoim (right bank)		
Sekwao		Sekui, 16 h.
Razar	\	
But (r)		
Kalaomir (r)		
Toghakaf (l)		
Robāt	ı	Rabat, 20 h
Shahr-i-Munjan	Šar, 2900 mètres, 100 h	Šaran, 80 h
Doāo (Survey)		
Deh Ambe (Mil. Rep)	Diombe, 30 h.	Deh-i-Ebnai, 15 h
Wılu (r)	Villo, 30 h	Vilav, 10 h
Ghaz (l)		Gez (عز), 20 h
Shui Pari (r)		Sah Pari, 12 h
		Cauni (Post), 9 h
Sar Jangal (l)		Sar-i-Džengel', 10 h.
Waio (l)		
Mian Deh(a) (r)	Mionbe, 30 h.	Miyan Deh, 25 h
Yakhdak (l)	Yagdak, 12 h	Yagdek, 15 h
Panam (r)	Pano (Pako), 12 h	Penam (Pekam), 15 h
Kala-i-Shah (r)	Kala-i-Sau, 200 h	Kal'a-i-Sah, 10 h
(=Gulbakaf, Kurbakaf)	m:	m 11 00 1
Thali, Tuli	Tli, 3025 m, 20h, 50-60 mh	Teli, 30 h
Nāo (r)	Nao, 2 huts	Tav (ا تو), 6 h
	Villag	es in the Eastern Side
(Šahr-i- Munjan)		
Mianshahr (= Kash Kāri)		
	Torau, 3 130 m	Tekab)
Peip, or Wulf		10 h.
Maghnawul	Magnaul, 3340 m, 30 h	Megnul

Main Valley (from North to South)

Y r	Y sh	M t	M(g)	
Skōrzer	Skarzer (l)			
16) Iwīm ')	Yu'wīm (r)			
17) Səkvō	4) Skewo (r)		Í	
15) Purwōs ? 14) Rāzer 18) Kalla 1	3) Rāzer (l)			
18) Kala 트		1		
19) Tuyokaf	2) Tuyakaf (r)			
20) Ru bōt	1) Rubāt	11		
4) Šār	Šāhar	1) Šahr	Šōʻrōn, Šāher	Šår-i-Munjån M (sh)
\cdot 5) \mathbf{D} ēambī		2) Dēambeh	Dīam'bē	
*6) Wīlū	Wilu	3) Wîlu	Wilu	
ั7)		4) Γaz	Γəz (Prs Aiγāz)	
(Šah-i-Parē)		5) Šāi Pairē	Šō-i Pa'rī	
8) Sarjan'gāl				Sarjan'gāl M m
(Wayo)		6) Wayo		
9) Mīān dēo		7) Mīān dēa	Mîân dĩa	Mīāndeh M m
10) Iy'dak		8) Iγ dāk	Yuγ'dāk	Yuγdāk M m
(Panam)		9) Pa naŭ	Pha nō	
11) Kale-i- Šō		10) Ka ^ı lā	K ^h ala-i- Šō	
12) Təˈlī	Telli	 11) T əˈlĩ	Thrilī	│ Tiˈlī=Xuˈlĩ M t
13) N õu		12) Nau	Nŏu	

4) Šār			[
	$=$ Mili γ eg?		
3) Ta ^ı gōu	Tagōu	${f Tagar ou}$	
2) Wulf	Wulf		Wulf
1) Maγna'vul	Maynawul	Maγnawul	

12 The territory inhabited by the Yidgha-speaking tribe in Lutkuh 1 is more inviting than Munjan The altitude of the inhabited parts of the valley is considerably less, from 2400-2500 m (7600-7900 feet) as compared with 2900-3340 in Munjan maize are grown,2 apricots and possibly other fruits ripen, and walnuts are at any rate abundant at Izh, at the lower extremity of the Yidgha-speaking district. The so-called Parabek plain especially is both fairly wide and well cultivated, and compares favourably with most parts of Chitral The houses and their inhabitants did not give the impression of extreme poverty, at least not when seen on a smiling summer day The houses are built of stone, as there is no forest in the inhabited part of the valley. Higher up there is some birch and willow jungle, and still higher there are apparently rich hill-pastures abounding in a variety of alpine flowers and surrounded by extensive shrubs of briar which cover the hill-sides below the Dorah Pass.

The rain-fall is scanty, but there seems to be quite sufficient water for irrigation coming from the numerous hill-nullahs that drain the snow-fields.

The continuous Yidgha settlements do not extend for more than about 10 km (6—7 miles) from Burbunu to Birzin, but there are a couple of hamlets, *Goūk* and *Imirdino*, a few miles higher up.³ Below Burbunu the population speaks Khowar, and between Imirdino and the foot of the Dorah Pass there are a few small settlements, dating from the nineties, of Kati refugees from the upper Bashgal valley ⁴

¹ Grierson in LSI gives Leotkuh as the correct pronunciation I heard Khowar Lotkuh, okuφ, meaning the large (loth, loth) valley or district (kuh) Lutkho is an incorrect form, due to the association of the word with Turi-kho and Mulikho, the home-valleys of the Kho tribe

 $^{^2}$ Acc to Gurdon Lutkuh counts among the richest wheat-growing districts in Chitral

⁵ V Map

⁴ According to Bruce, Twenty Years in the Himalayas, p 264, there was before that time a small settlement of Prasun Kafirs at the foot of the pass.

13 The following particulars about the Yidgha speaking villages are taken from official reports (of 1904) by Captain B E. M. Gurdon, which I have got permission to use His two lists of the number of houses and families are probably derived from different sources

List of Villages of Northern (Left) Bank of the River (from below)

Gurdon	Survey Map	Yıdgha	
Burbunu 10 (9) houses	Burbunu	Burbu'nū	
J(h)itur 15 houses,21 families	${f Itr}$	Žītr, Žutr	
Rui 12 h, 12 f.	Rui	Rúi	
Gistini, Ge° 6 h., 21 f	Gastinu	Gistini	
Gulugh 4 h, 6 f	Ghalok	$Gu^{\dagger}ly\bar{u}$	
Ughuti 7 h, 7 f.	Ughutı	Avyato (Khow. Uyuti)	
Gohik 9 f	Ü	$Go^{\dagger}ik$	
Imirdin 3 (12) h, 7 f	lmirdit	I'mirdino ('Imurjin)	

Villages on the Right Bank.

Gurdon	Survey	Yidgha		
W(h)arth 6 h, 5 f. Parabek 3 h, 6 f Gufti 4 h, 8 f. Birzin 10 h, 12 f 80 h, 110 f.	Warth Parabek Gufti Birzin	Wart (Khow. Waxt) Parvuko (Khow. Parabek) Gurtio (Khow Guoti, Guxti) Bir'zin, Br'zin 1		

According to Gurdon's calculations, the total population would at that time have amounted to not more than 6—700 persons, and Biddulph 2 can hardly be right in putting the number of families

¹ Besides Yu mentioned Aržūko (above Imirdino?) and Xūyiko (below Parauko?)

² P 64

at one thousand I was told that there were now 2—300 Yidgha-speaking houses (about 800—1000 persons), and it is quite possible that the population has increased so much during the last thirty years of peace

14. The name of a member of the tribe is $Id_{2\gamma}$, pl $Id_{\gamma e}$ (Mj. Yidg, pl. $Yid_{2}g\bar{\imath}$) This is also the name of the tribe itself and the valley it inhabits (Biddulph Yidokh, usually in the obl pl $Id_{\gamma e}f$), while the language is called $Yed_{2}\bar{\imath}$, Mj $Yid_{2}\bar{\imath}$, or also $Yidg_{2}\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{\imath}$. Phonetically $Id_{2\gamma}$, $Ydg_{2\gamma}$ points to an ancient form $Indug < Id_{2\gamma}$ and it is possible that this name was first given by the Munjis to those of their fellow tribesmen who settled on the Indian side of the mountains

According to my informants, Yıdghs live also below Burbunu, at Droshp, Chirwul (near Garm Chishma) and Murdān, but do not speak the language any longer.

The religious centre of the tribe lies just outside the area in which Yıdgha is spoken, close to the bridge at Izh, and it is quite a picturesque Maulai shrine with pretty woodcarving and surrounded by fine trees

According to Biddulph the Yidghs "claim to have migrated from Munjan seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the rulers of Badakhshan in which the Meer of Munjan was slain". This information has every appearance of being precise and trustworthy and fits in well with the linguistic facts. Gurdon believes that they came from Munjan, Kuran and Ishkashim, but I doubt whether there are any grounds for including the last mentioned district. I was not able to get this tradition about their origin confirmed. Yu, my oldest informant, did not

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf §§ 118, 164 $Injig\bar{a}n$ is probably the Badakhshi form <*Indigån.

² Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p 64.

³ Tomaschek (BB, 7, p 195) writes that they came from Yamgān, but I do not know his source for this statement.

know when the tribe had settled in Lutkuh, nor had he heard about any immigration from Munjan According to him, the Yidghs originally came partly from Badakhshan and partly from Turikho in Chitral. Yzh did not believe that his ancestors had come from Munjan or any other part of Badakhshan He said that there was no intermarriage or relationship between Lutkuh and Munjan. His own family (Gażandore) had come from Turikho, he did not know how long ago

The names of the Yidgha speaking villages are of foreign origin ¹ They cannot be proved to be Khowar, but they show at any rate that the valley was inhabited before the arrival of the Yidghs at some unknown date.

It ought, however, to be noted that names such as \check{Soyoyo} and $Munio^2$ seem to have entered Yidgha at an early date, and it can scarcely be assumed that the names of these insignificant villages had become current among the ancestors of the Yidghs while they were still inhabiting Munjan. The name of Chitral $(\check{C}itr\bar{e}yo)$ is a different case

15 At present the Yidghs are included among the Faqer Maskin, the poorest class in Chitral They are divided into class like the Khos, the principal ones being Haidardore in Gistini and Parabek, Gažandore in Žitr and Imirdino, Danguladore in Gurti, Sumāldore in Žitr (Bālā), Šīxaidore in Žitr, Fəlamāndore and Šexāmandore in Burbunū, Mərātdore in Birzin, and Sumbaldore in Wart³ Thus there are nine class to some 80 houses!

Apparently the Yidghs have to a great extent been assimilated into the Kho population, and they never seem to have enjoyed any political independence or to have produced any powerful chiefs. Their position on the ancient trade-route between Chitral Head-quarters and the Dorah Pass may have contributed to their complete submission to their masters.

 $^{^1}$ With exception of $Xar{u}\gamma\imath ko$ 'the Well' mentioned only by Yu., and possibly of $Rar{u}\imath$

² Cf List of Proper Names, s vv

³ The suffix -dor is of Khowar origin.

^{2 -} Kulturforskning

- As might be expected, there is practically no dialectic variation within the limited territory in which Y is spoken Ysh had a tendency to nasalize his final vowels, and he pronounced kōfila 'caravan' and pəzg- 'to break' as against Yzh kāfīla and pəcəg-, and Yg had war 'oath', while Yzh, sh, and r all pronounced wōr A pellet-bow was called xəsmānek in the lower villages, but səxmān(ek) higher up, and similar discrepancies occur in a few other words But on the whole the dialect of the few hundred Yidghs is homogeneous
- Munji, on the other hand, is divided into several sub-dialects, which differ mainly in some phonetic details.

They may be roughly divided into two groups. One includes the dialect of Miandeh (Mm) and the dialects of Zarubin's and Gauthiot's informants 2 It is characterized by having $\cdot g$ - for ancient $\cdot k$ - 8 and, in a number of words, \bar{u} for ancient \bar{a} , corresponding to γ and \bar{i} of other M dialects and of Y Examples are e.g. Mm $\check{e}f\bar{u}r$ 'four', $r\bar{u}go$ 'vein', but Mt, etc. $\check{e}f\bar{i}r$, $r\bar{i}\gamma a$, Yd. $\check{e}\dot{s}\bar{i}r$, $r\bar{i}\gamma o$

In this group the tendency towards the assimilation of nd, nb, ng^4 is stronger than in the rest of Munji, and G and Z goes still further than Mm Thus Mm, Z, G have lod 'tooth' corresponding to $l\bar{o}nd$ of other Mj dialects, and Z, G have assimilation also e.g. in $\gamma odum$ 'wheat': Mm etc $\gamma \bar{o}ndum$ Y has assimilated forms in both cases ⁵ The dialect described in the LSI, has d in $l\bar{u}d$ and \bar{u} in $\ell f\bar{u}r$, but $\gamma < k$, e.g. in $\gamma du\gamma a$ 'water' We may therefore assume that it belongs to a part of Munjan situated below Miandeh and the homes of Z and G, but above Ghaz, possibly to Wayo.

¹ Cf Rep NW Ind, pp. 70 sqq

² Gauthiot's informant was a native of Wakhan, but his dialect evidently originally belongs to some locality in npper Munjan, possibly to Kala-1-Shah

⁸ G gives $-\gamma$ in a few words, but also in $a\gamma u \dot{s}k^y a$ 'finger' where it can hardly be correct. Cf § 117

⁴ V §§ 115 sqq

⁵ Cf § 118

The dialect on which Mullah Faiz Bakhsh's short vocabulary is based agrees with that of the villages of lower Munjan (Ghaz and Shahr) and of the Tagou valley, but has retained the nasal in ankardia (read *angaskia?) 'finger' where all other varieties of Mj have the assimilated form

A curious fact, which I am at loss to explain, is that the dialect of my informant from Tili, the uppermost village of all, is in line with that of Lower Munjan, and not with Mm, Z and G. Thus we find e.g. Mti $r\bar{\imath}\gamma a$ 'vein' (with $\bar{\imath}$ and γ), $l\bar{\imath}ond$ 'tooth', and, besides, $osk\bar{\imath}\gamma$ 'roof' (Mt, etc $osk\imath\gamma$, but Mm, G, Z $yesk\bar{\imath}g$, etc), $yima\gamma eka$ 'moon' (Mg, etc $yima\gamma \imath ka$, but Mm, G, Z yimago, etc) Mti also agrees with lower Munjan in having a long $\bar{\imath}$ in $y\bar{\imath}orza$ 'beard' and in some other words. It is, of course, possible that Mti was really a native of one of the lower villages

Apart from the divergences in the treatment of nd, etc. Mm differs from Z in some particulars Thus, e.g.

Mm, t yūr 'ground' Z yēn'g.

Mm $v^2z\bar{\epsilon}d$ 'knew' Z $vz\bar{\epsilon}(n)d$, Mt $v^2z\bar{\epsilon}nd$.

Mm $l^{9}v\bar{\epsilon}d$ 'winnowed' Z $liv^{9}y$, Mt, (g) $l^{9}v\bar{\epsilon}y$.

Mm wujuzgo 'frog' · Z, G wuyzəga, Mt, etc. ujuzga

18 Mm shares with Y, and to some extent with Z, the fem ending $\cdot o$, $\cdot a$, corresponding to $\cdot a$, $\cdot a$ of other M dialects

The villages of upper and lower Munjan being isolated from each other, certain phonetic variations and some differences in the formation of past stems have arisen.

But as a whole M is quite distinct from Y in phonology, morphology and vocabulary, although, as we have seen above, some innovations in M dialects are shared also by Y. Thus the transition of $\bar{u}g$ into $\bar{\imath}\gamma$ may have taken place in lower Munjan before the emigration of the Yidghs to Lutkuh.

Among the phonetic differences separating M as a whole from Y, the most important are

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Anc. rt results in Y r but M r (v § 124)

* št — š\check{c} — š\check{c} — šk^y (v § 109)

* rn — n, n — n'g^y, etc. (v § 133)

* rd (in sec contact) — dr — ler (v § 127)

* w, v (in some cases) — b — v (v. §§ 88, 107)
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Note also the Y tendency to drop w before u (v § 81), and Y i-corresponding to Mj yu- (§ 84) Regarding the different development of ancient a in Y and M v § 139

Owing to special factors or more sporadic changes we find Y åyury egg, iščīy roof, arlästo sleeve, cokon puppy, čšīr four, dīr other, fšarm shame, laxsoro ice, rispen iron, šīnjo needle, tīx- to fall, vrī- to break, xird- to shave, yexko duck, zeviryo birch-tree, but M aryūg, yeskīg, alvosto, skon, čfūr, yudūr, šforom, yaxsoriy, yuspon, šīžno, čīx-, vrīr-, xred-, yalko, voziurgo, or similar forms

The morphological differences between Y and M are not numerous. The most important concern the genus inflection of adjectives and the preterite of intransitive verbs. The difference between Y voto and M fto 'thee', and between Y wulo, pl. wuli 'wife' and M wula, wuli, etc., is due to phonetic factors

20. It is in their vocabularies that Y and M diverge most widely from each other. We must, of course, bear in mind that our knowledge of the vocabularies of the two dialects is far from being complete, and that in many cases the absence of a word in one dialect may only be apparent. But, taken as a whole, the evidence of the vocabularies clearly shows how the separation of centuries and the difference of outside influences have drawn the two sister-dialects apart.

In a great number of cases M, as is only natural in consideration of its geographical and political position, has adopted a Prs. term where Y has retained the genuine dialect word, or has borrowed from Khowar

¹ Cf § 195, ² Cf, § 234

21 Examples abound in the Vocabulary Here we shall mention only a few characteristic ones

M (from Prs.) nâxun nail, anâr pomegranate, guzar ford, xōkovo first watering, lajōm bridle, bârân rain, daro valley, naxš song, toko alone, bohōr spring, gušwōr earring, g³ro knot, duzd thief, qala fort, mō month, xargūš hare, kus vulva, qasam oath, naxčīr male ibex, sīl flood, jigar liver, xərs bear, araq sweat, barg leaf, rūšân bright, axtaxâna stable, etc

But Y $an\Delta xno$, $al\bar{a}no$, pilf, avzino, $awl\bar{a}n$, $n\bar{o}vo$, koša, fagyike, $fkyi\gammaiko$, fsidro, $\gamma \bar{u}arike$, $\gamma ure \check{x}$, γal , lizo, mux, $s\bar{i}\gamma$, $\check{s}ino$, wor, $\check{x}um\hat{a}ne$, yougo, $y\bar{e}\gamma \partial n$, $yar\dot{s}$, $x\bar{u}l$, $p\bar{u}nuk$, orunyo, $asp\bar{s}lan$, etc

Corresponding to M (from Prs) amsāyaga neighbour, darūn belly, našpotiy pear, dasta handle, haud lake, tilâ gold, taqīo pillow, šamšēr sword, nuqra silver, xušō ear of corn, bīwaya widow, garm, suzōn hot, we find Y (from Khowar) grambešu, ūžut, kyogō, hostaganu, žōi, svworum, vrazidine, xugor, droxum, sor, wåsərwo, pič

In some cases Y and M have borrowed different forms of Prs words, Y usually through the medium of Khowar Examples of such words are M $\hat{a}ino$ mirror, $\hat{a}s\hat{a}n$ easy, $b^urin\check{j}$ rice, $k^3t\tilde{o}b$ book, $t\bar{i}ran\hat{a}$ autumn Y $\check{s}i\check{s}oyo$, $ask\tilde{a}n$, $grin\check{j}$, $ket\bar{i}u$, $p\bar{a}\bar{i}z$

Very rarely M has retained a genume word which has been lost in Y · M $y\bar{u}i$ husband's brother, $zo\gamma no$ chin, $z^{o}\gamma v r i y$ thirsty, yuvazgo plough-wedge Y $x^{u}sur$, $z \wedge nax$, $tru\dot{s}ne$, $a\dot{c}ard\bar{t}ne$

Corresponding to M δs 'porridge' and $ju\hat{a}na$ 'calf, one to two years old', which are of Prs origin, Y has the Ind loan-words atile and bakinda, but the exact source of these words is unknown $p\bar{a}p\bar{s}s$, etc 'lungs' is one of the very few words of Ind origin occurring in both dialects. A curious case is M souno 'co-wife', which appears to be an I.A. loanword, although I am unable to explain how it has penetrated into M. Y has the Prs. word $amb\bar{\delta}\gamma$.

Loan-words from Kafiri are Yd plac cheese, ktaye almond (prob. borr from the Lutkuh Kafirs), and possibly Y—M $c^{s}ra^{i}\bar{u}$ male markhor, v Voc s vv

¹ Cf Voc sv

23. Khowar loan-words are very rare in Munji I have only come across $b\bar{a}n$; 'holly-oak' and droxum 'sılver' and do not feel at all sure that these words are really in common use in M

Y, on the other hand, contains, besides those mentioned above, a great number of Khow words, which denote plants, implements, etc. unknown in Munjan, or the correspondent forms of which have not been recorded in M. Some of the Khow loan-words in Y are in their turn of Ir. origin, and it is worthy of note that even Y, the dialect of a small and outlying district of Chitral has to some extent contributed to the vocabulary of Khowar ¹

Of special interest are those cases where the difference of vocabulary between Y and M is not due to one of the dialects having borrowed, from Prs. or M, but where each of them has chosen a different word of dialectal origin. To some extent there may be, or have been, a slight difference in meaning, but we must also reckon with the possibility of real homonyms existing in original Y—M, due to ancient mixing of dialects.

The possibility of some of the words co-existing in both dialects should, of course, not be ruled out

Examples of such words are:

M ågungy dough: Y ləvaza

- » 🏂 ba dance Y drŭvda
- » frayingo she-goat, one y old Y prenjio.
- » yūelo yoke-rope Y frāiyo.
- » samilasiko neckrope of the bullock. Y sabəiranj
- » pa težo she-calf, one y old Y miščovo
- » p³rīvur cow-house. Y yıyıo.
- » kosk barley: Y ysršio.
- » šīno anus Y yumino (but šino vulva).
- » nāmyo, yiston felt Y livzīn
- » škyu neck Y šile (v Voc svv)
- » sasto hill-side Y parfar

¹ Cf my treatment of this subject in Iranian Elements in Khowar, BSOS. VIII, 657-671.

M yurv mouth Y pokore

- » kupor lip · Y poršik.
- » zōbo gums Y sotke
- » puma avalanche Y rešk.
- » ken- to dig. Y nikanā(w)-.
- » irīnd- to be standing. Y fsāy-

25 But on the whole, in spite of the divergences mentioned above, Y—M forms a well-defined group clearly distinguished from all other Ir languages by a series of characteristics

The vocabulary contains a great number of words peculiar to this dialect group. As regards the morphology we may mention the formation of masculines in Y -e, M -iy, the feminines in -o, -a, the obl. sg in - ϵn , the pronouns za, zo 'I' and $m\ddot{a}f$, mof 'you', and the personal ending 3 pl in - ϵt , -at

Among phonetic features peculiar to, or characteristic of Y—M may be mentioned the preservation of $x\check{s}$ and $f\check{s},^1$ the distinction between ancient $-\check{s}$ - and *- $\check{s}\check{s}$ -, the development of ϑ into \check{x} and of $\check{s}t$ into $\check{s}k^y$, $\check{s}\check{c},^4$ and the tendency towards the assimilation of nd and similar groups of consonants Also the combination of features found separately in other dialects tend to give Y—M a phonetic structure entirely of its own, thus e.g. the development of ϑ and $i\vartheta > l$, of rt > r, r, and of -t- and $-\check{s}$ - > y

On the other hand, we find the usual E Ir. tendencies prevailing, e g the change of $\check{c} > c$, of $xt > \gamma d$, ft > vd, of $sr > \check{s}$, of voiced stops into voiced fricatives, the loss of h-, the prothesis of w- and y-, and the frequent reduction of i and u to a mixed vowel of the ∂ -type.

The morphology and the vocabulary are also of a decidedly E Ir

¹ V § 94 sq

² V § 75

³ V § 65

⁴ V. § 109.

⁵ V §§ 115 sqq

type Note eg typical E Ir words such as $mi\check{x}$ day, $pi\check{s}\check{c}an$ thigh, $p\check{i}\check{x}$ arrow, $\check{s}\check{i}yo$ female, $y\bar{a}de$ blind, wulo wife, $\dot{w}ul\bar{e}yo$ span, $z\bar{v}v\check{i}y$ tongue, $y\bar{e}r\dot{s}io$ barley, imoyo moon ¹

Gauthiot ² has asserted that Y—M ought to be separated from the Pamir languages and ranged among the north-western Ir dialects In a review ³ of Zarubin's essay on Munji I have tried to show that this theory cannot be upheld, and that the points of agreement between Y—M and Central Ir dialects are less significant than is assumed by Gauthiot ⁴

There can in fact be no doubt that Y—M is on the whole closely related to the Pamir dialects, although on several points it stands apart from them

27. Within the range of the Pamir dialects Y—M shows little special affinity to the Shughni group ⁵ The connection between Y—M and Wakhi chiefly consists in the occurrence of a few words with $l < \delta$ —probably loanwords—in Wkh About the relation between our group and Saraghlami nothing is known, except that one of the three words known from this dialect points to a transition of $\delta > l^6$

But between Y-M and Sgl.-Ishk there are several points of resemblance.

Thus we find a considerable number of words which are, as far as is known at present, peculiar to these two neighbouring groups of dialects, or which appear here in a form elsewhere unknown Cf, eg. Y åbūya moraine: Sgl ambol, Y uščeno Sgl uštīn, Y åwusp

¹ Several of them are found in the Avesta. But this only shows that the Av language is based upon E Ir, as I hope to be able to prove from a detailed study of its vocabulary

² MSL, XX, 133 sqq.

⁸ NTS III, 296

⁴ Very few, if any, Y-M words are of a decidedly W Ir character xšina 'milk' has its correspondent in Ossetic

⁵ Note, however, Y mix-, Shgh neθ- 'to sit down' < *mihδ-

 $^{^{6}}$ Cf Zarubin, Comptes rendus de l'Acad des Sciences, Série B , 1924, p $\,79\,$ wolské 'water'.

ploughbeam Sgl $\bar{a}wi\check{s}p$, Y leso wild oats. Sgl $d\partial s\bar{s}n$, Y $ix\bar{o}$ sister Sgl $y\partial x\bar{o}ai$, Y $m\bar{i}r\gamma o$ meadow. Sgl $m\bar{e}r\gamma$, Y niya sour milk Sgl. $n\bar{i}\partial uk$, Y nov rain: Sgl nav, Y, Sgl $p\bar{i}x$ span, Y woro trousers Sgl $u\bar{a}l$, Y lib- to card wool Sgl. $d\partial mb$ -; Y as- $a\gamma oi$ to come Sgl is-: $\bar{a}\gamma ad$; Y is- $y\bar{a}i$ to carry Ishk is- iv- iv-

There are also some common morphological features, e.g. in the system of demonstrative pronouns, in the existence of a particle vo, va denoting the definite object, and in the termination of the 2nd pl in -of which from Sgl—Ishk has also entered Western Wkh

On the other hand, the two dialect groups present no special similarities as regards their phonetic development. But the correspondences of vocabulary and morphology can hardly have been developed under modern conditions when communication between Munjan and Sanglech appears to be insignificant, and is at any rate carried out by the medium of Persian We are therefore, perhaps, justified in assuming that Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk were once in much closer contact than in the case at present, probably at a time when the phonetic differences between both groups was not yet strongly accentuated

If we look outside the range of the Pamir dialects Pashto appears to be the nearest relative of Y—M. Not only do we find the change of $\delta > l$ in both languages, but the Wanetsi dialect of Pashto distinguishes between ancient δ - and ancient t- in exactly the same way as Y—M 2 On the other hand, we must not forget that the tendency to change δ into l was probably once widely spread in E Ir and that the treatment of ϑ and ϑw differs in Y—M and in Psht. A few words are characteristic of both languages, cf. eg Voc s.vv. $\bar{a}\gamma d$ - to dress, γal thief, la with, $w\bar{a}ro$ summer, $y\bar{e}\gamma \partial n$ liver

At any rate the special relationship or contact between Y-M

¹ V § 206

² Cf NTS IV, 160.

and Psht. must go back to an early date, before the period when Saka tribes brought the Ir. dialect from which Psht is descended into Southern Afghanistan

The points of resemblance to Sogdian are limited to a few words, of Voc s vv $dr\bar{u}v$ to dance, $por\tilde{s}ik$ lip, yuxs to learn. Also with Parachi, its Ir neighbour south of the Hindukush, Y—M shares a few words and forms (cf. s vv. $li\tilde{s}\tilde{c}$ saw, amuno apple, $y\bar{u}r$ fire) but on the whole this dialect is of a different type, and has developed along other lines

As far as we can see, Y—M has occupied its present position for a very long period. It has probably lost territory in the north, but it has since immemorial times had Kafir dialects as its neighbours south of the Hindukush, and it is quite possible that the linguistic fronticr between Ir. and IA has not always followed exactly the highest mountain ridge

Now we find a transition of d > l in Prasun, the most isolated Kafir dialect, which has certainly occupied its present home close to Munjan for a very long time. It is therefore very tempting to follow Gauthiot in his assumption of a connection between the developments in both languages, especially as it seems probable that intervocalic t-disappeared in Prasun, while d remains in the shape of l. This state of things reminds us strongly of Y—M, while it differs completely from the tendencies prevailing elsewhere in Kafiri and IA 2

Of more doubtful value is Gauthiot's comparison between the M (but especially Y') tendency to assimilate nd > d, etc., and the Katri development of $ant > \tilde{a}t > at$. The phonetic processes are not identical, and the change in Y—M is evidently of recent date. But we may perhaps compare the Prasun transition of nd > d and of nb > b with the development in Y—M. We must

¹ Cf. § 8

² Cf eg Kalasha with -d > 0, but -t > -l (V. Rep II, 67)—In Y—M and Prasun d was changed into l before any weakening of intervocalic stops took place.

remember that Munjan and Prasun are only separated by a not too difficult pass.

This circumstance also explains the existence of a few words common to Y—M and Kafiri Cf. M frayomy and Kati $pr^{\dagger}om\vartheta$, Prasun $p\bar{a}m\vartheta$ kid, Y "stuy. Prasun 'štyak lock of hair, Y—M š \bar{u} . Prasun $u\check{c}\bar{u}$ (< * $cr\bar{u}$) horn It is doubtful whether mya 'sour milk' is borrowed from, or influenced by Kafiri or IA Regarding loanwords from Kafiri cf. above § 22

30. On the whole Y—M, is, in spite of influences from various sides, and in spite of several special phonetic innovations, an Ir dialect of a highly archaic type, which in its relative isolation has preserved many ancient and interesting forms and words. Its possible connection with the ancient Ir. language of the Tokharians remains, for the time being, a matter of speculation

PHONETIC SYSTEM

Consonants.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	+.Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glotta
Plosive	p, b	t, d	$(t, d)^1$	k', g'	k, g	q	
Affricate .	1	c	$\begin{array}{ c c } (t, d)^1 \\ (\check{c})^1 \end{array}$	$\left egin{array}{ccc} k', \ g' \ \ddot{c}, \ ec{\jmath} \end{array} \right $			
Fricative	$\int f, v$		}	ž	x, γ	$\langle x, \gamma \rangle^3$	h
Sibilant		s, z	$ \check{s}, (\check{z})^1 $	š, ž			
Nasal .	m	n	$(n)^1$	$[\mathfrak{F}']^2$	⟨⅓⟩⁵		
Rolled & Lateral .		r, l	(2)1	1			
Semivowels	w		, ,	y			

32. The consonant systems of Y and M are in the main the same Characteristic of both, as compared with those of other Pamir languages is the absence of δ (either as a phoneme—as in Wkh. and Shgh—, or as a variant of d—as in Sgl), and the existence of \check{x} and of k', g' But M does not possess the retroflex series (with the exception of \check{s}), and the palatal g' (which is hardly a separate phoneme in M) is unknown to Y. In both dialects velar g is a mere variant of g before g and g

The surd plosives are unaspirated in Y, but at any rate to some extent aspirated in M Some of my informants (e.g. Mti) appeared

¹ Only in Y

² Only in M.

³ Phoneme variant

to aspirate p^1 only, while M(g)—but not Mg—aspirated strongly all surd stops (and \check{e}) in accentuated syllables. Thus, e.g. $ph\bar{o}ns'$ '5', 'khirya 'hen', 'qhio 'bull', thi nek 'shallow', $\dot{c}h\tilde{o}^m$ 'eye' (and $\dot{c}h\bar{o}rda$ '14' < Prs $\check{c}ah\check{a}rda$) ²

This tendency towards aspiration is characteristic of several Pamir languages ³ and of Badakhshi Prs, and it occurs also in Turki ⁴ It is of course a theoretically possible, but not a very convincing hypothesis that the aspiration in E Ir. and Turki should be due to the influence of some common, unknown substratum.

The absence of aspiration in Y may be accounted for by the negative influence of Khowar This language possesses a separate series of aspirates—parallel to that of other IA languages—and Y, in adapting its sound system more or less to that of the dominating language—of Chitral, had to chose between the unaspirated or the strongly aspirated series of surd plosives.

32 a. Y t, d and \tilde{c} are found only in loan-words, but appear to belong to the phonological system of the language. Also q is a foreign sound, and with some speakers k is substituted for it

k', g' (k^y , g^y) must probably be considered as separate phonemes both in Y and in M ⁵ In M k' occurs also in the combination $\dot{s}k'$, which is different from $\dot{s}k$ ⁶ Regarding $\dot{c} < k'$ v § 41

j is to some extent interchangeable with z', but it is at any

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf the situation in Prs, and in Psht, where p is more strongly aspirated than k or t (v. BSOS, V, 54)

² In some words the aspiration has not been noted, but that may be due to inexact notation

⁸ Thus, eg, in Sgl. About aspiration in Shgh v. NTS. I, 36 (and Voc.), and Skold, Materialien, Voc. Reg. Ossetic of Munkácsi, Bluten der ossetischen Volksdichtung. 7

⁴ I thought I heard aspiration in several Turki dialects of W. and E. Turkistan which I had occasion to listen to in Chitral. In Kokand final -t even results in an affricate uts 'fire', ots 'horse'.

⁵ Cf § 41

⁶ Cf § 109

⁷ Cf § 60, and v. Voc svv.

rate by way of being a separate phoneme \jmath is a rare variant of z, v Voc. s vv. $urzu\gamma$

In M I heard bilabial φ before vowels in several words (e.g. Mm $\check{e}\varphi\bar{u}r$ '4', $\varphi\bar{i}ya$ 'spade') But in Y, and partly also in M, it is dento-labial. v is a dento-labial fricative, with lips and teeth in rather loose contact, and unrounded, except before o, where it was sometimes not easily distinguishable from w.

33 There can be no doubt that \check{s} and \check{s} are separate phonemes, but it is not always easy to distinguish between them, and it is possible that some speakers of M use a neutral \check{s} for both through the influence of Prs. phonology. \check{z} is only found in Y and is of rare occurrence. \check{s} , \check{z} and \check{c} have usually a very palatal character, and I have sometimes written \check{c}^{\flat} , \check{z}^{\flat} in my notes In Y $\dot{s}\check{c}$, M $\check{s}\check{k}^{\flat}$ and in Y $\check{c}\check{s}\check{i}r$, ${}^{\iota}\check{s}to$, etc the acoustic impression was still more palatal, but I do not believe that \check{s} (s') in these positions constitutes a separate phoneme.

Y—M \check{x} is a lisping, palatal sound which could not easily be mistaken for x, and which sounded quite different from Wakhi or Shgh $\check{x} (= \check{s})$. It was really a palatal ϑ , but I have kept Gauthiot's notation.

Uvular x and γ were only heard in Yd xio 'n of a shrub' and in Y $qi\bar{a}\gamma$, M $kuivo\gamma$ 'bull' and they are probably variants of x, γ (conditioned by the influence of i and q?).

Y—M h is an unstable sound, cf Voc s.vv But still I believe that it ought to be considered as a phoneme, the forms without h being aberrations from the 'standard' pronunciation. But this is by no means certain Note the existence of final h (loh, γura^h).

Similarly there can be no doubt about the existence of a phoneme w, but nevertheless we find vacillation before u, e.g. in urw, $urzu\gamma$, wulo, etc. Regarding the phonological value of initial y-cf. § 83

¹ Cf. § 81.

The final sound in M z_1l^y , z_1l^{yy} , etc 'heart' is probably a combination of l+y and not a separate, simple phoneme

Cerebral n is a phoneme in Y, but n is substituted by some speakers, except where n is conditioned by a following d.

Probably connected with the rounding of v before o mentioned above is the phenomenon expressed in the occasional notations, e.g. $a\gamma^{wo}$ 'came'; $no\gamma^{wo}$ 'came out', k^{wo} 'to search', x^{wo} 'own', etc, especially in Y words

34

A final voiced consonant usually becomes unvoiced. Thus, eg kob, kop 'little', ažəp 'wonderful', $\gamma \bar{a} l v^l$, $\gamma \bar{o} l v$, $\gamma \bar{o} l \varphi$ 'dog', $g^{y} i p$ 'lost'; $r \bar{i} v$, $r \bar{i} f$ 'rhubarb'; $o \gamma u r \gamma^x$, $o \gamma u r x$ 'egg', $y \bar{i} \bar{z}$, $y \bar{i} \bar{z}$ 'snake', $z \bar{i} k$, $z \bar{i} y g$ 'knee', etc. On the other hand we may hear -z for -s, -d for - \bar{t} in sandhi woz $\gamma u r d$ 'now he seized', $k^y e d v \bar{v} o$ 'was doing'. And, in the pronunciation of Ysh, xor 'own' frequently was sonorized into $\gamma o i$ after a proclitic vo, vo. Cf also Mg $n \bar{a}$ -moy 'nobis' with - γ instead of -x before voiced sounds.

Characteristic of Ysh is also the frequent 'cerebralization' of final r, chiefly after \bar{u} . Thus $p\bar{u}r$ 'son' (also Yg), $ax\bar{u}r$ 'manger', "st $\bar{u}r/r$ 'big', $av\bar{a}r$ 'bring', but $p\bar{u}r\dot{a}n$, $avr\epsilon$, etc

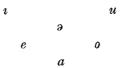
Ysh, and to a lesser degree Yzh, have a tendency to nasalize final vowels. Thus, e.g. $ux \pm \tilde{o}$, $av d\tilde{o}$, $ab \tilde{c}\tilde{o}$, $n\tilde{o}\tilde{u}$, $wis t\tilde{o}$ '6, 7, 8, 9, 20'; $po v\tilde{o}$ 'hair', $\tilde{s}\tilde{o}^t l\tilde{\epsilon}^n$ 'neck', $r\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$ 'bowels', $v\tilde{i}z\gamma\tilde{a}$ 'arm', $pisk\tilde{o}^t dr\tilde{i}$ 'dung', etc, etc. This nasalization has been omitted in the following description of Y

In M(g), on the other hand, final -m was reduced to a sometimes scarcely audible sound in the 1st pers of verbs, e.g. in $\gamma \bar{\imath} w u^m$ $\gamma i v d u^m$ 'I spin', 'span'; $l \bar{\jmath} r a^m$ 'I have', $x \epsilon \bar{\jmath} a^m$ 'I pull', etc. Cf. also $\tilde{c} h \tilde{\jmath}^m$ 'eye' (but $\gamma \bar{\jmath} n d \sigma m$ 'wheat', etc.)

The 'morphonological' changes of consonants are mainly restricted to the variations between present and past stems of the verbs, for which v. §§ 225 sqq

Vowels

35 As far as I was able to detect, the vowel-system of Y appears to be quite simple and to consist of the following six phonemes



But, as in most other E Ir dialects, especially in Psht¹ and Wkh, \hat{r} the amplitudes of variation are exceptionally great. First of all there are variations of quantity. I am inclined to believe that these are conditioned by stress, or by the influence of following consonants or groups of consonants, and that vowel-quantity is phonologically irrelevant in Y. And the Vocabulary contains a large number of variations between o, a and \bar{o} , \bar{a} in the same words

But it is really impossible to settle the question without a profound knowledge of, and a proficiency in speaking the language which I was very far from attaining, and it is quite possible that at any rate i and u are true phonemes.

Also the quality of the vowels is strongly influenced by neighbouring consonants, and it varies further according to length and stress

a is usually palatal [a] and easily becomes a through the influence of an ι , e.g. in Yzh warvo (Ysh wao) 'rain', palastiko 'armlet', etc. In unstressed position [a] is heard, but has not been consistently noted

o is wide [o] In final position it is sometimes slightly diphtongized in Yd [ou]. Besides o [ou], \hat{a} , \hat{a} has been noted, but chiefly in lws from Prs I am not quite certain whether this \hat{a} is a separate phoneme, or if I may have been influenced in my notation by associations from Badakhshi Prs. in using this symbol

¹ BSOS, V, 58 sqq.

² Cf Wkh Phon

 $^{^3}$ \hat{a} occurs in 43 lws and 9 genuine dialect words, \bar{a} in 9 lws and 38 genuine ones

u has an unstressed variant v, and ι in unstressed position (but also in other cases) is articulated as ι A mid-palate ι is heard in some words (in contact with x?)

I am not certain whether \bar{i} and \bar{u} are true phonemes, separate from i and u. After y we find \bar{u} or \bar{u} E.g. Yu $y\bar{u}$, Ysh $y\bar{u}$ one', Ysh $d\bar{a}r\bar{u}(\bar{i})$ 'medecine' A diphthongization of $-\bar{i}$ was noted once in Ysh $r\partial_i s\bar{e}i = r\partial_i s\bar{i}$ 'arrived'

e and ε are probably variants of one phoneme, and I even heard $xayo = x\varepsilon yo$ 'bridge'

In many cases ∂ is simply a reduced form of a, e, u, etc. But it is nevertheless probably a separate phoneme, characteristic of a number of words. Of the two variants $p\partial rs$ and prs 'ask', the first one is probably the phonologically correct one

In final position Yzh -e, with retracted e approaching o, corresponds to -o of some other speakers.

36 Diphthongs are rare (cf. narlā-, sail, dawlst, mavlss) and possibly form no part of the system In the Vocabulary I have written -ōi, -āi where Zarubin, possibly phonologically more correct, has -ŏy, -āy.

The overshort vowels, 2 , u , 2 , are difficult to classify phonologically. Their quality is completely dominated by that of the surrounding full vowels, and they may possibly be considered as variants of 2 . But it is a question whether they are really always perceived as real vowels, or whether the prothetic and svarabhakti vowels 1 are not as phonologically irrelevant as are the vowels in the Indian pronunciation of st-, etc.

37. The influence of surrounding sounds on short vowels may be exemplified by · yursiligo, yursuligo 'shoe-string'; nəγūyəm 'I hear', nuiāšəm 'I comb', nuxim 'I sit down', noγο-· nəγavd- 'to bite' Cf also the variations between -əm, -um, etc, conditioned by the nature of the preceding vowel.

¹ Cf e.g. $s^3p\bar{\imath}$, $^3st\bar{u}_Y$ (v. § 103), $sur^u w$, $tu_Y um$, etc.

^{3 -} Kulturforskning

Cf also Ysh $maf \check{c}\bar{\imath} \check{z}\bar{a}f$ 'ye shall not say', but $tu \check{c}u \check{z}u\bar{\imath}$ 'thou shalt not say'. Note also Y mai 'these', but $y\ddot{a}i$, woi 'those' (cf §§ 206, sqq)

38. The vowel systems of the various dialects of M appear to vary a great deal, and none of them is sufficiently well known to permit any analysis of them being made.

In Mm we find a long \mathring{a} and a final $\imath y$ unknown to Y, and also in other cases \imath appears to be a separate phoneme. The relevance of quantitative differences appears to be better established than in Y, and it is possible, with all due reservations, to construct the following chart of Mm vowels

Short V	owels	Long	Vowels
<i>i</i>	u, v	ī	$ar{u}$
e, ε	o	Ē	$\tilde{\jmath}$
(ä?) a		$ar{a}$	$\hat{a},\ \hat{\bar{a}}$

Stress.

39. Word stress is weak, and to some extent dominated by sentence stress

Thus, e.g. Y sh 'wulo 'wife', but 'yū wu'lō 'one wife', 'prsto wo zinō'ef 'she asked the daughters-in-law', but zi'nōef pi'stō 'the daughters in-law asked', $muz'dur\partial$ ken 'serve', but ' $mvzdu_ire$ $y\bar{u}$ rum 'I take service'

Although they describe very closely related variants of M, Gauthiot and Zarubin differ considerably from each other as to the place of the accent—the Frenchman inclining to accentuate the last syllable— My own notations, rightly or wrongly, often disagree

with those of both of my predecessors, and are not always consistent Cf. §§ 162 sqq

Thus, eg: G $a\gamma u\dot{s}^{\dagger}k^{\prime}a$ 'finger', $wu\gamma z\dot{e}^{\dagger}ga$ 'frog', $\gamma \hat{a}^{\dagger}wa$ 'cow'; $k\dot{a}^{w}\bar{u}^{\dagger}ya$ 'pigeon', $ma\gamma\bar{u}^{\dagger}sa$ 'fly', $namol^{\dagger}\gamma a$ 'salt', $x\dot{s}\bar{v}^{\dagger}ra$ 'milk', etc. But in some cases Y agrees, completely or partially, with G as against other forms of M. Cf Voc s vv. $ag^{u}m\bar{n}n$ 'honey', $\imath mo^{\dagger}\gamma o$ 'moon', $i^{\dagger}x\bar{o}$ 'sister', $\imath z^{\dagger}ma$ 'fire-wood', $^{\dagger}k\imath rv^{\dagger}o$ 'hen', $^{\dagger}urzu\gamma$, $ur^{\dagger}z\bar{u}\gamma$ 'straight' Also in words not recorded by G we often find that Y stresses a later syllable than M Thus $o^{\dagger}\gamma uzo$ 'walnut', $v^{\dagger}l\bar{v}r$ 'belly'; $a^{\dagger}lars\imath ne$ 'threshold'

In a few words Z and G are alone in stressing the final syllable G, Z amin'g'a, etc. apple'. Y $amin_0$, Mm $amin_0$, etc., G, Z $st\bar{o}roy$ 'star'. Y, M $st\bar{a}re$, etc.

Groups of Consonants

40 Through the loss of unstressed vowels of the first syllable and through borrowing, numerous groups of initial consonants have arisen in Y—M.

Thus we find, e.g. \dot{p} c-, pk-, pr-, ptr-, ps-, $p\hat{s}$ -, fk^y -, fx-, ft-, fs-, $f\hat{s}$ -, tf-, kr-, kr-, kt-, xr-, $x\hat{s}$ - (or $x^s\hat{s}$ -), $\check{c}k$ -, $\check{c}s$ -, $\check{c}f$ -, $\check{c}p$ -, tr-, sp-, sk-, (i)st-, sp-, tr-, tr-,

But after voiced sibilants, and usually also after voiced fricatives, svarabhakti vowels are developed. Thus, e.g.: $z^{2}\gamma_{-}$, $z^{2}n_{-}$, $z^{2}v_{-}$, $\gamma^{2}n_{-}$, etc.

In internal and final position yet other combinations (with decreasing aperture) have become possible through recent adjustments, e.g. groups beginning with r, l, nasals, z and \check{z} , groups consisting of velar fricatives and a nasal, etc

Through these developments the aspect of Y—M has departed considerably from that of general Ir and of most other Pamir dialects. And it may perhaps be said that it has in some respects approached the phonetic aspect of the Kafir dialects

HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Consonants

Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

41 Initial k- remains in koi 'who', ken- 'to dig', ken- 'to do', kap k- 'fish', 'kero 'knife', kirio 'hen', etc V Voc s vv.

In a number of words we find, especially in Y, a palatalized k^y . This development of initial k- is in accordance with the general tendency of Y—M towards palatalization, but it seems impossible to determine the exact conditions of the change. A similar change appears in Yazgh, e.g. in k'an- 'to dig', k'axabac 'magpie', and also in Shgh ¹

A certain number of the words in k^y - are or may be, lw s from ' k^y -Prs. Thus, e.g. kyof- 'to groan', 'kyahre 'anger', $k^ye'l\bar{e}u$ 'key', etc. (v. Voc), cf also $K^y\iota'l^yam$ Kulum (in Nuristan) From M I have noted k- and k^y - (but also Mti čāliye 'key') Other Prs lw s have k in Y too, cf. $ka'b\bar{u}t$ 'blue', etc. K^y might perhaps be assumed to belong to an earlier stratum of Prs lw s, but this is quite uncertain.

Nor is the origin of k^y clear in all genuine Y—M words In Yd $kyo'g\bar{o}$ ($\check{c}o'$) 'pear' ky- is developed regularly from t-, and $k^y\epsilon m$ 'who' and $k^y\epsilon i$ 'house' may be derived from *kayam, *kayay But why $k^y\epsilon malyo$ 'skull', k^yifo 'hump', k^yunyo 'magpie', while we find k- before i in kirio 'hen', $kin\check{c}ika$ 'girl', $ki\check{s}\check{c}a$ 'plough', etc?

¹ Cf Notes on Shughni, Voc s K

² Cf § 62

³ Cf § 46

⁴ Cf reg g^y § 53

42 I heard q in qasam 'oath', qussa 'tale', qačio, kačio 'scissors', etc. But in several words of foreign origin I heard k- instead of the expected q- Cf. Voc. s vv kāk 'dry', kəlf 'lock', kīmat 'price', kurūt 'thick milk' To some extent this may be due to mis-hearing on my part, but there is probably a certain vacillation in the use of q according to the degree of education of the speaker, and in some words k- may actually have ousted the foreign sound. The same is the case in other Ir dialects

In $qv\bar{q}\gamma$ 'bull' q- appears in a genuine Y word Regarding the prothetic a- in akade 'thorn' of § 167.

43. Initial t- remains. V Voc s vv. tu 'thou', 'tuγ"m 'grain', tīro t- 'darkness', etc Cf also the encl. pron 2 sg -t, in secondary intervocalic position.

Z gives day, obl daf as facultative pl. forms of $y\hat{a}$ this In this word d- is a weakened form of t- (prob after early loss of ai-), of Prs. $d\bar{a}$, daya 'this'.

Initial p remains ∇ Voc. $s \nabla v po$ 'on', $p\bar{\imath}o$ 'rotten', $p\bar{a}do$ p'road', palo 'foot', pilf 'ford', etc.

44. Initial č remains unchanged in a number of words V Voc s vv. cam 'eye', čεšo 'pin of a spindle', čur'mō 'three days ago', Y c'sīr,² M c'fūr 'four', ca'mīn 'how much', carxo 'falling stones' (lw?), cape 'door-frame', cū(v)- 'to pick, choose', M ckyūgo 'urine', cīy- 'to freeze' < *cāh-, etc.</p>

There is no certain instance of a genuine Y—M word retaining \check{c} before ancient \check{i} . $\check{c}\bar{i}re$ 'apricot', $\check{C}itreyo$ 'Chitral', $\check{c}ir\bar{u}\gamma$ 'lamp', and $\check{c}e$ 'what' are lw.s (or $\check{c}e < \check{c}ahya?$), while Yd. $\check{c}inur\gamma o$ (M $c \ni nur\gamma o$, etc.) 'starling' is of unknown origin

But we find c- before ancient i in ce, ces, co'min 'what', etc, and in ceb- 'to pinch' Wkh čip- It is therefore possible that či-was differentiated into ci-, but the evidence is not strong. In Saka

¹ Cf § 208

² With dissimilation cšīr

the development took a different turn, \check{c} - becoming c- except before \imath

The origin of cryyerc 'mushroom' and cipō- 'to wink' is unknown, but these words may go back to forms with ancient $\check{c}r$ - $c\partial^i rox$ 'spark' is common to most neighbouring dialects, calan'dure 'window' is borr from Khow, and $c^2 ra\bar{u}$ 'markhor' probably from Kafiri. In Y $c^2 ke^i na$ (= M $sk\partial n$) c- is of secondary origin. The only word with c- before ancient a is caroyo 'bustard', but also this word may be a loan-word

At any rate there is no regular change of \check{c} - into c- in Y—M, as in most other Pamir dialects, Psht etc.

If 'sti 'something' goes back to * $\check{c}t\iota < \check{c}\iota\iota + ?$, the contraction may be earlier than the change of $\check{c}\iota > c\iota$

Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates

45. In the varieties of M described by Gauthiot, Zarubin, and the -k-LSI, and also in Mm, postvocalic -k- results in g. In the rest of M territory and in Y it has weakened further to γ, thus coalescing with ancient -g-2 It will be noted that the preservation of -k- as a voiced occlusive shows the greater power of resistance of the velar as compared with the dental and the labial surd stops 3

Examples are:

Y av'yuš 'embrace, lap' M, Z yvyguš < *upa-kaša-?

- » ləyan-, nəyān- 'to throw away': Mm liyad (pret.) < *m kan-
- » l^9ruyus , Mt l^9riyus 'sickle' Mm $l^9rar{e}gus$ < * $drar{a}tr$ -kusa-.
- » тоуиso, Mt таудза 'fly'. Mm 'mogusa < *makasā-
- » noyo- 'to bite' Mm $n \ni g \bar{o}$ -, Z $n i g \bar{o} w \langle *n i k a p (?)$
- » риуо 'woman's hair' Mm pugo < *pйkā-
- » $r\bar{\imath}\gamma o$, Mt $r\bar{\imath}\gamma a$ 'vein'. Mm $r\bar{\imath}go < *r\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ -.
- » $sey^{i_0}o$, Mg siyiya 'sand' Mm $sig^{i_0}o$ < *sikata-
 - ¹ V Konow, Saka Studies, 25 Cf also the parallel development in Marathi
- ² This change is later than that of ng > g.
- 3 Cf. also the development in Sgl

Υ 'suγιko, M(g) sīγιka 'a tale'. Mm sūγο < *saukā.

» vul'yor, Mg wur'yar 'shoulder-blade' Mm wur'gar

Note Mm Yidg 'a man from Yidyūn = Lutkuh'. Y $Id\partial\gamma$ Cf. also Y ${}^{g}st\bar{u}\gamma$ 'long hair', yiyio 'cow-house', $s\bar{u}\gamma$ 'street', $ved\bar{u}\gamma$ 'to mix' and $\bar{v}\bar{v}\gamma$ isče 'dried apricot' which probably all have ancient ${}^{-1}$ Y $mu\gamma$ o, Mm (stur)mugo 'vetch' is probably borrowed from IA *muyga-, and not derived from * $m\bar{u}ka$ -. The origin of $su\gamma$ 'leather-strap' is unknown—Mm $\check{s}a\gamma ur$ 'hedgehog' is probably a lw (cf Sgl. $\check{s}a\gamma vor$)

Gauthiot, who generally has g for -k-, writes γ in $p \ni \gamma a$ 'hair', $may\bar{u}sa$ 'fly', $nam\mathring{a}l'\gamma a$ 'salt' This is probably due to mixture of dialects Mm $por\gamma$ 'mouse' Z porg, G pork may be misheard

Y-M $-\gamma/-g$ has been absorbed into a preceding \tilde{u} (o) in some words, but the exact conditions causing this loss are not apparent.

In M $\dot{s}iiko$ (Y $\dot{s}i\gamma iko$) g (or γ ?) has probably been lost through palatalization

In a large number of words with ancient suffix $-k\ddot{a}$ we find Y—M g/γ Thus, e.g :

imoyo, yumago 'moon', vrīyo, vrīgo 'eyebrow', wulya, wulya, kidney', sīγ 'hare', urzuy, urzug 'straight', Idəγ, Yıdg, etc Cf. §§ 181, 188, 190

Regarding the development of -aka- into Y -e, M -1y-, cf. § 182. With -e/-1y (e g in Y 'yāde, -ə, Mm 'yōdıy, g 'yāndıy, ti -i, (t) -1y, t -1yy, Z yâ'dəy, G yâ'dēy 'blind') cf. the parallel development into -ai in Psht 5

Postvocalic k appears in Y—M in the suffix -(i)ko; 4 in lw's (e.g.

¹ V Voc s vv.

² Poss also M wâlu 'feast' Y wăly?

⁸ Cf Zar p 121

⁴ Cf § 189

' $k\bar{a}ka$ 'top of the head', $ka'k\bar{u}k$ 'cuckoo', M(g) $\check{c}ik''r\bar{i}$ 'rhubarb'), through secondary contact with a voiceless sound (e.g. Yd $\gamma usk \partial n$, M $\gamma \bar{u}s''kun$ 'cow dung'), and in comparatively recent compounds ($nikan\bar{a}$ - 'to dig')

Intervocalic -t- results in Y—M -y-, or is lost. This development is common to many Ir dialects, but only in Y—M and Wanetsi Psht is it combined with the conservation of -d- in the shape of -l-The two series may be illustrated thus

$$-t$$
 $> \cdot d$ $> \cdot \delta$ $> \cdot y$ $-d$ $\cdot (\cdot \delta \cdot) > \cdot l$ $> \cdot l$.

The intermediate stage $-\delta$ - (<-t-) is perhaps only a theoretical one, *-d- having been weakened direct to -y-, because no voiced dental fricative existed in the phonetic system of the language at the time when *-b- (<-v-) became *- β - (-v-)

Examples of the treatment of intervocalic $\emph{-}t$ - are very numerous. Thus, e.g. .

Y $li\bar{\imath}$, M $li\bar{\imath}$ 'gave'; $v\bar{\imath}$ 'was', $\check{a}\gamma\check{b}\imath$, $a\gamma\partial y$ 'came', and other preterites in postvocalic -ta " V Voc s vv. Y $ast\bar{\imath}o$ 'abuse' (?); $abru\bar{\imath}o$ 'pear', $\gamma\imath\gamma\imath\sigma$ 'cowhouse', $kovi\sigma$ 'pigeon', $k^y\epsilon\imath$ 'house', $k^y\epsilon\imath\imath$ 'which'; $l\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}i$ 'smoke', $l^2r\imath\imath\gamma\imath\iota s$ 'sickle', $mayo\gamma\sigma$ 'mare'; M $n\bar{a}my\sigma$ 'felt', Y ' $n\imath\imath\jmath a$ 'sour milk'; $p\bar{\imath}o$ 'rotten'; $r\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}i$ 'guts'; $s\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}i$ 'slate'; $se\gamma\imath lo$ 'sand', $sp\bar{\imath}i$ 'white', $sz\bar{\imath}iy\sigma$ 'jujube-tree', M $t\bar{\imath}ii$ 'mulberry' (early lw?), Y $vra\imath$ 'brother', $v\bar{\imath}ii$ 'wind', $vu'l\bar{e}y\sigma$ 'span', viya 'willow', $vi\gamma\tau\sigma$ 'watermill', $vi\gamma\sigma$ 'bridge', $vi\gamma\sigma$ 'son-in-law', $vi\gamma\sigma$ " 'to say',

More doubtful cases are M kaly 'soot' (* $kata-d\bar{u}ta-?$), w:sn'to untie' (*wi-tan-?), 'xsyo 'wall' (* $xat\bar{u}-?$), $y\bar{u}yo$ 'one (of several) (* $y\bar{u}taka-?$), M $y\bar{u}i$ 'husband's brother' (* $y\bar{a}ta-?$).

Cf also the 3 sg Pres. in -e, -ı < -ayatı, 4 Breyeyo 'Munjan' < *Mṛgatā (?) 5

¹ Cf also kəkyaro 'dagger', etc with $k^y < t$ V § 62

² And in Y pokore 'mouth' < *pat(i)karaka-9

⁸ Cf § 235

^{4 § 231}

⁵ Cf. BSOS VI, 442

The Khowar place-names $Cetr\bar{a}r$ 'Chitral', Šoyor 'Shogot' and $Man\bar{u}r$ appear in Y as $\check{C}itr\bar{e}yo$, Šoyoyo and Mumo, and have probably been borrowed at a time when Khow had intervocable $-\delta - < -t$, not at a still earlier stage. Also Y g^yer -, Mj. giyar- 'to pass, to forgive' has probably been borrowed from Middle Prs $^*g^wi\delta ar$, and M kaliyo, Y $k^y\varepsilon'l\bar{e}u$ 'key' probably goes back to Prs $kil\bar{i}\delta$

yo 'this' is derived through *eyo < *anta-, *aıša- Reg day, daf cf above * In $t\bar{\imath}(y)$ - 'to enter' < $at\iota$ -i the t became initial at a very early age *

The unstressed prefix pati- has lost its dental completely in po, pusur, $p\check{c}\bar{u}rma$, etc ⁴ In secondary contact with another t we find t < *tt. $p > ti \check{s}\check{c}$ - 'broke' $< *pati-t_rsta$ -, $\check{z}\check{u}t$ 'speaks' $< *\check{j}atati$ Cf also p > c > g- 'to break', if from *pati-s rnda-

47. Through early syncope -t- was saved in wīsto 5 'twenty' and mistor 'mehtar' < *masyatara-6

Similarly t remains in secondary contact with r, which became unvoiced and was lost ⁷ Thus $z\bar{\imath}t$ 'yellow' $< *za^i rt < \Delta v \ zan ita-, ⁸ x \bar{\imath}t$ 'eats' $< *xwart < x^v a r a it$, and other 3 sg pres forms of roots in r ⁹ Accordingly the syncope took place after the change of ancient rt > *rd, but before the sonorization of intervocalic t

But secondary nt developed along with original nt Thus. $v ext{-} ads$ 'brought' $< *^u \beta ant < upan ext{-} ta$, $v ext{-} d\tilde{o}$ 'to warm' $< *^a abs$ -han-tap- (?), $w ext{-} id$ 'sees' (with occasional unvoicing of the final consonant $w ext{-} it$) $< v ext{-} a ext{-} it$, etc. 10

² But note Madaglashtí $gy\bar{a}st$, pret. of $guz\bar{a}r$ - 'to leave behind', which shows the possibility of a local Prs loss of δ -

^{2 \$ 43}

⁸ Cf reg č § 50

⁴ Reg paifar, paixo cf § 152

⁵ As in all Ir languages except Oss, Psht and Wanetsi

⁶ Scarcely Boyušt < *Bayašita, cf Index of Names, s v

⁷ Cf Khow tt < rt

⁸ Cf Par zītö.

⁹ V § 124 Cf also Konow, Saka Studies, 23.

¹⁰ Cf. § 115.

If $k \ni d\bar{\imath}$ 'which' is derived from * $k \ni nd < *k \ni md < *k \ni adm^o < *katamaka$, $r\bar{\imath}md$ 'pleased' and $ptr \ni mdo$ 'seized' must be analogical forms

p-

48 Intervocalic -p- results in -v-, just as ancient -b-

Thus Y $av'\gamma u\check{s}$, M $yvyu\check{s}$ 'embrace' $<*upa-ka\check{s}a$ - (?), $\check{a}'v\check{a}z$ - 'to bring' < upa-az-, 'kovio, etc 'pigeon' <*kapauta-, M niliv- $nuv\check{o}st$ 'to lie down' < ni pad-, M niliv 'bedding' <*ni pisya- (or ancient lw.); p^ura -, $pr\bar{a}v$ - 'to find, obtain' <*pari-ap-, $parva\check{x}In$ 'round, kneecap' $<*pari-pa\vartheta anya$ -, rov- 'to bark' <*rap-, <math>> > vv- 'to suck' Wkh > ap-, > tuvor 'axe' <*tapara-, > va particle denoting the acc < upa, $> v^2ro$ 'after' < aparam, $> v^3d\bar{o}$ - 'to warm' <*upa-(?) han-tap-, $> vzz\check{x}o$ 'pregnant' $<*upa-za\vartheta y\bar{a}$ -, $> x^2\check{s}ovo$ 'night' $< x\check{s}ap\bar{a}$ -, 'yovur so 'juniper' < hap r r s v-, M $> y\bar{u}v r s r s$ 'upper door-sill' <*uparv s r s v-

This v has a tendency to lose its friction and be merged into w. Thus, e.g., in M $\gamma \bar{\imath} w$ - (Y $\gamma \bar{\imath}$ -) 'to spin', $z \bar{\imath} \gamma \bar{\imath} v$ -, $z \bar{\imath} \gamma \bar{\imath} w$ - (Y $z \bar{\imath} \gamma \bar{e}$ -) 'to twist' < *(uz)gaip- And in the causatives we find $-\bar{a}v$ -, $-\bar{a}w$ - ($-\bar{o}v$ -, $-\bar{o}w$ -), but also $-\bar{a}$ - ($-\bar{o}$). Cf also Y $\bar{\imath} dou$ 'fever', if $< *hant\bar{a}pa$ -, $y\bar{a}u\gamma o$, etc 'water' $< *\bar{a}pak\bar{a}$ -, Y $r\bar{u}so$, M $ra\bar{u}so$, etc 'fox' $< *raupas\bar{a}$ -, voru 'upper' < *u(v)ar < upara-, etc

nowisa 'nephew', rikau 'stirrup', Y ketiu 'book' are loan-words from Prs forms in v/w.

In Y fsidro 'spring', $ft\tilde{o} = v^{2}t\tilde{o}$ 'thee', and probably in fxa(w) 'to shear', v < upa has become unvoiced before a voiceless consonant $ag^{i}m\tilde{i}n$ etc 'honey' has been assimilated from *angivin, etc.

Y rufo 'broom' (cf. Sgl ref), ifon 'clay used for plastering'; $t^{\bar{j}}rif$ - 'to steal'; and prob Zar $t^{\bar{j}}fow$ - 'to put fire to' have got their f's from early forms of the preterial stems *ruft, ifon and *taft 2

49. Y—M -p- is mainly found in lw.s · pap 'grandfather', pāpəs 'lung', rūpäyo 'rupie', 'cop 'left', etc Also kap 'fish' is possibly a lw

¹ Cf. § 227

² Cf. Av huxšvafa-

-č-

from Wkh. or a similar dialect In $ap\bar{\imath}r$, $skap\bar{\imath}r$ 'before' the p may be due to recent composition Possibly the prefix $p(\bar{\imath})$ in some cases goes back to parti

Intervocalic -ċ- results in -ż- Thus

50

lūż- 'to milk' < *dauča- (Par dūč-, etc.), la'žīno 'pile of firewood' < *nn-čayanā-, nəmīž- 'winking' < *nn-mīča- (v. s v.); Y nīšāž- (M nījāš) 'to show' < *nn-čaša-; paržīn 'enclosure for sheep' < *paričayana-; pərvīž- 'to sieve' < *parī-waiča-; rūžen 'smoke-hole' < raočana-; Y šīnjo, M šīžno, 'needle' < *sučanī-; tīž- 'to cut' < *tāčaya-Probably also yožī- 'to stumble', ef Wkh gač- 'to totter', kużke etc 'hair' < *kaučī-, patēžo 'she-calf, one year old' < *patī-tačī + ā (?), Stužun 'the Ustich Pass' < *stuč(a)na- (?). čužiya 'chicken' is prob an early lw from Badakhshi čuča

After n we find j in prenjio 'young she-goat' and in $sab^{o}ranj$ 'neckrope of the bullock', possibly derived from the fem suffix -i

Words of uncertain derivation, in which \dot{z} - may go back to either \dot{c} or j are e.g. ¹ $k\imath\check{z}$ 'yo 'dirty', $m\bar{u}\check{z}$ - 'to move in the wind', $noyu\dot{z}e$ 'snipe', Y $p\bar{a}\check{z}\imath$ (Zar $p\bar{o}w\imath$) 'all', M, G $r\hat{a}\check{z}on$ 'language', $\check{s}\bar{\imath}\dot{z}$, $\check{s}\bar{u}\dot{z}$ 'vulture' (Sgl $\dot{s}\bar{u}\dot{z}$), $\dot{s}\imath\dot{z}o$ 'cotton-', $ta\dot{z}\bar{\imath}a$ 'heron', $Ga\check{z}an$ -dore 'n. of a Y clan'

Y mažovo 'female markhor' is a Khow. lw, and kużo 'crooked' and sarf³rāže 'ornaments' are probably borrowed from Prs każ, kuž and sarfarāzī

In ža 'from' (cf. žukū 'whence') < *ha'ča the č was sonorized before the loss of initial (h)a-2 But in tuž-, čiž- 'to fall' (< *ča'hô- < *ha'čahuôa-), čpāč 'behind', and possibly in čəyū- 'to return' the loss of ha- occurred earlier, owing to the more complete absence of stress in polysyllabic words 3

51 -č-, -č- appear in a number of lws from Khow., e g in bučayı 'bud', hoč 'boiled fat', pič 'hot', m²reč 'mulberry', pičili 'n of a plant'; tačinge 'Kafir boots'. With M mačio, Y ma'cīo 'she-dog'

¹ Cf Voc. s vv

² Cf. $v \ni$, $p \ni < upa$

 $^{^{3}}$ š $p ilde{a}\check{c}$ prob $<\check{c}p ilde{a}\check{c}$ (cf. š $t ilde{a}han$ 'below'), and not < * $\check{z}p^{o}$

cf. Badakhshi $m\bar{o}ca$. Y vroc- 'to fry ' is perhaps derived from an imperative vroc < *vro > *vro of. Khow vren \tilde{e} -.\frac{1}{2}

Altogether uncertain is the derivation of Yd ârrico 'strawberry', and also of mṛkic 'carded wool', Zar mcod- 'to moisten thoroughly'; yəricoy- 'to creak', Y yurica- 'to swallow'

-c- occurs in Y in the lws plac 'cheese' (fr Katı), blacā- 'to collect' (fr. Khow), cf. also Y macīo 'she-dog',² and pelicio 'fire-tree, torch' which may perhaps have borrowed from an early form of Khow. $p\bar{u}i\dot{c}$ In Y $p\bar{s}c\bar{s}g$ -, etc. 'to cut, cleave' c is probably derived from t+s.

Voiced Stops and Affricates

52 The general E.Ir. tendency to change voiced stops into fricatives has prevailed completely in Y—M where we find, at least in initial and intervocalic position, γ , $l \ll \delta$, $v \ll \beta$ and \check{z} .

It is possible that this change first affected intervocalic voiced stops, it being in fact the first stage of the Ir weakening of intervocalic consonants. And it might perhaps be assumed that the initial d- in ddl- 'to give' is due to a preventive dissimilation dating from a time when $da\delta\bar{a}$ - should regularly have become * $\delta a\delta\bar{a}$ -. But the preservation of d- in a single, or at the utmost a small number of words, is not very likely. The dissimilation has probably taken place at a later period, * $\delta a\delta\bar{a}$ becoming again * $da\delta\bar{a}$ -. In $l\bar{\imath}vdsn$ 'fire-place' < * $\delta\bar{\imath}pd\bar{\imath}n$ the dissimilation went the other way, just as in Psht. $l\bar{\imath}d$ 'saw' < * $\delta\bar{\imath}d$ and in Sogd $\delta^u w\bar{a}das$ 'twelve'.

¹ From Yd.? Cf BSOS, VIII, 664

² V above § 14

³ Cf § 46.

⁴ And initial ones in sandhi after a word ending in a vowel

⁵ I do not understand Benveniste's remark, Gramm Sogd II, 146 Oss duwadas, diwa- (not duua-1) can without difficulty be traced back to *duwā δ asa and correspond to Psht dwālas, dwōlas.

- 53 Initial g- appears as γ- in γū 'ear', γal 'thief', γādəm 'wheat', g-etc.¹ Also Gharmaı 'n. of a village in Yamgān' is probably of Munji origin Most words in γ- are of genuine Y—M origin. But there are also some lw.s (e.g γūlak 'pelletbow', γar 'adulterer', etc) and a few words of unknown derivation (e.g γθnīgo, etc 'sneezing', γaza 'a room', γuzγap 'dirty'; γus- 'to feel troubled') ḡver- 'to walk, pass' and ḡvib 'lost' are early lw s from Prs
- 54. Ancient -g- results in -y- in ayor 'came', ² āγ(u)d- 'to dress' < -g*ā-gunda-, ο'γυzο 'walnut' < *ágauzā-; Y a'zuzγο, M wuγzəga, etc
 'frog' < *wazaga-kā-, bràγιkο 'sparrow' < *mṛgī + kā, frāιγο 'yokerope' < *fra-yugā-; Y fɛιγāmə, etc 'he-goat' < *fragāmaka-, mēγ
 'cloud' < maēγa, nəγυy- 'to hear' < ni-gauš-, nuγõz- 'to swallow'
 < *nι-găz-, poruγ 'bolt of a door' < *patι-ruga-, yūγ 'yoke'
 Probably also Pə'râγο 'Nuristan', and Pōruγ 'n of a village in
 Sanglech' go back to forms in -g-, cf. Sgl Pa'rōγ, 'Pōroγ

Words of uncertain origin are. loy n- 'to he down', $\tilde{c}\partial\gamma \hat{u}(w)$ - 'to return' (<*haca-gaub-??), loyor 'entered' (v s v. $t\bar{v}$), $v\partial l\gamma o$ 'above', and $zu\gamma$ - 'to pour out'.

The development of -g-/-\gamma- in 'līvdɛn 'fireplace' $<\delta \bar{e}\gamma\delta\bar{a}n$ is quite irregular

55. Y—M shares with Psht. and some dialects of Sogd the change of d through δ into l in most positions. It is perhaps also characteristic of Saraghlāmī ³ Sporadically we find $l < \delta$, d also in Wkh, and in Prs, probably in words of E Ir origin. But of also Kurd. Xulā 'God' and Bakht leva 'mad'. In the main the tendency appears to be centred in north-eastern Iran, perhaps especially in Badaxšān, Balaxšān It is impossible to decide whether the l was developed separately in Y—M and in Psht—Wanetsi, or if it belongs to a common ancestor of both dialect groups Regarding the parallel change of d < l in Prasun cf. 29

¹ V Voc s vv

² And in other preterites in postvocalie -ta-, v § 235

³ Cf. § 27

56. Initial l < d- occurs in a large number of words Thus, e.g., d- $l\bar{u}i$ 'smoke', lad 'tooth', $lu\gamma do$ 'daughter', $l\bar{\imath}o$ 'gave'; los 'ten'; $l\bar{u}\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}$ - 'to milk', etc.¹

Y Bidd lānawo 'wise' must, if correct, be an early lw, but last 'hand' may be a genuine dialect form.2

lyoxe 'itching' is of unknown origin, and the l of Y laxsərə 'ice' (M yaxsərıy) is unexplained

Regarding dal- 'to give' and lūr- 'to flee' v §§ 136, 137.

Y—M l from intervoc -d- (and -dy-) occurs in olo 'there' < -d-**57**. $ava\delta a$, vlir 'belly' < *udarya-, alarsine 'threshold' < *a δara sayanaka-, alāno 'pomegranate' < habanaē(patā-), aspēlan 'stable' < * $aspad\bar{a}na$; aveli 'both' < * $ub\bar{u}\cdot duwai$ (?), avlasto 'sleeve' < *abi $dast\bar{a}$, $avl\bar{a}n$ 'bridle' $< oavv.\delta\bar{a}na$, dal- 'to give' $< da\delta\bar{a}$, γal 'thief' $< ga\delta a$; $k \ni la$ 'when' $< ka\delta a$, la 'with' $< ka\delta a$; $l\bar{u}r$ - 'to flee' < raod (?), molo 'here' < *imadā; malen 'half-full' < maðəma-, Miliyeg < *Madya*, məlān 'waist' < maiðyāna-, malax 'locust' < madaxa- (or lw?), nəl 'reed' < *nada-, nailō- 'to circumcise' < * $ni\vec{z}$ -dab-(?), $n\partial liv$ -, etc. 'to lie down' < ni- $pai\delta ya$ -, $n\partial m\bar{a}l\gamma o$ 'salt' <*nama $\delta(a)k\bar{a}$ -, palo 'foot' < p $\bar{a}d$ -, pol 'footprint' < pa δa -, pl $\bar{a}r$ -'to sell' < *parā-dā-, pəlarz- 'to wrap' < *pati-darza-, palästiko 'armlet' < *pati-dasta, poruylan 'hole for the door-bolt' < odāna-, šile 'neck' < *ušadaka-(?); šəlo 'near' Soyd š δ (?), wul- 'to throw' < *wid-, wolo 'irrigation channel' < vaidi-; wulo 'wife' < vadu-, $wul\bar{e}yo$ 'span' $< *wul\bar{a}ti$ -; xul 'perspiration' $< x^i a\bar{e}\delta a$ -, $x\bar{u}lo$ 'embroidered cap' $< xao\delta a$, $z^2 \gamma a l$ 'to run away' < zgad

Of uncertain or unknown etymology are $fy\bar{e}li$ 'a lie', $\gamma\bar{u}elo$ 'yokerope', $kul\gamma a$ 'a wild growing vegetable', pelicio 'fir-tree', selxiko 'sorrel', veliwo 'lightning', $vul^i\gamma\bar{o}r$, wur^igar 'shoulder-blade', wulid 'foot-print', wulai 'open', $wal\gamma$ 'feast' ($\langle *wadu-ka-? \rangle$), $wulye\gamma o$

¹ Cf Voc. s vv

² Cf Et Voc. Psht, sv lās

⁸ Cf § 51

'a small shrub', yelu 'stack of grain', 'yīla 'a little'; M yalko (Y yežlo) 'duck'

pa'lan 'saddle' and $x\bar{a}l$ 'taste' are probably lws Regarding pe'lek and polam v. Voc s vv.

In $m\ddot{x}$ 'to sit down', $t\dot{x}$, $\ddot{c}\dot{r}\ddot{x}$ - 'to fall', and possibly in $y\bar{e}\ddot{x}io$ 'nest', an early contraction has resulted in $*h\delta > *\vartheta > \check{x}^1$ Note also $u\breve{s}\breve{c}eno$ 'hay-stack' $< *v\bar{a}\breve{s}t\bar{a}n\bar{a} < *v\breve{a}stra-d\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ -

Ancient δ (d) in secondary contact with d < t resulted in $^t \delta > l$ Cf., eg, dzl 'he gives' $< dadati^2$ Regarding t+t cf § 47

58 $b > \beta$, v- occurs e.g. in $v\bar{i}o$ 'was' $< b\bar{u}ta$ -, vad- 'to tie' < band-; b-von 'root, bottom' < buna-, van 'long' < barošna-, etc., ef Voc s.vv.

Words of uncertain origin are M, Z vaynew 'yield of grain', viščo 'steep hillside' It is possible that var, $v\bar{e}r$ 'time' was borrowed from Prs at a time when this language has still β - from w-. In that case $p\bar{u}ze$ 'falcon' may be a later lw., borrowed from Prs. $b\bar{a}z$, while Y—M had as yet no initial b-.

At present b- is quite common, chiefly in lws, but also in native words with original *ham-b-

59. Examples of -v < -b- are $\bar{a}v\bar{\partial}r$ - 'to bring' $< \bar{a}\cdot bar$ -, $avl\bar{a}nd$ 'hem b- of a cloak' $< *abi\cdot d\bar{a}mant\bar{a}$ -, avlasto 'sleeve' $< abi\cdot dast\bar{a}$ -, $avl\bar{a}n$ 'bridle' (note w!) $< ^oaiwi\bar{\delta}\bar{a}na$ -, γurv - 'to seize' < *grb-, $dr\bar{u}v$ - 'to dance' Sogd $\bar{\delta}r'v\bar{\beta}$ -, $l\bar{o}$ - 'to graze' < *law- < *dab-, nov- 'to rain', $n\bar{v}$ 'rain' < nab-; $n\bar{v}v\bar{v}$ 'beak' $< *nabak\bar{a}$, $n\bar{v}v\bar{v}$ 'to take out' $< ni\bar{s}\cdot bar$ -; $r\bar{i}v$ 'rhubarb' $< *r\bar{a}ba$ -

In secondary contact with a voiceless sound we find f. afseno 'whet-stone', afsinyo 'ladder', afsirne 'summer-wheat' <*abi. Cf also the unvoicing of -v < *-bis in the obl pl. in -af and in maf 'you'.³

Note Yzh aveli, M, Z aveliyi 'both', but Y sh abeli.4

¹ Cf Shgh nev-

² Cf. § 231.

⁸ Cf §§ 199, 203

⁴ Cf § 88

In loan-words we often find v (or w) for Standard Prs -b-, but in most cases the fricative probably belongs already to Bad Prs Examples are, e.g.: Y ketru 'book'; (M $k^{o}t\bar{o}b$); $d\bar{v}w\bar{c}\bar{u}w$ 'torch'; $d\bar{u}\bar{o}va$ 'second watering'; Y $r_{i}kau$ (M $r_{i}k\bar{i}b$) 'stirrup', etc Note also $Par\bar{o}uko = Khow$. Parabek, n. of a village in Lutkuh

60 Initial ž- < j- occurs in ž- 'to speak' < *jat-, Y žīo (M jīnko) j- 'bowstring' < jyā-, žīlo 'hail' < *jārdā- (or lw '), žinko, žinko, žinko 'woman' < jaini- Y žaro 'poison' is probably a lw. from Khow. žū(u), žūg 'leather' seems to go back to *jauka-, but, in spite of Skr gav- (Kalasha gao) 'leather', it is perhaps doubtful whether it is permissible to assume a form with e-vowel of this root.

žib- 'to rise'; žaf- 'to chew', žingo 'n of a bird' and žunaye, etc 'boy' are of uncertain origin.

In Y—M, and also in Psht and Sgl, we find \check{z} - $<\check{\jmath}$ -, but c- $<\check{c}$ - 1 Evidently the dentalization of palatals in these dialects is later than the loss of occlusion in voiced stops (and $\check{\jmath}$) In Saka, on the other hand, $\check{\jmath}$ - results in \jmath - (written $\jmath s$ and dz), in Wakhi probably in \jmath -, and in Shgh. etc in z- $<\jmath$ - 4 Also Ossetic probably has j-, but the examples are few

The indigenous sound \dot{z} - and Prs \dot{j} - appear to be more or less interchangeable, and ought probably to be regarded as being variants of one and the same phoneme Cf., e.g., svv $jn^{\dagger}gar$, $znga^{\dagger}ren$, $za^{\dagger}h\bar{a}nd$, $ju^{\dagger}ana$, $znabe^{\star}$

61 Examples of -ż- are· îž 'snake' < ażι-, mıžaγıko 'mıst' < *mıjā-, mūž- -j'to move' < *ham-auż-(?), wžer- 'to look' < *awa-jaraya- pıžām'to entrust' is possibly borrowed from Khow. pežεm-, in its turn of
Ir origin. The derivation of raža 'platform' is uncertain

¹ In many, if not in all cases. Cf above § 44

² Cf Konow, Saka Studies, 25, Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt, 11

⁸ In joi 'bow-string'.

⁴ Eg in zīn- 'to beat'

⁵ Cf BSOS, VIII, 663 But notice Yr pəčām- < *pati-jam-?

Cerebrals

62 In words of Ir. origin cerebral sounds have been developed from rt > Y r (M r), rn > Y n $(M <math>ng^y)$, s(t)r, rs > s.

In lws from IA, especially from Khow, all types of cerebrals occur in Y Thus, with $t \cdot tok$ 'wild pear' < Khow $t\bar{o}ng$, tfo 'n of a bird' < tif, $par\bar{o}pati$ 'boil, sore' < Khow. parpat, $c\bar{o}te$ 'knuckle' < Khow cot, cot,

· We find \check{z} in $\check{z}a\check{z}\bar{\imath}ro$ 'chain' < Khow $jan'j\bar{\imath}r$, $I\check{z}$ 'n of a village' < Khow., but also in $\check{z}or\check{z}o$, $\check{z}or\check{z}o$ 'partridge', and $\check{z}imme\check{z}$ -, $\check{z}ime\check{z}$ - 'to pull up weeds' Reg. \check{c} , r and l v §§ 79

In a few, probably relatively old, lw.s from IA k^y has been substituted for t in Y · $kyo^ig\tilde{o}$, $\check{c}o^ig\tilde{o}o$ 'wild pear' < Khow $t\tilde{o}ng$ (cf. tok above), $k\partial^ikyaro$ 'Kafir dagger' < IA. $kat\tilde{a}ro$, etc.; Y pok^y 'husks' < Khow $ph\tilde{o}t$, Y $k\bar{u}k^ya$, M kutyo 'short' Wkh $k\partial t$, etc. < IA, $k\tilde{a}k^y$, etc. 'to boil' < *kat-(?), $re\check{s}k$ 'avalanche' < Khow rest nd probably became * $(n)g^y$ in mag^y - 'to rub'. Cf. the change of rt through *d to Sar g, and the transition of a cerebral into a velar in the childish pronunciation of E. Norw onth (written ordentlig) as onth.

¹ With Ir γ and IA t in the same word

² Cf. § 121

^{4 -} Kulturforskning

Surd Fricatives

- 63. Ancient x- remains in xo^ud 'to laugh', $x\bar{u}yo$ 'a spring', xoro x- 'donkey', etc ' xof 'scum, foam' and $xo\dot{s}$ 'to pull' have x < k- in other Pamir dialects, too ' Reg x < xw- v. § 98
- 64 Intervocalic -x- remains unchanged Thus max 'we', max 'peg' -x<maxxa-, anaxno 'nail' < *ā-nāxanā-; pīx 'span'. Sgl pēx; woxo
 'root-fibre' < *waixā-, etc. Reg other words with suffix -xă v.

 § 98

Words of uncertain origin are. $p \ni rx\bar{a}w$ - 'to eat with a spoon', fxaw- 'to shear', fxot- 'to seize', $l^y ox$ - 'to itch', poxayak 'temples', fərx- 'to stool' $< *fra-rix-(?); \check{x}urox$ - 'to shy'

šāxo 'branch' and rōxo 'cheek' are borr from Prs, and gow 'hole', muxan 'veranda'; tux 'steam'; braxā- 'to knock', krox 'scab', nax 'floor', eorox 'spark' are borrowed from Khow, or resemble Khow forms

In sandhi we find a sonorization of x- in Y vo $\gamma oi < vo$ xor 'own'.

- 65. Characteristic of Y—M is the palalalization of ϑ into \check{x} , a sound ϑ -which is probably also designed by Saka thth in haththa-'true' < *ha ϑya -.³ In initial, antevocalic position the only example of \check{x} -are $\check{x}um\hat{a}ne$ 'male ibex', a word of uncertain etymology, and the place-name $\check{X}ul\hat{i}$ 'T(h)li'.
- 66. Postvocalic ϑ occurs in γu'rɛx 'knot' < *graθa-, mıx 'day' < -ϑ*māϑya-, mōxe 'stick' < *māϑaka-, pīx 'arrow' < *pāϑa-, M paxəy
 'wide' < *paϑaka-, parvaxın 'knee-cap' < *pari-paϑanya-, pexıko
 'snare' < *pāϑyā + iko (?) It is uncertain whether pəzɛxı 'young
 male sheep', vəzāxo 'womb', and zāxko 'child-bearing' contain ancient
 -zaϑa- or *zaϑya-.⁴

Reg $ni\check{x}$ 'to sit down', $t/\check{c}i\check{x}$ - 'to fall', and $y\check{e}\check{x}io$ 'nest' <*nihid-, $ha\check{c}a$ -hid-, \bar{a} -hadya-, with $h\delta > \vartheta$, v. § 57

¹ V Voc s vv Reg xu'qor 'sword' v BSOS, VIII, 668

² Cf Voc svv

⁸ Cf Auc Prs hašiya-

⁴ Cf § 155.

The derivation of yexuo 'handmill' and of pčix- 'to break' is uncertain. $p_1x_0y_0$, $p_1x_0y_0$ 'saliva' ($< *p\vartheta u$ -?) shows the affinity between x and y.

 γch 'excrements' is probably borrowed from some other dialect $l \partial m \bar{i}$, pret of $l^{\partial} m \bar{o} n$ - 'to rub' is scarcely the regular phonetic outcome of *nima ∂ita -, from which we should expect * $l^{\partial} m \partial \tilde{x} i$ -, but an analogical formation

67. Also initial f- is of rare occurrence Examples are. $f\bar{\imath}a$ 'wooden f-spade'; $f\bar{a}r$ - 'to catch' Prs. $f\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}dan$ 'to want', f'sko 'nose'. Sgl. fusek, fiz 'breast' Wkh $p\bar{u}z$

fāru 'mill broom' is dissimilated from 'frāruv. fusfesīya 'small locust' looks like an onomatopoetical formation, and fagyike 'song' is of uncertain derivation.

68 Intervocalic -f- remains in . k³vfo 'hump' < *kaufā-, nvf 'navel', -fxof 'scum', wāf- 'to weave', k³vof- 'to groan' Prs. kafīdan 'to
crack', puf- 'to blow', xof- 'to cough', təfōv- 'to put fire to' <
*tafya- (?), etc.

. Cf also $vr\bar{o}f$ 'to fly', $\dot{z}of$ 'to chew'; $\dot{\jmath}\bar{o}f$ 'to send, command'. In $\dot{s}_{\ell}ft$ 'to plaster', etc the f is of secondary origin, cf § 228

Other words with f are paifar 'steep hillside', sofo 'earthen jar', zifkyan 'rolling pin' $(v + k^2)$, safšiyan 'armpit', F rastufi 'n. of a lake', seflot 'hoof'.

Sibilants.

69 Ir. s- remains in sayo 'shade', $s\bar{\imath}\gamma$ 'hare', $s\bar{a}l$ 'year' (lw?); s- seyi'o 'sand', surv 'hole', etc?

A number of words in s- are of uncertain etymology Thus, e.g.: səbrīm 'boiled fat', sofo 'earthen jar', suy 'strap', selxiko 'sorrel', suniko 'wooden shovel', sīniya 'sole', sāro 'below', sose 'heap of sheaves', sasto 'hillside', sizalyo 'tarantula'.

Reg s-< š- in šinjo cf § 135

¹ Cf. yumino 'anus'

² V Voc. s.vv

Also -s- remains unchanged Eg as- 'to come' < '\bar{a}-isa-, is-, -s-y\bar{i}s- 'to carry' < y\bar{a}s-, \gamma\bar{i}s- 'thread made of goat's hair' < ga\bar{e}sa-, \gammausk\pan 'cow-dung' < \gamma\bar{g}au-sakana-, k\bar{o}s- 'to search for' < kas- (?); los '10' < dasa, leso 'oats'. Sgl d\bar{o}s\bar{n}, nusiy 'the shady side of a valley' < \gammans\bar{a}ya-, pusur 'head' < \gamma\bar{p}\bar{a}tis\bar{a}rah- (?), ros- 'to arrive' (lw.?), r\bar{u}so 'fox' < \gammaraupas\bar{a}-, wos 'now, then' Psht (w)\bar{o}s, etc.

Of uncertain origin are loso 'rope' (Prs dasa 'fringe'?), ces 'what', \u03c4us- 'to worry', kuso 'maize-stalk', sose, sors 'heap of sheaves', wosa 'wide', etc

In nezyo, niyzo 'mucus of the nose's has been sonorized before γ Y haryəz (M hargas) 'a kind of eagle' corresponds to Prs hargas, but z appears in other dialects, too (v. Voc) Cf also yuwīz 'double bridle'. Khow $iw\bar{i}s$ (with $s < -z^{\varrho}$), bayaz 'bellowing' Sgl. bayas, $ram\bar{u}z$ M. LSI. 'deer' Psht $r\bar{a}m\bar{u}sai$ It is impossible to determine the special causes of the sonorization of s in these words

- 71 Initial z- remains Thus e.g., zīk 'knee' < zānuka-, zīl 'heart' z- <*zṛdya-, zamai 'son-in-law' < zāmātar-, zōmbå 'jaw' < *zambā; zoyno 'chin' < *zanaxā-, zəmargıre 'lizard' < zamarə-guz- (or lw?), zīt. 'yellow' < zaɪrıta-, zaxmo 'field' < *zamaxā-; zaxko 'child-bearing' < *zayā + ko; zīy- 'to bear' < zayazīvo 'crow' is probably a lw from Prs. and zōm, 'to yawn'
 - $z\bar{a}\gamma\bar{o}$ 'crow' is probably a lw from Prs, and $z\bar{o}m$ 'to yawn' from Khow¹ Reg last 'hand' $<*\delta asta$ < zasta-, cf. Et Voc. Psht s v $l\bar{a}s$
- Words with intervocalic -z- are too numerous to be given in full -zhere Examples are a'vἄz- 'to bring' < upa-az-, ızıko 'yester-eve';
 azīto 'barberry' < *ā-zarıtā-; azuzyo, wuyzəga 'frog' < vazayā- + kā,
 dīz- 'to bury' < *han-daız-, lizo 'fort' Prs dız; nuyōz- 'to swallow':
 Wanetsi yōz- 'to drink', mīz- 'to urinate' < maēz-, ne'rīz- 'to lıck'
 < nι-raız-; pəzežī 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < *patı-zaðyaka-, vuza
 'he-goat' < buza-, vezb- 'to tighten' < *abı-zamb-, vīzya 'arm above
 elbow' < būzu- + ka-; vəzān- 'to know' < *upa-(?)zan-, vəzäxo
 'pregnant' < *upa-zaðā-, wuzā- 'to be tired' < *wī-zāya-, wuzīā(w)-

¹ BSOS VIII, 662

'to extinguish' < *uz-aya- (caus), wuzīr 'yesterday' < uzayara-, x̄irrizen 'the day before yesterday' < *\partia-azana, zo 'I' < azəm Of uncertain origin are \gammaza 'room', niaske, niāzyila 'yawn', sizalyo 'tarantula'; wizinga M Z cotton thread Reg pūze 'falcon' cf. § 58 Reg the suffix -yuz v. § 193

73 In the following words Y—M s-corresponds to Av s-(< *qy-, s-*ks-), or to s- of other Ir dialects: sūn 'went, became' < ·suta-, sam- 'to drink' < sam-, sifc(ik)o 'waterfall'. Prs. siftan 'to trickle', sifon 'clay for plastering', sift- 'to plaster'. Bal. sēfay 'rod for applying collyrium', etc (but v s v), sām 'ripe'. Bal sam 'moist'(?), suv- 'to suck' Wkh sap-; sīž 'vulture' Sgl sūž. Cf also sile 'neck'. Av ušadā-(?)

A number of words with s- are lws, or of unknown origin 1

74 In E Ir, and among W Ir languages in Kurdish, there is a -δ-tendency to sonorize intervocalic δ, and the resulting *-ξ-, is subject to further changes. There is evidently some connection between this development and the sonorization of intervocalic surd stops We find that Sogd, Yaghn and Wkh, which preserve intervocalic tenues, do also retain -δ- as an unvoiced sound ² But the problem remains why Ir δ was more exposed to assimilation than -δ-, while in European languages the opposite seems to be the case. ³ Probably the back articulation of Ir -δ- weakened its resistance against the influence of the surrounding vowels The resulting -ξ- has been preserved in earlier Saka, in S Psht and in Shgh (γ) But it was an unstable sound, which in N Psht changed into g (Ghilzai also γ), in Roshani into μ, and in Sgl and Sar. into l, l In later Saka

and in Par it tends to disappear completely, while in Orm and Y—M it developed probably through a sound resembling the

¹ V Voc s.vv.

 $^{^2}$ Oss retains unvoiced -8- < -5-, but sonorizes -t- > -d-, etc, thus developing on parallel lines with most W.Ir dialects in this respect

⁸ Cf Chuwash (Turkish) -š- > -l-, v Grammont, Traité de Phonétique, 2061

'cerebral y' of Burushaski, into y, which has in many cases disappeared in Y—M. It may be noted that $*y < \dot{s}$ has no palatalizing effect on the preceding vowel, cf $\dot{a}bruo$ 'pear' < *hamrautā-, but špūo 'louse' < spis-. The intermediate stage \check{z} has been preserved through early metathesis in $yar\check{z}o$ 'beard' < *raižā (< *raišā), from which also Psht * $\check{z}aur\bar{a} > \check{z}\bar{\imath}ra$.

Examples of y, $0 < -\check{s}$ - are $\mathring{a}^ib\bar{u}ya$ 'moraine'. Ishk $ambol < *hampi\check{s}a(ka\cdot)$ (?), $fr\bar{i}\gamma o$ 'flea' $< {}^*fru\check{s}ik\bar{a}\cdot; f irmo$ 'to forget' $< {}^*framu\check{s}\cdot$ (v Voc. s v.), $\gamma\bar{u}(\bar{\imath})$, etc (Mm $\gamma\bar{u}\bar{\imath}l^2$) ' 'ear' $< gao\check{s}a\cdot$, $m\bar{u}o$, $m\bar{u}yo$, etc 'sheep' < Av. $ma\check{e}\check{s}\bar{\imath}\cdot; n\cdot$ 'to go out' $< {}^*ni\check{s}\cdot\dot{\imath}\cdot; ni$ 'vo hear' (G $nu\gamma\bar{u}\check{s}\cdot^2$) $< {}^*ni\cdot gau\check{s}\cdot\dot{\imath}\cdot; ni$ 'sat down' $< {}^*ni\cdot\dot{s}asta\cdot$ (or ${}^*ni\cdot hasta\cdot\dot{\imath}\cdot; ni\dot{u}al\bar{o}\cdot, ni\dot{u}al\bar{o}\cdot\dot{\imath}\cdot$ 'to make to sit down' $< ni\cdot\dot{s}a\delta aya\cdot, ni\dot{u}\cdot\dot{\imath}\cdot; ni$ 'black' $< {}^*an\cdot aru\check{s}aka\cdot$ (?), $sp\bar{u}o$, $spuya^3$ 'louse' $< spi\check{s}\cdot, vr\bar{\imath}\cdot$ 'to break' $< {}^*brai\check{s}\cdot, yo$ 'that' $< a\check{e}\check{s}a\cdot, yuvg$ 'arrow' $< i\check{s}u\cdot + ka\cdot, y\bar{u}ga$ 'ear of wheat' $< {}^*au\check{s}aka\cdot, zinio$ 'daughter-in-law' $< {}^*snu\check{s}\check{a}\cdot.$

Words of more uncertain or unknown origin are $g\bar{u}y$ 'to knead' (v Voc), $\gamma \ni n\bar{\imath}go$, $xn\bar{\imath}ga$ 'sneezing' $< *x(\check{s})n\bar{\imath}\check{s}a$, $\check{s}\bar{u}\imath ko$ 'collar-bone' Bal. $sr\bar{o}\check{s}$ 'elbow' (?), $k\imath\bar{o}$ 'labour, ploughing', $q\imath'\bar{a}\gamma$, etc 'bull' $ux'\check{s}o$, etc. '6' is probably derived from $x\check{s}va\check{s}$, not from $*x\check{s}wa\check{s}a,^4$ onte the different accent in avdo, $a\check{s}\check{c}o$ in some forms of Y Reg $\check{s}\imath le$ ($< u\check{s}a\check{o}\bar{a}$), cf §§ 164, 109.

75 In a great number of words we find Y—M - \dot{s} - Most of these words are borrowed from Prs or Khow, others contain an original group sr ($> \check{s}$, \dot{s})

But in some cases - \hat{s} - appears to go back to Ir *- $\hat{s}\hat{s}$ - ($<\hat{k}s, qy$), which in Av. is written \hat{s} , thus coalescing with $\hat{s} < s$ (after i, u, r). Thus $di\hat{s}$ - 'to think' could be derived from 'han- $di\hat{s}\hat{s}a$ - (<-* $di\hat{k}$ - $s(\hat{k})e$ -), but "han-disya- is also possible, $nuv\hat{a}\hat{s}$ - 'to comb' points to "ni- $pa\hat{s}\hat{s}a$ -

¹ Cf Lorimer, Bur Grammar, 6.

² G 's $\gamma \tilde{u} \tilde{s}$ can scarcely be a correct dialect form.

 $^{^3}$ Y sh, r $\check{s}^{\jmath}p\bar{u}o$ with early assimilation of $spi\check{s}>*\check{s}pi\check{s}$?

⁴ Gauthiot, JA 1916, 244

<*ni-pekse-, and nišāž-, nijāš- 'to show' to *ni-čašša-, Av čaš-nuviš- 'to write' is probably a lw , but koša 'valley' can scarcely be borrowed from Prs kaš, and ought to be derived from *kaššaka-(v. Voc. s v.) Also avyuš, yivguš 'lap' possibly contains *kašša-. Cf also firšōn- 'to shake' < *fra-ššan-

Words which possibly contain ancient $\dot{s}\dot{s} < qy$ are fruse 'muzzle'.¹ Av fraša-, pšaī 'ripe' < *paššaka- < *pačya- Also xašəy 'friend', kaš 'piebald' (Shgh $\check{c}\check{u}\check{z}$, etc), yaše 'good' (Prs gaš) may have original -šš-, but the origin of these words is unknown. Nor is it possible to determine the original form of $\gamma \check{u}\check{s}$ 'meat' Regarding $\check{c}e\check{s}$ 'not', which Gauthiot would connect with Av. $a\check{e}\check{s}a$, v. Voc s v

Other words of unknown origin containing -š- are. nišōk 'jaw', kurušo 'Angelica', ašasto 'a kind of small berries'; ušun- 'to neigh' In some of these words š may be incorrect for š

Nasals.

76 Initial and intervocalic nasals remain, except in the cases when n is dissimilated into l (v § 136) ²

Examples of n- are no 'not', $n\bar{o}u$ '9', $n\bar{o}b$ 'dew', nif 'navel', n-etc. anaxno 'nail' has a 'prothetic' a-. The nature of the relation between $d\bar{u}r$ 'to-day' and Sgl $n\bar{e}r$, etc. is unknown

Intervocalic -n- remains in ken- 'to do', 'to dig', mən 'my', -n yunıa 'hair', aspəlan 'stable', nānoyo 'grain' $< *d\bar{a}nak\bar{a}$ -, $st\bar{n}\gamma o$ 'supine' $< *ust\bar{a}nak\bar{a}$ -, $u\bar{n}$ - 'to see', etc Note M stun(ek) 'throat' Psht $st\bar{u}nai$, but Y $ust\bar{u}\gamma a$ with apparent loss of n

Initial m- in $m\bar{a}$ - 'to measure', moyuso 'fly', $m \partial l\bar{a}n$ 'waist', $m \partial r$ - m- 'to die', etc

Intervocalic -m- occurs in frayāmə, etc 'he-goat'; lāmo 'village'; -m-lamdo 'hem', lōmago 'snare', nəmālyo 'salt', rīm- 'to please', sām 'yoke-peg', šām- 'to drink', zamaı 'son-in-law', and also in mo 'this' $< \imath ma$, max 'we' $< a(h)m\bar{a}xam$.

¹ From which Khow, fros

 $^{^{2}}$ Reg $mr > br \cdot v$ § 120

In ind 'so much' (*imanta-), avland 'hem of a cloak' (*abidamanta- $^{\circ}$), frayingo 'she-goat' (cf. frayamo) m has been subject to assimilation. The etymology of $s^{\circ}mts$ 'blunt' is unknown.

Liquids

77. Initial r remains. E.g. $r\bar{u}\bar{\imath}$ 'bowels', $r\bar{\imath}\gamma o$ 'vein', $r\bar{u}\gamma^{\flat}n$ 'clarified butter'; rok 'colour', etc

If rin''g'a 'slippery' is derived from *rix*inaka- or a similar form, r- corresponds to l- in Prs la*in. Note also $ne\cdot riz$ - 'to lick' $l\~ur$ - 'to flee' is transposed from $*r\=ul$ - 1

The r- in Y rispen 'iron' (M yuspen) is unexplained.

Intervocalie -r- occurs in $im\bar{a}r$ - 'to count', γar 'stone', $\gamma ar\gamma$ -r- 'heavy' $\langle gouru$ -, $l\bar{a}r$ - 'to have', $\bar{a}v \rightarrow r$ - 'to bring', $\dot{c}\dot{s}\bar{\iota}r$, $\dot{c}f\bar{u}r$ '4', $pargu\check{s}\check{c}e$ 'finger-ring', etc

da 'in, into' may be a lw from Bad Prs, but Y—M loss of · -r in an unstressed word is equally possible.

 $z\bar{u}l$ 'difficult' may have got its l from $zul\hat{a}war < z\bar{o}r\bar{a}war$.

- 78. Y—M l- is found chiefly in words beginning with ancient d- 2 l- and in lws There are a few words of unknown origin, such as. $ling\bar{o}n$ 'handmill', langau 'bucket', and we find an unexplained prothetic l- in Y $laxs\partial r\partial$ 'ice' (M $yaxs\partial r\partial y$), and, according to Gauthiot, in $li\bar{s}^{-1}k^{y}\bar{u}n$ 'female breast' (M $yi\bar{s}k^{y}una$, Y $i\bar{s}\bar{c}in$, etc.) But there is no instance of IE l > Y—M l.
- 79. Y l renders Kati r' in the lw plac 'cheese' But we usually r find Y r (or the variant l) for Khow l (δ) Thus, e g · blacā- 'to collect', bamboli 'beard of a maize cob'; brok, blok 'knuckle', kere 'shield', kārīak 'yoke-peg', krīnsar 'walking stick', kalakəri 'wrinkles',

¹ Cf § 137

² V § 56

h-

krabəre 'lamb's wool' Cf. also $loh-r\bar{\imath}n_j$ 'double' Khow ' $jur\imath n_j$ ', pa'koro ($pa'k\bar{\imath}ol$) 'woollen cap', krox 'scab, incrustation', $lu\bar{u}$, $l\bar{u}$ 'pinemarten' < Khow '?

Glottal.

80 Initial h- has been dropped, as in most E Ir dialects

Thus, e g in avdo '7', ušk 'dry', yovurso 'juniper' < hapərəsı-, probably also in $\bar{\imath}dou$ 'fever' < *han- $\bar{\imath}tapa$ -(?), å $^{i}bruo$ 'pear' < *hanrautā-, å $b\bar{u}ya$ 'moraine' < *hanp $\bar{\imath}saka$ -, $\bar{\imath}da$ 'slave' < *hantaka- (?), y $\bar{\imath}trzvn$ 'millet' < *(h) $\bar{\imath}trzana$ (?), Y Id $\partial\gamma$, M Yidg < *Hinduka-

With loss of the initial vowel we find $\check{z}a$ 'from' $< ha\check{c}a$; $\check{c}\iota\check{x}$. 'to fall' $< ha\check{c}a \cdot h\iota da$, $bax\check{s}$ 'to divide' $< ham \cdot bax\check{s}$ (or lw.), $d\bar{z}z$ 'to bury' $< han \cdot dazz$ (and some other verbs in d-), $g\bar{u}y$ 'to knead' $< han \cdot gau\check{s}$ (?), of $\check{a}gung^y$ 'dough'

h- has been dropped also in some lws. Thus avda, abda '17', amsāyo 'neighbour', ālq 'throat'. But note also (h)oč 'melted fat' (from Khow), hasa'īne, osa'īne 'handkerchief' (from Khow.), hazār, azōr '1000', etc

The result of this recent introduction of h- has been that, just as in some Psht dialects, a 'Cockney' h- has been introduced in some words where it is devoid of any etymological signification. In fact Yd h is probably phonologically insignificant Cf e.g. $h\bar{u}\gamma$ 'money', $(h)adam\partial$ 'limb', hade 'slave'; $h\partial nadiy$ 'out of breath', $(h)or\gamma$ 'work', harko 'back', huro, wuro 'there'

Intervocalic -h- likewise is lost $s\bar{\imath}\gamma$ 'hare' < *sahaka-, mux 'month' -h- < *māhaxa-; wāro 'summer' < *wāhṛtā-, xā- 'to thresh' < xºah-, $\bar{\imath}$ no 'blood' < vohuni-; hū γ 'price' < *wahāka- (or lw ?).

Reg $h + \delta > \vartheta > \check{x}$, v § 57

Semivowels.

Antevocalic w- is preserved as a semivowel in a great number w of words. Thus, e.g., wīn 'wind', wāf- 'to weave', wofšīo 'wasp', wulya 'kidney', wīn- 'to see', etc

Before u there is a sporadic loss of w-, frequently in Y—especially in Yg, r and B—more seldom in M We find, however, that forms with and without w- may be used by the same person, and it looks as if w- had no phonological significance before u V Voc s.vv wulai, wulo, wurw-, wurz, wus, (w)usiyo, wuza-, uscenter on. In $wallow{u}$, wulo, wulo, wury I always heard w- Reg. hay < (w)ay, of Voc s v

wisto '20', wul- 'to throw', wul- 'go 'span', etc, prove that w- was preserved before original \imath yiston 'felt' can therefore, even apart from other reasons, scarcely be derived from *wi-star(a)na- (y)\(\bar{\end{bod}}'\) presents special problems in Y—M, just as in most other Ir dialects

 $v^2z\bar{a}n$ -, $v/wz\bar{o}n$ - 'to know' < *wv-zan- (9 v Voc) possibly has vz- < wz-.

82. Initial y- remains in yōu 'grain', yūγ 'yoke', yēγən 'liver', yuxs- 'y 'to learn'. Cf also yūι 'husband's brother' < *yāta- (?); yexno 'handmill' < *yą∂ra- (?), yūγ(-yāmo) 'three days hence' < *yuta- (?) But the function of y- has changed its character through the development of prothetic y-

yāmo 'the day after to-morrow' and yōba 'dance', etc are of unknown origin Note axlən besides yaxlən 'cold' 2

Prothetic w- and y-

83 Common to the Pamir dialects is the tendency, to some extent Proth walso shared by Psht, towards the development of wor you before initial vowels. This tendency, which betrays a weakness of phono-

¹ Cf below § 83.

² Reg. laxsərə '1ce' v. § 78

logical, if not of a phonetic nature of original w- and y-,¹ had not been fully developed before the period of complete separation between the various dialects. Therefore the results of the common tendency vary from dialect to dialect, and also within Y—M itself.

Thus we find, e.g. Y yasto 'bone', yūrzən 'millet', yāre 'flour'; yašk 'tear', Wkh yašč, yīrzn, (yūm), yašk, but Sgl wastuk, wuždan, wulōk, āšīk.

Prothetic w- is rare in Y—M. It occurs before u, and in a few words only, chiefly in M

wurzey Mm, Z, G 'straight' (h'urzuy, Mm, g, Y. wusk Mm, g, Z, G, Ysh, r 'dry' usk Yzh, g, B

wušk'- M(g) Z 'to rise'

wuzīr Mm, etc Z, Yzh, etc 'yestereve' uzīr B wušōu- Mg, (g), Z 'to call' ušā(w)- Mm, G, Y

But the unstressed initials in ustušė 'to jump', usxūbun 'sleepless', etc are always without w-

. 84. Prothetic y- plays a more important part in Y—M than w-, Proth y-probably owing to the general palatalizing drift of this dialect-group ² It is universal before accentuated ă-. Thus, e.g. yāde 'blind' < anda-(ka-), yasto 'bone' < ast-, yārme 'arm above elbow' < arəmōo, yāšk 'tear' < *asruka-, yovurso 'juniper' < hapərəsi-; yān- 'to grind' < *arna-, yâuyo 'water' < *āpakā-, yūr 'fire' < *ārta-; yūrzvn 'millet' < *(h)ārzana-; M yūspən 'iron' < *āspana-, etc Before ancient ai, au and ½ yeya 'bridge' < haētu-; yūya 'ear of corn' < *aušaka-, yarš 'bear' < arəša-

yurv 'mouth' and $y\bar{u}men\dot{a}$ 'n of a plant' are of unknown derivation.

 $^{^1}$ Cf the somewhat similar phenomena in the Slavonic languages. V. e.g Meillet, Le Slave commun², § 40.

² Cf. Gauthiot MSL, XIX, 140

The prothesis does not occur in an unaccented syllable. Thus we find 'yer'sio 'barley', but arsə'min 'barley bread', and similarly 'yūrzvn 'millet', but arzə'min, yasp 'horse', but 'aspəlan' Other examples are å'būya 'moraine', å'bruo 'pear', a'gidro 'grape', agi'mīn 'honey', o'gu'sco 'finger', o'yuzo 'walnut', o'yoi 'came', etc. Cf also av'dō '7', a's'cō '8' (Skr saptā, astāu?)

Y 'afseno, M 'yufse''no, fsēune 'whetstone' is a special and difficult case

While Y on the whole has an aversion to initial yi, this combination is quite frequent in M, especially in Mm and G, and in some words M yi, with differentiation, corresponds to Y i-, irrespective of the original nature of the initial.

Thus, with ancient (h) ι -· Y ι mar-. M ι yumar- 'to count' (but also B ι yūmra) ι h ι imar-, Y, Mg, Z ι ze Mm, ti ι y ι yya 'goat skin bag' ι * ι zya ι ka-, Y, Mti ι Id ι y, etc. Mm ι Y ι Id ι g 'member of the Yd speaking tribe'. A differentiation may have taken place in M ι y ι -. In ι Yed' ι 2 ι 3—with ι 2 through umlaut?— ι 3- has been retained in Y

With ancient u-' Y, Mt, g ilir Mm yılar, etc. 'belly' < *udarya-, Y, Mt ımoyo' Mm yumago < *uxsmah + kā

With ancient a-: $\bar{\imath}z$: $y\bar{\imath}z$ 'snake' $< az\bar{\imath}\imath$, $d\bar{\imath}r$, $ud\bar{\imath}r$. $yud\bar{\imath}r$ 'other' $<*ant\bar{\imath}ra$ -, uda yuda 'slave' <*han-taka- Note Yuw $\bar{\imath}m$. Iw $\bar{\imath}m$ 'n. of a village in Munjan'; yuw $\bar{\imath}z$ 'double bridle' (Y') Khow $u\bar{\imath}s$.

Cf also s vv. 1moyō, īno, 1ryoyo, 1s-, īščiy, 1ščīn, 1xo, 1xiko, 1xčogo, 1zma, Iydek, and ken- (1ken- yıken-)

85 Intervocalic -w- has been retained in γawo (and γavo) 'cow'; -wnawoγo 'new', nāwoγo 'mill-race', pərwīž- 'to sieve'; tēw- 'to stir'
<*tāwaya- (?), uṣā(w)- 'to call' < *us-srāwaya-, with loss of initial
vowel in wo 'that' < ava-, wāst- 'to place' < *awa-stā-, cf. also
huro, wūro 'there' < avaθra (in unstressed position)

Final -w- becomes vocalized, or forms part of a diphthong in $l\bar{\imath}u$ 'bad'; $y\bar{\delta}u$ 'grain', $n\bar{\delta}u$ '9'.

¹ With recent change of accent. Cf $\bar{a}\gamma d$ - 'to dress' $<*\bar{a}^{\dagger}\gamma und$ -

In lərovə 'illness', lur've 'ill' < *a-druwaka-, ləro'vo, lərawa' 'reaping': Prs. dırau, yurvo, yərwa 'throat'; yavo, yawo 'cow' the semivowel shows a tendency to change into a fricative This explains the -f of the encltic pron. 2 pl,¹ and of fkyıyıko 'alone' < * $\bar{e}fk$ - < * $\bar{e}wk$ The development of *aıwa-> yū 'one' has parallels in other Ir dialects. Cf § 152

Intervocalic -y- occurs in $p\bar{o}ya$ 'sour milk', oyim 'I go' (3 sg. $y\bar{i}$) -y- <*ayayami, \check{x}^uroi , etc., '3' $< \vartheta r\bar{a}y\bar{o}$, $fr\bar{a}i\gamma o$, $f^{\vartheta}r\bar{a}\gamma o$ 'yoke-rope' $<*frayug\bar{a}$. But $s\bar{a}\gamma o$ 'shade' $<*s\bar{a}yak\bar{a}$. In unstressed position, or in compounds, aya coalesced with $ai: p\bar{i}stan$ 'udder' <*payah- $st\bar{a}na$ -, $la\check{z}\bar{i}no$ 'pile of wood' and $par\check{z}\bar{i}n$ 'hedge' (<° $\check{c}ayan\check{a}$), $a^{\imath}larsino$, $y\bar{u}v\ddot{a}rsin$ 'threshold', 'upper door-sill' (<° $sayan\check{a}$)

Groups of Consonants

66 Groups of consonants have been subject to changes and modifications through the usual factors assimilation, differentiation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. In most cases it will be quite clear which principle has been at work, and it will be more convenient for the purpose of presenting a general survey of the phonetic development in Y—M to arrange the material according to the nature of the ancient Ir groups of consonants. I have chosen the first consonant of the group as a basis for the classification.

No groups of consonants beginning with a surd occlusive existed in Anc Ir, and the only example of a group beginning with the surd palatal affricate is Av čvant-, represented by the possibly genuine M čad 'how many' (Y čand is borrowed from Prs).

Reg recent combinations of surd occlusives with other consonants of § 40.

¹ Cf 231

First Component a Voiced (Stop or) Fricative

87. We have no means of deciding whether $lu\gamma do$ 'daughter' is gd derived direct from a $dug \partial d\bar{a}$, $du\gamma da$, or from * $duxt\bar{a}$, with regular change of $xt > \gamma d^{-1}$ The same remark applies to some of the preterites in γd^{-2}

There is no certain instance of ancient $gz = ma\gamma z$ 'marrow' is gz prob a lw. $ro\gamma z$ 'woman's cloak' is of unknown origin

Original gn (γn) is retained, but with development of a svarabhakti gn vowel, in $r\bar{u}\gamma \partial n$ 'clarified butter', $na'\gamma \partial n$, 'bread' < * $na\gamma na$ -; $xu'y\bar{e}\gamma \partial no$ 'sister-in-law' < * $xwah\bar{a}$ - $gn\bar{a}$ The placename $Ma\gamma nawul$ may possibly contain Av $ma\gamma na$ - 'naked', but ancient xn is also possible in this word and in $\gamma \partial nul$ - 'to bleat'. Reg. $\gamma^{\partial} n\bar{\imath}go$ 'sneezing', v. § 96.

In gr., too, a svarabhakti vowel is developed. $\gamma u' r \epsilon \check{x}$, $\gamma^{\circ} r \tilde{o} \check{x}$ 'knot' gr. $\langle *gra\vartheta a$, M $\gamma^{\circ} r u v d$, $\gamma^{\circ} r u v d$ 'seized' prob $\langle *gr u f t a$, $^{\circ} \gamma u v v o$, $\gamma u r v a$ 'throat' $\langle *\gamma^{\circ} r u u \tilde{a} \langle gr \tilde{u} v \tilde{a}; \gamma u' r o i, \gamma^{\circ} r \tilde{u}$ 'earth' Yaghn $\gamma^{\circ} r i k$, etc Reg $\gamma \partial r i v \tilde{o} v$ 'to creak' v Zar. p 145 f.

Just as is the case in many other Ir dialects, internal groups -gr with r as the second component are transposed. In this manner it is possible to avoid a hard group without adding a vowel, as is necessary in initial position. The only example of -gr- is trr_{γ} 'sharp'

Ancient gw is possibly contained in l^3rov^3 'illness', lur^4ve 'ill', -gw if < dright. But v Voc s vv

88. Ancient -dn- possibly in k^yal - $\gamma ereno$ 'bald-headed eagle' if < dn*- $grdn\bar{a}$ - (??) Reg afsIrne 'summer-wheat', v s v

The epenthesis in * $\delta^{\gamma}r$ - must be older than the change of δ into l, drsince we find $l\partial r < *dr$ -, and we can scarcely assume a development $*\delta r > *lr$ -

Examples are $l \bar{\sigma} r \bar{\iota}$ 'to reap' < * $dr \bar{u}y$ (?), $l \bar{\sigma} r \bar{\sigma} v \bar{\sigma}$ 'reaping' < * $dr a v \bar{u}$ -, $l \bar{\sigma} r \bar{\sigma} f \bar{s} \sigma$ 'awl' Prs $dir a f \bar{s}$, $l \bar{\sigma} r \bar{u} v \bar{\sigma} v \bar{\sigma}$ 'sickle' < * $dr \bar{u} a \bar{\sigma} v \bar{\sigma}$

¹ Cf § 90

² Cf § 232.

³ Y yurd is a back-formation from the present yur-

• Words with Y—M dr are either lw.s (e.g. dril 'inflated skin', droxum 'silver' from Khow, drušč, etc. 'rough', d(1)raxt 'tree' from Prs), or contain ancient -ndr-. Thus $dr\bar{u}v$ - 'to dance' (if not a lw), $d^{2}ro$ -'to fear', dri- 'to pour out' < *han-d-, dram 'inside' < *antarahmi

In l^3royo 'clear sky' $< ridrak\bar{a}$, and l^3rovo 'illness' $< ridraka^{-1} - dr$ the initial vowel has been dropped at an early date. On the analogy of -qr > -ry and -br > -rv, we might expect Y-M *-rl- < -dr, but this supposition is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, we find Y $m_{\theta}(n)draye$, M mulragi 'silver neck-ring' < *mudraka(ka) (v Voc. s v), which, if not borrowed, points to a different development of -dr. It is, of course, not surprising that $-\delta r$ -should be treated in a special manner Cf also Y poškedrž (pošgirdio) 'dung of goats and sheep', which may contain a form -*drvy < *drti, cf. Wkh dart, etc

Initial dw- (δw -) in the first instance became δv -, with assimilation dwof w to a preceding fricative, and was then changed into $l(\theta)v$ -Examples are l'vor 'door' (cf l'voro 'rafter' < 'doorplank'?), M $l^{3}v\bar{o}n$ - 'to winnow' < dvan- Y $l^{3}vaza$ 'dough' and $l^{3}vax\bar{c}e$, $layaf\bar{c}i$ 'torch' are of unknown origin loh, etc. '2' is probably derived from *duwā.

In Y l'ban- 'to winnow' the fricative has been changed into the occlusive in accordance with a tendency prevailing in this dialect under certain favorable conditions. Cf Voc s vv xūbun 'sleep', zevryo 'birch'

Intervocalic -dw- occurs in yalv 'dog' $< ga\delta va$ -, where there is dwno phonetic necessity for the development of a svarabhakti-vowel 89. Initial br- becomes v(a)r-3 Thus vrai, $v^2r\hat{a}i$ 'brother', vri- 'to brbreak' < *brais-, vrīvo 'eyebrow', vroc- 'to fry' (v Voc). M vrīsum 'silk' and Y varut 'mustache' are ancient lws from Prs, vrazidine 'pillow' is probably borrowed from Khow

¹ Or, with Gauthiot, < *drivina (cf lurive 'ill')?

² V § 102, and cf Av db-, b- < dv-

³ The svarabhaktı vowel is not constant in this group

In intervocalic position we find metathesis (cf. $-r\gamma$ - < -gr-) surv 'hole' < *subra-

An uncertain instance of bd is M $\bar{o}vd$ 'ford', if $< {}^{\dagger}\bar{a}$ -bda-.

bd

First Component a Surd Fricative

First Component x or f

90 Ir xt results in Y—M γd Thus bayd 'divided' < *ham-baxta, xt pərwöyd 'sifted' < *parı-wixta, təyd 'cut' < *taxta, 'vədayd 'mixed' < *abr-han-taxta, cf wuyd 'found place' wuj- Regarding luydo 'daughter' cf § 87 It is quite possible that this word is derived from a form in xt, and the same remark applies to preterites of roots in $\check{z} <$ *gh awayd 'hung up', mūyd 'moved', lūyd 'milked', and trayd 'bound'

Of unknown origin are $zu\gamma d$ 'poured out', $m\partial l\bar{o}n\dot{z}\partial mu\gamma d\partial y$ 'hunch-backed', and the place-name $Yu\gamma d\bar{a}k$ (<*yuxta-?)

Regarding the later formations yuxt 'learnt' (yuxs-) and $nu(v) \bar{u}xt$ 'wrote' (nuvis-) cf. § 232 čaxt (v Voc) is probably borr. from Prs.

Ancient ft > vd Thus avdo '7', suvdo 'shoulder', $x^u \check{s}uvd$ 'sweet' $ft < x\check{s}vvpta$; cf. also a number of preterites in vd < ft, § 231 In roots in f, however, ft has been reintroduced in the preterite; thus e.g. vaft 'wove', v. § 231

tavdoyo 'n of a tree' is of unknown origin; zivde-raus 'bat' ('flying-fox'?) possibly contains the original past stem of zīb- 'to rise'

In the ancient lw. $s\bar{a}vde$ 'basket', and in the Pres 3 sg forms of the type $a\gamma d\bar{u}vd$ 'he dresses (somebody else)' vd goes back to *-v(a)t-, cf. § 47.

This tendency towards the sonorization of the ancient groups xt

¹ V Voc s v. tīž-

and ft is common to all E Ir dialects ¹ We find γd , vd ² in Y—M, Sgl-Ishk, Wkh, Yazgh, Yaghn ³ and Oss. The Shgh group has vd $(v\delta)$, but γd has developed further into vd, vd (wd) Also Sogd probably had γd , vd (βd) , ⁴ although it is possible that the intermediate stage γt , βt , was still preserved ⁵

Regarding the development of these groups in Saka cf. Konow, Saka Studies, pp 17, 27, etc., and Em neuer Saka-Dialekt, 17. The further weakening of vd, γd , which is characteristic of Saka, takes place also in Psht with regard to ft, and possibly with regard to xt.

Also in Wanetsi ⁸ and Ormuri ⁹ we find further reduction of xt and ft.

Probably in E Ir. x and f were first sonorized before t, and at a later stage t was assimilated into d^{10} It is remarkable that this sonorization has taken place even in such dialects as Sogd, Yaghn. and Wkh, where intervocalic t-remains. The groups $x\hat{s}$, $f\hat{s}$ are not affected by this tendency, t and Chr. Sogd. even preserves t before the voiced consonant t, while sonorizing it before t 12 Partial

¹ Including Orm, but not Par, which has xt, ft > t

² In some cases γδ, vδ

³ Only vd occurs in the material available to me.

⁴ Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 23, 113, Reichelt, Soghd Handschr. II, 2 Gauthiot, Gramm Sogd I, 127 sq, 147 sq βt but xt, Benveniste II, 17, 21 sq βt xt (but 144 *avd '7')

⁵ The forms $\delta wxth$, βxth occur, together with $w\gamma tw$, in Letter No I which does not clearly distinguish between γ and x (cf. Reichelt, 1 c).

⁶ Thus owo '7', to 'heat', but tod, f tanda 'hot', ūdə, wowd 'asleep'

⁷ Cf sə 'burnt' < *suxta-, tə 'went' < *taxta-, tər-lə 'female cousin' < * t_I wya $duxt\bar{a}$ -. But note $s\bar{a}t_I$ 'to protect', $w\bar{a}t$ 'fried' (cf Saka $br\bar{y}$ 3- 'to fry') with t < xt It is, however, possible that in this words the past stem was secondary and based upon the present

⁸ Cf NTS, IV, 160 tau 'hot', wa 'washed' < *wixtaka-

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Cf IIFL, I, 333 $t\bar{o}k$ 'hot', $h\bar{o}$ 'seven', $d\bar{u}(w)a$ 'daughter'

¹⁰ Cf Zaza aut < aft (but at < axt)

¹¹ But in Badakhshi, etc. kauš = kafš, etc

¹² Also Buddh Sogd. 7m ought probably to be interpreted as xm

^{5 -} Kulturforskning

parallels may be adduced eg from French, but the EIr. phenomenon is difficult to explain.²

93 No certain examples of ancient $x\check{c}$, $f\check{c}$ occur $nax\check{c}ir$ 'male ibex' $x\check{c}$, $f\check{c}$ is a lw., $lax\check{c}io$ 'small goatskin bag' is possibly derived from * $la\check{c}k$ -, it is uncertain whether $l\eth vax\check{c}e$ or $layaf\check{c}i$ 'large conifer' has preserved the original sequence of consonants, and also in $nax\check{c}e$ 'it drips', $ix\check{c}ogo$ 'husband's brother's wife', and $ix vex\check{c}-(?)$ 'roasted' ix is probably of secondary origin

In $\tilde{s}if\tilde{c}(ik)o$, $\tilde{s}iv\tilde{c}a$ 'waterfall', etc \tilde{c} belongs to a suffix, $kaf\tilde{c}io$ 'spoon' is a lw, and the derivation of $kuf\tilde{c}^iliy$ 'stockings' is unknown

94. But $x\check{s}$ and $f\check{s}$ have been preserved better than in any other $x\check{s}$ modern Ir dialect ³

Examples of $x\bar{s}$ - are $x\bar{s}\bar{\imath}ra$ 'milk', $x^u\bar{s}uvd$ 'sweet', $x^s\bar{s}ovo$ 'night', $x\bar{s}\bar{e}ma$ 'supper', $x\bar{s}\bar{\imath}$ - 'to weep', and $x\bar{s}ileniyo$ 'reed' (of unknown origin) Reg. xusto 'wet', v s v

Intervocalic -xš- occurs in $ax \grave{s} In$ 'blue', $ax \grave{s} \bar{o} w$ - 'to chew', $bax \grave{s}$ - 'to divide' (lw ?), $max \check{s} e$ 'mosquito', $parwax \grave{s} e$ 'broom' ($< vax \grave{s}$ - 'to sprinkle'?), $wax \grave{s}$ - 'to grow'. $bil \partial x \grave{s} a$ 'a kind of vegetable' and $nax \check{s}$ 'song' are of unknown origin (lw s?). M $pax \grave{s} k^y o$ 'wooden tray' is probably an older form of Y $po \check{s} ko$ Note Y $Bax \grave{s} ir$ 'n of a village' \sim Khow $Ba \grave{s} ker$

Ancient $x\check{s}w$ - has resulted in $ux\check{s}$ -, etc in $ux\check{s}o$ '6'. In the $x\check{s}w$ -heavy groups $x\check{s}m$, $x\check{s}n$ the x was dropped at an early date, and $x\check{s}m$, $x\check{s}n$

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¹ V Grammont, Traité de Phonétique, 203 sq regarding ait < act

² In Bakhtian xt, ft become d/δ , e.g. $do^u dan$ 'to milk', $s\bar{v}^u\delta an$ 'to burn', $r\bar{a}^ad/\delta an$, rahdan 'to go', $gud/\delta an$ 'to tell', etc (Lorimer). The corresponding forms given by Zhukovsky are duhd, $s\bar{v}hd$, raft (lw?), gu(h)d, and Mann gives Mamassani $duhd/\delta ar$, $d\bar{v}\delta ar$ 'daughter', $s\bar{v}ht$, $r\hat{a}/aht$, $q\bar{v}t$ The development here probably went through $ht > (\hbar)d/\delta$

⁸ With the possible exception of Yaghn, which preserves $x\S$ - $(x^{i}\S$ -), and quite possibly also $f\S$ -

⁴ Cf Benveniste, BSL 29, 104

the resulting groups $\check{s}m$, $\check{s}n$ were further reduced to m, n.\text{1} Thus $\imath mo\gamma o$ 'moon' $< *\imath ux\check{s} - m\bar{a}h - k\bar{a}$, $\mathring{a}run\gamma o$ 'light' $< *\bar{a} - raux\check{s}nak\bar{a}$ -, possibly $r\imath n'g'a$ 'shppery' $< *r\imath x\check{s}naka$ -

95. Ir fš- is preserved in Y fšarm 'shame', but M has šfor³m, etc² fš-In š³fë 'husband'; šfīn etc 'comb' all dialects have metathesis In fšūv- 'to suck' f- is an ancient prefix, which may also be contained in fšūī 'short-breathed', fšīī 'very soft' In Y īščīn, M yīškyūna 'female breast' the original initial fšt- was reduced to št-. ** xɔš(u)vūn 'shepherd' is probably a lw, cf. Voc. s v.

Intervocalic -fš- remains in wafšīo 'wasp', lerəfšo, ləraušo 'awl' — -fš-kofše 'shoe' is probably a lw from Prs., and the etymology of safšīyan, etc, 'armpit' is unknown. If. trīšp 'acid' is derived from *trfša-, the metathesis into *tršpa- must be common Ir.

yuxs- 'to learn' contains ancient xs. But laxsərə, yaxsərıy 'ice' xs is an ancient compound, maxs 'brain' is a late variant of mayz, and raxs 'dance', ruxsat 'leave', etc, are lw.s

In xafs- 'to descend' fs is ancient, but γ afs 'fat' is borrowed, fs and fsāy- 'to stand', fsidro 'spring' contain a prefix f < upa- 4

96 Before nasals x and f become voiced as in most other E Ir xm, xn dialects. Thus $t\bar{u}\gamma^u m$ 'grain', $y\bar{e}\gamma \partial n$ 'liver', $\gamma^\partial n\bar{\iota} go$ 'sneezing' < * $x(\bar{s})n\bar{\iota} \bar{s} ak\bar{a}$. Reg $va\gamma new$ v Voc s v

M zoyno (M G zůx'na'?) 'jaw' < *zanaxā- seems to indicate that also a secondary group xn was sonorized, but in anaxno 'naıl' < *-nāxanā-, zaxmo 'earth' < *zamaxā-; amaxno 'sloe' < *žmarnaxā- (?) x has been preserved, owing, perhaps, to a more recent origin of the group in these words.

M, and some speakers of Y, have $x\bar{u}v\partial n$, $x\bar{o}vun$ 'sleep', but also fn $x\bar{u}bun$ is heard in Y ⁵ In M $x\bar{s}\bar{e}ma$ 'supper' $< x\bar{s}\bar{a}fnya$ - we find a

¹ Cf § 112

² Ysh šfarm 1s prob a M form

³ Cf § 109.

⁴ Cf. § 48

⁵ Cf §§ 88, 107

different treatment after a long vowel, if the word is not an ancient lw $^{\rm 1}$

97. Initial xr- occurs in xred- (with metathesis xIrd-) 'to scratch' < xr *xrind-, $xur\bar{u}so$ 'Cyon alpinus'. Sgl $xr\bar{e}sag$, and, possibly, in xurom 'threshing-ground', $xerus\bar{c}e$ 'n of a small tree'.

Postvocalic xr is transposed, as in Prs, etc. Thus. surx 'red', tarx 'spinning wheel' (lw?) The etymology of awarxo 'flame' is uncertain ($< urv\bar{a}xra$ -?).

Fr., too, remains, with or without svarabhakti \cdot V Voc s vv fr $fr\bar{\imath}\gamma\sigma$ 'flea'; $fra\gamma\sigma\eta\gamma\gamma$ 'he-goat', etc. Intervocalic fr occurs in $warf\sigma$ 'snow' ² The metathesis of -xr- and -fr- is probably previous to the sonorization of x and f before nasals.

98. Initial xw (hw) has lost its labial element, as in most Pamir xw (hw) dialects. But in some words the following vowel has been labialized: $xo^a r$ -, xur- 'to eat', Y $x\tilde{u}l$, M G xala 'perspiration'; $xur\tilde{\imath}$ 'sister's son', $x\bar{u}b\partial n$, etc 'sleep', xoy 'self', etc. In several cases it is impossible to decide whether the ancient form of the word had xw-, or x- Cf. e.g. s.v. xafs-.

The word for 'sister' is irregular as well in Y—M (v: $x\bar{o}$, 'y:xa, etc.), as in Sgl. (y: $x\bar{o}av$) and Shgh (yax) * $hvah\bar{a} > hahv\bar{a} > f(y)$: $ahva\bar{a}$, etc.?

Intervocalic xw occurs in pxuf- 'to get tired' < *pati-hwafta-(v Voc. s v.), paixō 'unthreshed grain' < *pati-hwahā- (?). Reg yu-saxo, loh-saxo, v Voc. s v.

First Component &

99. There is no certain example of ϑ + nasal. The etymology of ϑm $\check{x}um\hat{a}ne$ 'male ibex' is unknown, and the original initial may have been either * $(a)\vartheta m$ - or * $(a)\vartheta \iota/um$ - polm 'soft' is probably a lw ³

¹ Cf also Turki axšām

 $^{^2}$ In Prs , Par , etc ~xr and fr develop along parallel lines, as in Y—M ~ But in Psht and Saka $x\imath$ and ϑr go together

³ V. Voc 8.v.

in spite of the apparent possibility of connecting it direct with Sar $p\hat{a}\partial m$, $p\hat{a}\partial m$

100. Initial ϑr - developed on the same lines as xr- and fr-, i.e a short ϑr vowel was inserted between \check{x} ($<\vartheta$) and r The only certain
examples available are $\check{x}^u roi$ '3' and its derivatives (e.g. $\check{x}_u rizen$ 'the day before yesterday'), but possibly also $\check{x}_u rox$ - 'to shy'
($<*\check{x}^u ro\check{x}$ - $<*\vartheta ra\vartheta$ - $<\vartheta ra\vartheta$ - $<\vartheta ra\vartheta$ - > belongs here

Reg $t^{\gamma}rif$ 'to steal', $tr\bar{a}z$ 'to bind' (* $t_{\gamma}p$ -, * $t_{\gamma}nj$ -?) and other words with tr- v Voc's.vv

101. Ir ϑ was a less resistant sound than x and f—in fact it has $-\vartheta r$ -survived unchanged mainly in the Shughni group—and ϑr was more exposed to assimilation than xr and fr. In some languages this applies to the initial as well as to postvocalic position, in another group, to which Y—M belongs, postvocalic $-\vartheta r$ - has been subject to more profound changes than initial ϑr -1 on account of the influence of the surrounding vowels

In Y—M, and also e g in Sgl, Psht. and Saka, ϑr - was reduced to ϑr - which resulted in ϑr - with lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus ϑr (sun' ϑr) ϑr (son' ϑr) ϑr (brother's son' ϑr) ϑr) ϑr (brother's son' ϑr) ϑr (there' ϑr) ϑr) ϑr (handmill' ϑr) ϑr) ϑr (son' ϑr) ϑr) ϑr (son' ϑr) ϑr) ϑr (son' ϑr) ϑr) ϑr) ϑr (son' ϑr) ϑr 0 ϑ

A derivation of $ye\bar{x}io$ 'small hand-mill' from $*ya\vartheta ry\bar{a}$ - is improbable (cf $t\bar{v}ro$ above), and the connection between yaxio, etc (Z $y\bar{e}x/\check{x}ya$) 'ashes' and the words of other Pamir dialects derived from $\bar{u}trya$ -, $*\bar{u}\vartheta rya$ - is difficult to explain —Y $y\bar{u}r$, M $y\bar{u}r$ 'fire' goes back to $*\bar{u}rt$ -, with early metathesis of an unusual group < $<\bar{u}tr$ - which had got its t from the strong stem.

¹ This group includes Saka and Psht (dr, but -r), Sangsari (§, but -r-), Yaghn $(t^{i}r, but -l)$ and various NWIr dialects $(h^{a}r, etc, but -r)$ In Shgh we find, unexpectedly, $ar < h^{a}r$ (but only in the numeral '3', which might be a lw) -c-

Av ča $\vartheta w \bar{a} r \sigma^{-1}$ developed into *č(ə)ž $f \bar{u} r$, from which Y *čž $\bar{i} r > \vartheta w$ 102. čšír, M čfűr (čφűr), etc $p\partial f$, pilf 'ford' is probably derived through * $p\partial r\partial f$ < * $p\partial r\partial f$ < pərəθwō (acc. pl.) ²

Reg Wulf 'n. of a village in Munjan' (< vavua ?), v List of Proper Names, sv

Original Y-M thus preserved ∂w as two separate phonemes, 3 while the Northern and Central dialects compared by Gauthiot, have f.

Ancient · vy- is possibly contained in pozeží 'young ram', vozážo · vywomb', zäžko 'childbearing'. Reg Y yežko 'duck' v Voc. s.v.

First Component a Sibilant.

Ancient sk-, st-, sp- remain, with a tendency towards the sk-, st-, sp-103 development of a prothetic or epenthetic vowel Thus, e.g. skad. 'to cut' < skand., skavro 'coal'. Psht skor, M

so)kon 'puppy'. Wkh so)ken, etc., but Y ckon, etc. Cf also the names of villages (I)skutul, Skarzer, Skowo (Sokvo). With secondary sk. sko 'on' < uskāt Ancient st is preserved in M story 'star', stuno 'post', stur 'big', stun(ek) 'throat', ef Yr, g stare, steno, stur, stuyo, etc. But in Yzh, sh I usually heard a very short, prothetic i or u 'staro, "sturo, "stur, "stura, 'stor- 'to sweep', etc Z writes storay, but satar; satūr 'horned cattle'

Ir sp- occurs in spī 'white', sporo 'plough', sporzo 'spleen', spūo ·louse' But Z has sopi, etc, ef. Ysh sopi, sopio 6

I am unable to explain the irregularities in the pronunciation of these groups. Probably the variation between st/st/s²t is phonologi-

¹ With fricative "w"!

² Cf § 128.

Cf also Yaghn t'far, Afridi Psht calvor '4'

⁴ MSL, XIX, 137

⁵ Cf § 155

⁶ Reg š cf § 74.

cally irrelevant It is possible that s²t, etc is due to Prs. influence on M, just as we find e g ²sp²l in Sgh, but s²pul in Ishk

No certain example of ancient -sk- is available ¹ Y $i\dot{s}\dot{c}i\gamma$, M yeskig -sk- 'roof' is evidently related to Wkh iskakut, Sgl $kisk\bar{u}\delta < {}^{4}uska-kata$, but the phonetic details are unclear —kosk 'barley' corresponds to Yazgh $k\dot{a}sk$, but Prs $ka\dot{s}k$, Shgh $\check{c}u\dot{s}\check{c}$. Cf also s vv $f^{5}sko$, $\gamma usk\bar{s}n$ and nuske, all of which probably have secondary sk.

A more common group is -st- which occurs in a number of -st-preterites,² e g vāst 'bound', and also in last 'hand', wisto '20', yaste 'bone', stīnyo 'supine', pīstən 'udder'.

Ancient -sp- 1s found in yasp 'horse', rispen, etc 'iron', frāspiy -sp- 'rafter', etc

Original -sč- results in i 3 Thus $\check{s}p\check{a}\check{c}$, 'spač 'behind', $\check{c}p\bar{a}\check{c}$ 'after, sč back' < 'pasča-. Possibly also M (')šti-va 'something' < * $\check{c}(\imath)sti$ < $\check{c}\imath s\check{c}\imath t$ 4

The etymology of s^uxuy , sxaw 'to slip, slide' is unknown (cf. sx Prs $\check{s}ax\bar{\imath}dan$) $usx\bar{\imath}bvn$ 'awake' is an ancient compound.

Ancient sr was assimilated into \S (\S), as in several other Ir sr dialects Thus $\S\bar{u}$ 'horn' $< sr\bar{u}$ -, $\S\bar{u}$ na, $\S\bar{u}$ no, etc 'podex' < sraoni-, $\S\bar{u}$ tho 'collar-bone' $< \$srau\Sa$ - (?), $u\S\bar{a}(w)$ - 'to call' < \$us-sr $\bar{u}v$ -, $xu\So$ 'mother-in-law', $y\bar{a}\S k$, $yo\S k$ 'tear', possibly also $u\S \bar{a}n$ - 'to churn' This change appears to have taken place before the syncopation of u in the suffix -uka-. The reason why sr is assimilated while rs remains may be that s in sr is implosive

In the recent lw sotrisom 'glue' Prs sr is rendered by sotr.

As is the case in several other Ir dialects, $str(s\vartheta r^2)$ lost its str dental and shared the fate of original sr Thus $\check{c}e\check{s}o$ 'pin of a spindle' $<*\check{c}astr\bar{i}-,\check{s}iyo$ 'female' $<\!str\bar{i}-,\check{s}inamia$ 'girl' $<\!str\bar{i}-n\bar{a}man-$,

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¹ Except sko

² Cf § 239.

⁸ Cf Tedesco, Dialektologie, MO, 1921, 211 sqq.

⁴ Cf Tedesco, 1 c

⁵ Cf § 171, 5)

uš, uuš 'grass' < $v\bar{a}stra$. Reg Y uščeno, etc 'haystack' < * $w\bar{a}strad\bar{a}n\bar{a}$, cf § 109.

- 106 Ancient sm remains in pasmino 'above', pasminaka 'steep' < sm * $pati-asm\bar{a}n$ -. But s is assimilated in voice to the homorganic n Thus zini' 'daughter-in-law' $< *snu\check{sa}$ -, zonay- 'to bathe' < snaya-. Postvocalic zn may change further into zd· wuzn-, wuzd- 'to wash' The sonorizing of s before n is common to most Pamir dialects, v. Voc. s v zinio
- 107. Ancient sy was assimilated into palatal s as in many other E.Ir. sy dialects Thus dis- 'to think' < *han-disya-, mistor 'king, mehtar' < *masyah- + tara-, and possibly yersio 'barley', if from *arpasyā-.

The voiced, dental sibilant remains before voiced stops and zg, zd, zb fricatives in $z\partial \gamma al$ 'to run away' < zgad, $z^2\gamma\partial riy$ 'thirsty' < *uz-garaka-(?), $z\partial \gamma \bar{u}$ - 'to walk about' (<?), $w\bar{a}zd$ 'fat' (with differentiating preservation of d after z), z^2var - 'to pour out' < *uz-bar-?

The etymology of $\gamma uz\gamma ap$ 'dirty' is unknown; $ma\gamma z$ 'marrow' is zn, zm borrowed from Prs, and xuzd- 'to send', mzdura 'the day after tomorrow' may contain ancient zn, sn $cirg^y \bar{\imath} zen$, xirizen 'three, two days ago' go back to *azana- The only example of zm is izma 'fire-wood'.

Thus Yzh, p, M $z\partial^{\dagger}v\bar{v}$, $z\partial^{\dagger}v\bar{u}$ etc 'tongue', but Ysh, g $zr^{\dagger}b\bar{e}y^{\dagger}$, Yzh, etc. $ze^{\dagger}viryo$, M $v\partial zvurgo$ 'birch (-bark)': Ysh $z^{ii}biryo < {}^{\dagger}bzza-v\bar{u}$ $ak\bar{u}$ - (?). Cf. also M, Ysh, etc. ' $x\bar{o}vun$, etc 'sleep' Yzh, u ' $x\bar{u}bun$, M $l\partial v\bar{o}n$ - 'to winnow' Yzh, sh, r $l\partial b\bar{u}n$ -

¹ Yr zerty is probably mis-heard or mis-written Cf § 96

- 108. Ir šk—which as an initial is a sandhi form of sk—remains čk
 Thus škōb- 'to raise' < skamb-; škōr- 'to send' Sogd °škr-, ušk
 'dry' < huška-, rīško 'nīt' Prs rīšk, p°ške-drī, puško 'dung' maška
 'inflated skin', pīško 'cat' are lws Cf also puškōw- 'to string',
 čirwašk 'resin, gum', wuškuž- 'to seek' Reg M šk³uī 'neck' cf
 § 164.
- One of the sound-changes most characteristic of Y—M is the $\check{s}t$ palatalization of $\check{s}t$ (i.e. $\check{s}t)^1$ into $\check{*}\check{s}t^y$, from which M $\check{s}k^y$ and Y $\check{s}\check{c}$ Cf the parallel development of $t>k^y$ (and \check{c}) and $n\dot{q}>\eta g^y$ (v. §§ 62, 121).

Thus Y oguščo, M āgus'kyo, āgušk'a 'finger', aščo, os'kyo '8', 1ščīn, yiškyuna 'female breast' < fītāna-, čīr-yišče 'dried apricots' Prs kišta, M yiška 'fur-coat' Ishk. yušt, Y mišča 'sheaf of corn' Prs. muštī 'handful', mišč, mušky 'fist', pargušče, parguškyiy 'fingerring', piščan, pīškyen 'thigh' < patristāna-, pušč, pušky 'flour made of dried apples' Par. pīšt, xerišče, xriškyiy 'n of a small tree' Bad. Prs. xarišta, xušči, xuški, xušk'əy 'greater, elder' Sogd ywyšt, etc Besides there are a number of preterites in šč/šky < št (and rst), eg nəyušč, nəyušky 'heard', etc, cf. § 240 M šk from secondary št appears in xišk 'pulls' < *xaršati, and in wuškyeno, Y uščeno 'hay-stack' < *wūštāna < *vāstra-dāna- (cf Or wūžtōn) Words of unknown or uncertain origin are. ustušč- 'to jump' (v Voc), kuščo 'contrivance for carrying hay', ninamāšče 'spleen',

 $v^i\check{s}\check{c}o$, $vi\check{s}k^yo$ 'steep hillside, ravine', $\check{c}ky\bar{u}go$ 'urine' $<*\check{c}a\check{s}t\bar{a}k\bar{a}\cdot$ (??). Note M $wu\check{s}k^y$ 'to rise, fly up', $w\hat{u}\check{s}\check{c}$, $w\bar{i}\check{s}k$ 'morning' $<*u\check{s}t\bar{a}$, with early reduction $< ut\text{-}sth\bar{a}$ -, cf Par $u\check{s}t$ - 'to rise', etc. Reg M $\check{s}k^yuy$ Y $\check{s}ile$ 'neck' v. § 164

Also a number of ancient lw s have been affected by this sound-change. Thus, e. g $dru\check{s}\check{c}$, $d^uri\check{s}k$ 'rough' < Prs. $duru\check{s}t$, s $da\check{s}k'$ 'steppe', $go\check{s}\check{c}$, $ga\check{s}k'$ 'turned round' (v s v gord-), $g^y\check{e}\check{s}\acute{c}$, $g_1ya\check{s}k^y$

¹ Also when derived from rst, ršt, v §§ 131 sqq

² Cf Gauthiot, MSL, 19, 139

³ Yr *drīšto* is a recent Iw

'passed, forgave' $(g^y\bar{e}r)$ < guðašt, narangušč 'thumb', ' cf probably also Y rešk 'avalanche' < Khow rest, with t > k, not $> \check{c}^2$

110. In recent lws št is preserved Thus uštu 'brick', muštī 'silver necklace' < Khow., laštokum 'saddle-cover' of unknown origin, šašte 'hook' Prs. šast (with assimilation)

In genuine Y—M words št is also of recent origin Cf (*)što 'said' < *ž(a)sta-; *šti 'what' < *čisti, * štīāhan 'below' < *čt- < *hača-t. Regarding secondary preterites in št v. § 240

111. Ir. rst, ršt at an early date became št, and shared the fate of rst, ršt this group of consonants For details v. § 131 sq

One would expect Ir štr to become š just as $str = Y \ ^i \breve{s}kz \cdot r\bar{o}$, štr $\breve{s}ikz \cdot ro$, $^u \breve{s}\check{c}uro$, $M \ \breve{s}kyuro$, etc 'camel' do not go back to $u\breve{s}tra$ - or * $u\ddot{s}ra$ - (Psht. $\bar{u}\breve{s}$), but to * $u\breve{s}tur\bar{a}$, or to Prs. $u\breve{s}tur$. Kati $\breve{s}tyur$, etc is not necessarily borrowed from early M, as the palatalization of t before u may be due to Kati sound-laws.

Regarding šp in trišp 'sour' v § 95

 $\dot{s}p$

While s probably remains unchanged before m and is sonorized before n, \check{s} is completely assimilated in both positions

An example of $\check{s}n$ is preserved in $p \ni naxko$ 'eyelashes' $<math>\check{s}n + ko$, cf Av. $p \nmid a \nmid \check{s}na$. Y trušne, tišno, tižno 'thirsty' are lw.s from Khow. and Prs.—Reg $x \nmid \check{s}n > n$ and $r \nmid \check{s}n > n$ v §§ 94, 133

Ir šm is contained in čām 'eye', pām 'wool', imar- 'to count' šm < hišmar-, maf 'you', and, possibly, in puma 'avalanche', if < *pišma- — s²trīšɔm 'glue' is borrowed from Prs., and Y kušm-, M kižmōy- 'to vomit' is of unknown origin

¹ But Yr, M narangišt, etc.

² Cf § 62

³ But cf § 44

⁴ Gauthiot, 1c 189

⁵ Cf eg štyū, štū 'pıllar', tyus 'straw', etc.

113. It is just possible that noyor 'came out' (ni-) is derived through $\grave{z}g, \grave{z}d, \check{z}b$ *niyart- < *niryata- < *niz-gata-, cf Par naryō.¹ On the other hand nailō- nailevd 'to circumcize' might go back to *niz-dab-, noior- 'to take out' to niz-bar-

First Component h

114. The only example of a group beginning with original h is hm hm in max 'we' In a recent lw. we find differentiation maxmudiγο 'dagger' < Khow mahmūdī.

First Component a Nasal.

115. As in most Ir languages 2 surd explosives were sonorized after a nasal at an early date, ηk coalescing with ηg , etc. But the tendency to drop the nasal in such groups is characteristic of Y—M. It is unknown elsewhere in Ir.3 and rare in most IE languages

There is probably no connection between the Y—M development of e.g. nt > d (or $-\dot{q}$, -t in final position) in lad, lod 'tooth' and that of Kafiri $ant > \tilde{a}t > at$, e.g. in Ashkun dont > Waigeli $d\tilde{o}t$ > Kati dut, Prasun $lat \ni m$, as supposed by Gauthiot.⁴

In most Kafir dialects ancient nd does not become d, but n, e.g. in Kati $k \ni n$ -, Waig. kan- corresponding to Yd $xo(^u)d$ - 'to laugh' < *khand- But the Prasun change of nd, mb > d, b in yod- 'to laugh', $u \not s k \dot o b$ 'bridge' < skambha- (?) may possibly, be connected with the Y—M development b

The sound-change in question must be later than the Y and lower M development of -g- (from -k-) $> -\gamma$ -, and it has not been carried through to the same extent all over the Y—M territory

¹ Cf also Prs palmarda = pižmurda 'withered'

² Including even Wkh, and possibly Yaghn (zantum 'wheat', but dindak' 'teeth'), but not Bal

^{*} Reg Wkh $\gamma id\bar{\imath}m$ 'wheat' v Wkh. Voc Kurd $did\bar{\imath}n$, $dg\bar{\imath}n$, dran 'tooth' may be due to dissimilation Psht, etc has initial g, etc < *(a)ng.

⁴ MSL, 19, 139

⁵ Cf. § 29

In Y it has affected all words except recent lws In M some words exhibit assimilation in all dialects, thus eg 'agelera 'grape'; 'āgus'kyo 'finger', 'agmīn 'honey', 'pargušk'iy 'finger-ring', etc, probably in originally unstressed position.

- 116. In some words Mm, Z, G and LSIm have b, d, etc, while Mg, (g), t, ti preserve the nasal ² Thus, e.g. Mm å kodiy Mti, (g) 'akondi, etc. 'thorn, bramble', Mm, G, Z, LSIm lod, etc. Mg, (g), t, ti lōnd, etc. 'tooth', Mm, Z, G, LSIm trâj-. Mt prōnj 'to tie', Mm, Z, G yōdiy, etc Mg, t, ti yāndiy, etc 'blind', Mm zōbo Mg, t, (ti) zōmbo 'gums', Mm, Z, G zūk. Mg, t, ti zīng 'knee' But even Mm (not, however, Z and G) has nd e.g. in pōndo 'road', yōndum 'wheat', and it is not possible to find any phonetic reason for the variation A curious case is Mg, (sh) bəbər, etc, Y bobure 'wasp', but Mm 'bambur In some cases Z has nd in the preterites of verbs in n, but these are probably recent, analogical formations
- 117. Examples of ng (besides those mentioned above) are Y coguli ng. 'hoof', Y cigāli, M cangôli 'claw' < Prs. cangāl, Y kyogō, tōk 'pear' < Khow tong, Y rok, M rang 'colour', M togo (Z tang) 'narrow', Y trok 'narrow', 'saddle-girth' Khow. trang, etc., Y xugor 'sword' Khow. khongor, xur-sago 'mill-stone' Prs sang, guv- 'to burn', gūy- 'to knead' (cf å gungy 'dough') < *han-k/g-, Y yīky 'penis' possibly < *yīnk, cf Psht yēn; zīk, zūnk 'knee' < *zānuka-. Of unknown origin are cigyere 'mushroom' and pəcəg- 'to cut'

In recent lws we find ng Thus, e.g angāh 'awake', jangal 'forest'; palang 'leopard', etc Likewise ng/k remains in secondary contact M frayingo 'she-goat' < *fragāmikā-, žinko, *go 'woman' < *janikā. But note also Y afsinyo 'ladder'; stinyo 'supine' tovānyo 'box'.

118. Examples are akade, 'akondi 'bramble', $\tilde{a}\gamma(u)d$ - 'to dress', $\tilde{i}dou$ nd 'fever' Wkh. andav, ida, hade 'slave, boy'. Wkh. anday; boda

¹ But Mullah Faiz Bakhsh "ankardia"

² Cf. § 17, Rep on a lingu mission to NW India, 71.

'dyke' Prs band; čad- 'to fall' < *hača-hand- (?), M čad, Y čand (lw) 'how many', dā- 'to smear' < *han-dāw-, Y dīr, M yūdūr 'other' < *antāra-; dīš- 'to think' < *han-dīsya-, dīz- 'to bury' < *han-daīz-, Y yūdēm, M yōndum, etc. 'wheat'; Y hadamē (M andâm) 'limb' < handāman-, hənadīy 'out of breath' < *an-antīka-; lad, lōnd, etc 'tooth', pādo, pōndo 'road', skēd- 'to cut' < skand-, vad-, vōnd- 'to tie', vədāy- 'to mix' < *abi-han-tak-(?), xoud- 'to laugh'; xīrd-, xred- 'to shave' < *xrīnd-; Idəy, Yīdg 'member of the Yidgha trībe' < *Hīnduka-, -ct, -at pers. suff. 3 pl < -antī, ušīyād 'hungry' < *vērsayanta-

Of uncertain origin are kuryudo 'bramble' ($< kunda^2 V. Voc)$, skut 'wood, stick'; ničod- 'to moisten'.

In secondary contact we find t from n + t, eg, in Pres 3 sg of roots in n Thus. $v \to t$ 'carried' ($< upa-n \to t \to t$), $k \to t$ 'he does', $v \to t \to t$ ($< v \to t \to t$) 'he sees', $v \to t \to t$, ef. $v \to t \to t$ and the $v \to t \to t$.'

The preterite of verbs in n is in most cases derived from secondary formations in nt/d^2 which has either resulted in d, or has in some cases preserved the nasal through the influence of the present stem

Regarding the possible preservation of nd in the plurals of the demonstratives Yd. mind, ind, wind, v § 209. nd is also found in recent lw.s, such as andiša 'thought', biländ 'high', sanduq 'box', zindo 'alive', etc.—kando 'plough-share' may go back to a pres ptc *kanant(ā)-

119 Verbs in -m have secondary preterites in -md or -nd. We also md find Y kyämder, Mm kamder, but Z kandir 'smaller' from Prs kamtar lamdo, lõmadä 'hem, skirt' is probably derived from *dāmantā-, but cf. also avlānd 'hem of a cloak' < *abi-dāmanta- (?) with earlier contraction

It is tempting to derive M $t\bar{u}ga$ 'button' through *tumga from Y tukmo (< Turki), and Y $k \ni d\bar{u}$ 'which' < *kamday < *katama'kahya (v s v $k^{y} \in m$).

¹ Cf. §§ 117, 125

¹ Cf. 243.

120 Between two n's θ disappears in ləmōn- 'to rub' < *nn-manθnā-, nθn cf Av. manā- There is no example of nθ pado 'road' goes back to 'pantāh We have no reason to assume that nθ has become nt in Av. pantā The different treatment of nt and nθ is testified by Par panān 'road' menth- 'to smear', Saka pande mamth-; Oss fandag zmāntīn, Sogd pnt 'near' (?) mnδ-

Examples are å'būya 'moraine' Ishk ambol, bobure, bambur mb 'bumble-bee', bār- 'to be satisfied' < *ham-parta-, baxš- 'to divide' < 'ham-baxš- (or lw.?), čape 'door-frame' Prs čamba 'large bar', debāl 'behind' < Prs dumbāl, gvb 'lost' < Prs *gumb, kob/p 'little' < *kamb, lib- 'to card wool' Sgl dəmb-, nəb/p 'dew' < *namb, škōb- 'to raise' < skamb-, tubūr, tambūr 'guitar' < Prs , vezb- 'to tighten' < *abi-zamb- (?); xap- 'to fell' < *xamb- (v. s v. xafs-), zibijīm 'earth-quake' < *zambinjūm, zōbo, zōmbo 'gums'.

Of unknown origin are ceb- 'to pinch' (cf Wkh. čip- 'to pick'); səbrīm 'boiled fat'; yōba 'dance', żib- 'to rise', sabəranj 'neck-rope of the yoke' (< sami-baranačī-²)

In modern lws mb is common amburo 'forceps', sumb 'hoof', paiyumbar 'prophet', grambešu 'neighbour', etc.

Y—M $l \ni m$ 'tail' $< duma \cdot < *dumbma \cdot$, not $*dumba \cdot$, from which mbm Prs dum(b)

Initial mr- develops a transitional b and results in br- Thus: mr $bra\gamma \imath ko$ 'sparrow' $< *mr \partial \gamma$ -, $Bra\gamma \imath \wp \wp$ 'Munjan' (v s v) Similarly abruo 'pear' and the lw $ambr\bar{o}z < *amr\bar{o}t m^2 r \varepsilon e$ 'mulberry' is borrowed from Khow, and also pilamru 'cloak' is probably a lw. Cf also Y $bl\bar{a}\imath m$, $m\partial l\bar{a}\imath m$ 'soft' < Ar Prs. $mul\bar{a}\imath m$.

121 Examples are awāż 'to hang up' < *awa-hanj-, trāž-, tərōnj- nj 'to tie' Prs taranjīdan, Y səzīyo, M sijiā 'jujube-tree' Prs sinjīd, Y vroč- 'to roast' Khow vrenjē-, žažīro 'chain': Khow. janjēr, zibijīm 'earthquake' < *zambīnjum, M rəč 'difficult' Prs. ranj, M Ajuməno, Y Anjumān 'Anjuman' But in all dialects we find n in pānj, pānč, ponž etc '5', probably through the influence of Prs—ponzda '15' is a lw

In lw s nj is retained anjām 'dress' < Khow, banj 'holly-oak' < Khow; b^urnj 'rice', kunj 'corner', Munjân 'Munjan', etc.— sabəranj 'neckrope of yoke' < samı-barana-čī- (?), šinjo < šižno 'needle', prenjīo 'she-goat, one y old' < *parana-čī all have secondary nj M yančilya 'lızard' is of unknown origin.

In $m \check{a} g^{y}$ 'to rub' nd has become * $ng^y > g^{y}$! Similarly Y $yerk^y$, nd Z $y\bar{e}n'g'$ 'he grinds' $< *y\bar{e}nt < *arnati$ (cf. the secondary preterite Y $yag^y < *an + d$). In recent Iw s nd remains *

First Component a Rolled Consonant

122. On the whole surd occlusives in Ir dialects are treated in the same way after r as after a vowel. Those dialects which sonorize e.g. ata, do the same with arta, and wherever ata is kept distinct from ada, the same is the case with regard to arta and arda³

Accordingly Ir. -rk- shares the fate of -k- It results in Mm, Z rk and G rg, but changes further to rγ in other M dialects and in Y Thus Y (h)orγ, M Δrγ, org, etc 'work' Phl ark, wurγ, wurg/k 'wolf', karγοz, kargas 'vulture' In lws and recent compounds rk

Ancient rg occurs in mirro 'meadow', cf, with early metathesis, rg brayiko 'sparrow'; Brayeyo 'Munjan' 4

remains Eg. in harko 'upper part of the back', narkire 'cock'.

No example is available. p r x, p r x 'dew' is of uncertain origin. r x In p r x a w 'to eat with a spoon' r x is of secondary origin

In view of this word, and of the maintenance of rx < xr, the derivation of $x\bar{a}xo$ 'thistle' $< *x\bar{a}rxo$ ' $< *x\bar{a}ra$ - $x\bar{a}$ is very doubtful

124 Ir rt resulted in Y r, probably through the stages rd > rd > rd > rd rt In M, which lies further removed from the IA sphere of influence,

¹ Cf Sgl māṇḍ-

² Cf § 62

⁸ In Wanetsi, however, arta and arda coalesce, although ata and ada do not.

⁴ Cf § 120

⁵ Cf § 97

⁶ Cf secondary rt > t > t

ordinary r has been substituted for r The reason for the special treatment of rt as compared with rk, rp is not connected with the general weakness of -t-, but is due to the similarity of articulation between r and the dentals, which in Ir., as well as in many other languages, favours assimilation

Examples of rt are: Y $b\bar{a}r$ - 'to be satisfied' < *ham-parta-, Y caroyo 'bustard' Bad. Prs. čarda, Y keyo, M $k\bar{e}ro$ 'knife', $m\epsilon r$, $m\bar{e}r$ 'man', Y $nuw\bar{a}re$ 'excuse' < *ni-wartaka-(?), $w\bar{a}ro$, $w\bar{o}ra$ 'summer' Psht $w\bar{o}ra$, $w\bar{o}r$, $w\bar{o}r$ 'roof-beam' < *warta-, wor-, wur- 'to knit', etc. < vart-, $v\bar{o}ro$, $v\bar{e}ro$ 'trousers'; 2 woryo, warga 'quail' < * $wartak\bar{a}$ -, $y\bar{a}re$, $y\bar{o}riy$ 'flour' Prs $\bar{a}rd$, etc.

Besides we find r/r in many preterites of roots in r. Thus, e.g., mur, mur 'died', xur, xur 'ate', etc³ With secondary d. k r d 'cut down'

In Y r occurs also in a number of lws, usually corresponding to Khow. l Thus, e.g., boriko 'small basket' < Khow. belu 'reed' (?), brok 'knuckle, bud' < bloy, yoribombur 'large wasp' < yolibūmbur; hork 'scar' < hol/lk; kerė 'shield' < kheli; kāriak 'yoke-peg' < kāri, krīnsar 'pickaxe' < klīnsar, krox 'scab' < klok (?), (loh)rīnj 'double' < (ju)rinj, kirār 'cheese' < IA (but not Khow). Note Y pakoro 'cap' Khow phakōl, M pakūlo.

Of unknown origin are areyevde 'wood-carving', čūrwa 'unripe apricot', γυριčā- 'to swallow', γυρρ 'deep', kurə 'numb', pokor 'rung of a ladder'; Urak 'n. of a vill in Lutkoh'.

In modern lws from Prs and Khow, we find rt, rd. Thus $g\bar{u}gurt$ 'sulphur', gord- 'to walk about'; kortus 'cartridge', $\bar{u}rdv$ 'part of the floor' < Khow, etc In native Y words rd reappears through recent sound-changes in xird- < xrid- 'to shave' and γurd < * $\gamma urvd$ 'seized'.

The voiceless Khow rt is heard in Y in the place-names Wart

¹ Cf above, § 46

² warwaden 'trouser-string' < *war-vaden

³ Cf. § 238

and Guṛtio (besides Guợti). In secondary contact r+t became at an early date *ṛt, from which subsequently *ht > t Thus zīt 'yellow' < *zīṛt < zaɪrıta- (cf Par zītō), xắt 'he eats' < *xwaratı, and other 3 sg forms of verbs in -r, 1 lat 'held' < * $d\bar{a}$ rıta-, etc ³ This development is parallel to that of n+t>t.

Ancient rd $(r\delta)$ must have moved towards the stage l, l before rd ancient rt resulted in r. It does not seem probable that the development passed through the stages ${}^*r\delta > {}^{*r}\delta > {}^{*r}l > l$

Examples are Y alīxa (only MFB') 'rıbs' $< arə\delta a$ -; $k^y\epsilon malyo$ 'skull' $< kamərə\delta a$ -, milyo 'clay' Skr mrd-, pil- 'to fart' < parəd-, $s\bar{a}l$, $s\bar{o}l$ 'year', not necessarily lw., cf $as\bar{a}l$ 'this year', $pras\bar{a}l$ 'last year', prasilane 'belonging to last year', $t\bar{a}l$ - 'to whittle' Skr. t_rd -, zil, zil^{gy} , etc 'heart', $z\bar{i}lo$ 'hail' $< z^z\bar{i}l\bar{a}l$ -. The derivation of wulyeyo 'small shrub' from $z^z\bar{i}l\bar{a}l$ - is very doubtful $z^z\bar{i}l$ - wulya 'kidney' may go back to $z^z\bar{i}l$ - or to $z^z\bar{i}l$ - The etymology of $z^z\bar{i}l$ - wet clay' is unknown

- 127. In secondary contact, and in a few early lw s, rd (rδ) is changed into *δr Y fsidro 'spring' (season) cannot be separated from Psht psarlai, etc and must go back, through *fsūðrå < *βsōrða, to *upa-sāradā- Similarly *angurðā 'grape' (early lw, cf Prs dial angurda, etc) became 'anguðrå, from which, with differentiation, Y agidro, but M *agelro > aglero. Cf. also Y mo(n)draye, M mulragi 'necklace' < *muðraka(ka)- (borr with rð or ðr² v Voc s v) Also Y padreško 'small wooden bowl' may possibly go back to a form in *pari-do The relation between Y činur/ryo, and M conurgo, cindərya 'starling' is unknown. Y afsirne 'summer-wheat' < *abi săradnaka-, or osardanaka-
- 128 Ir $r\vartheta$ occurs in pilf 'ford' $, and possibly in <math>wul\gamma a r\vartheta$ 'kidney' 4 Cf also Wulf 'n. of a vill. in Munjan' 5 It is also

¹ Cf § 227 sq

² Cf. § 238

⁸ Cf § 118

⁴ V above § 126.

⁵ With ancient row or adw? Cf. §

^{6 -} Kulturforskning

possible to derive xalıfān, oōn 'flour-bag' $<*xwar\vartheta f\bar{a}n<*xwar\vartheta a\beta\bar{a}n$ $<*hwar\vartheta a-p\bar{a}na-,¹$ but scarcely woro, etc. 'trousers' $<*war\vartheta a-<*war\vartheta ra-,*wr\vartheta ra-$

There is no certain example of ancient rp M karvaša, $kawuŋ^{\eta y}ry$ rp 'lizard' and Y karvase 'cotton' may be lw s, just as well as Y karbasa 'lizard' and M $karb\bar{o}s$ 'cotton'.

Ir. rb results in rv in γurv - 'to seize', frequently reduced to γur - rb (w)urw-, wurb- 'to boil' must go back to *warb- (Par. γarw -) < *barw-

Reg skårrio, skarviyo, skarbīya 'coal' (<*skarbatā?) and yurv 'mouth' v. s vv.

In $k^{y_i}rf$ - 'to sneeze' it is impossible to tell whether rf goes back rf to rf or fr. The word may quite well be a recent, onomatopoetic formation.

Rè, rj occur only in lws and in composition Thus, eg., čarč në 'spindle'; parčam 'hairlock', narčan 'he-goat', etc

130 Ancient rs and rz remain unassimilated 2 Thus lirs, lurs 'goat's rs hair' Wkh. δirs, etc., pṛs-, purs- 'to ask', pərsəγe 'rib' < pərəsu-; yavarso 'millet'. Prs gārarsa, yorurso 'juniper' < hapərəsī. The derivation of pārse 'roof-beam' and of fərs-, fris- 'to spit' is unknown

In alarsine, yūvərsən 'lower, upper door-sill' the contact between r and s is secondary (v Voc s.vv) (w)ušīyo 'hungry' has got its \check{s} from the old, now lost, word for 'thirsty', cf Prs gušna with \check{s} from $ti\check{s}na$, and parallel phenomena in other Ir dialects Reg $xa\check{s}/sk\partial n$ 'dung', v s.v.

Examples of rz are urzuy 'straight' < ərəzu-, larze 'sheaf' < rz darəz-, pəlarz- 'to wrap up' * patı-darz-, spərzə 'spleen' (lw?),

¹ Reg. $-\bar{a}/\bar{o}n > -\bar{a}na$ - cf § 145.

² Similarly rs in Oss., Wkh and Shgh (?), but sr > 0ss *s > s, Wkh, Shgh. $s (s^s)$. In Par. and Sgl we find s, s < rs and sr Psht has s < sr also in intervocalic position, while -rs- apparently becomes $-\tilde{z}$ - ($w > \tilde{z} = a > 1$), as the result of earlier assimilation.

Y virzane 'pillow' < *bṛzanaka-¹ Reg. Y zeviryo, M vəzvurgo 'birch (bark)' with dissimilation < *vərz-vūrgo, v. s.v. The etymology of Y yurzuyo 'handmill' is unknown, and Birzin 'n of a village in Lutkuh' may be of foreign origin

131. Between r and t the articulation of s was weaker and less rst resistant, and at an early date rst was assimilated into $\check{s}t$, from which Y $\check{s}\check{c}$, M $\check{s}k^y$. Thus $pi\check{s}\check{c}$, $pi\check{s}k^y$ 'farted', $pit\check{s}\check{c}$ 'broke', $wu\check{s}\check{c}$, $wu\check{s}k$ 'knitted', preterites of pil-, wor- $go\check{s}\check{c}$, $ga\check{s}k'$ 'turned', $g^y\check{e}\check{s}\check{c}$, $gya\check{s}k'$ 'passed' have probably been borrowed from Prs. forms in $\check{s}t$, not from more ancient forms in *rst3

Similarly rzn was assimilated into zn, from which n, in Y van, rzn M van'^{gy} 'long' < *barzn-, *barzn-, cf Av barzna-.

132. Ir $r\check{s}$ remains in $yar\check{s}$ 'bear'. In this word the \check{s} may, however, $r\check{s}$ have been long or geminated, and the same is possibly the case with regard to $yar\check{s}iyo$ 'barley' (with $\check{s} < sy^2$) and $por\check{s}ik$ 'lip' (if $\check{s} < IE \ \hat{k}s$) '—In $f\check{\sigma}r\check{s}ome$ 'silk' and $fir\check{s}om$ - 'to shake' r and \check{s} are in secondary contact, while the etymology of $k\check{\sigma}r\check{s}av$ - 'to stir soup' is unknown

It is tempting to derive $k\imath\delta$ 'hard work, ploughing' from $k\imath\delta\bar{a}$, and to compare also $q\imath\delta\gamma$ (with secondary q^{ϱ}), $k\imath\delta\gamma$ 'bull'.

In that case formo-, formuy- 'to forget' might also be derived from *fra-mṛš-, as is semantically probable, and $g\bar{u}y$ - 'to knead' might go back to *ham-gṛš- It does not seem improbable that ṛš ($\langle rs \rangle$) became $-\vartheta \check{s}$ -, $-u\mathring{s}$ - early enough to develop further into $-\vartheta y$ -,

 $^{^1}$ But M $vız/{\it z}n\bar{\imath}<{^*brzniya}$ -? Cf Oss $\it baz$ 'pillow' $<{^*bazn}<\it brzna$, but ambarzan 'coverlet'

² Cf § 109

⁸ pist 'asked is a secondary formation, cf. § 229 sq.

⁴ Cf the treatment of -8- § 75, and v. also Meyer Lübke, Roman Sprachwiss.⁸, 169 O French sus < sursum, but ours < urs(s)us < *urcsus

V sv.

⁶ In spite of Henning, ZII, 9, 185, who points out the phonetic difficulty in deriving Phl. frāmōš- < *frā.mrš-,

etc.¹ xoś- 'to pull' appears to be a lw., since it appears in the same form in several Pamir dialects, but ${}^*arš > aš$ (${}^*rs > uš > uy$, and ${}^*aršš > arš$) is perhaps conceivable

Ir ršt was assimilated into *št, just as was the case with rst. ršt Examples are. piščo, piškyo 'back'. Y lišč 'saw' (wīn-), pəlišč 'wrapped' (pəlarz-), kišč, kišky 'ploughed' (kār-), xišč-, xišky (lw?)

Ir $r\ddot{z}$ ($< r\ddot{g}h + s$) occurs in wirž, wurž 'thread' In yai žo 'beard' $r\ddot{z}$ the group is of secondary origin, and žaržo 'partridge' is either a lw, or has $r\ddot{z} < r + \ddot{c}$ Aržūko 'n of a vill. in Lutkoh' is borrowed from Khow.

Examples are.

Yg a'muno, Yzh, sh, r â'muno. M amıng''o, etc. 'apple' Psht mana, etc

M ågung, ∂gun 'dough' < han-gris(a)na,

Yzh, g kun-yaste, sh, r kun-' M $k\bar{u}n'g^y$, etc 'deaf' < karəna-

Yzh k^y unyo, sh, g, r kyŭnyo M $kung^y$ uvgo 'magpie' <*kršna $k\bar{a}$ - (?)

Yzh, g $p\bar{u}n\dot{a}$, sh, r $pin\partial$: M $p\bar{u}\eta^{gy}$, etc 'feather' $< par\partial na$

Yzh, etc $p \ni nek$, r, p $p \ni n \ni k$ 'leaf' (?)

Yzh, g panio, sh panio. M päng y o, etc. 'heel' < 'päršni-.4

Yzh, sh wūn, g, r wūn M wīng 'marmot' Sgl yūnek < *ārna-?

Yzh, g yān-, sh yān- M yân gy -, etc 'to grind' < *arna-

Yzh, r žunaye, sh zuno M zingyigo, etc. 'small boy' Psht. z/žanai

¹ Cf § 74

² Cf § 74

³ Cf. §§ 62, 121

⁴ šn (Av. pāšna) would have resulted in n, v § 112.

In the words given above Yzh, g n in most cases corresponds to Ysh, r n There is probably a real difference of pronunciation, and the isolated instances of Yzh n, and vice versa, may be due to inexact notation

At a very early date. Ir $k_{\bar{r}}n$ - became kun-, from which Y—M ken- 'to do' Also peno, etc 'palm of the hand' goes back to a form with Ir n, not rn cf, eg, Wkh $p\bar{u}n$ (but mur 'apple') Note that Skt, too, has an irregular form, and v Voc. s.v.

In $x\bar{o}^a n$ -, etc 'to buy' we find Y and M n.\(^1\) Here *rn (* $x\bar{o}rn$ -) is of secondary origin, and the same is the case in xun 'raven' (<* $xw\bar{a}rana$ -), ' $z_1\bar{a}ne$ 'afternoon' < uzayerrna- + ka, and possibly in yiston 'felt' (if < *wi-starana-) and raz-In 'elbow' (<-aran- 2) Apparently r had no 'cerebralizing' power at a later date (cf. secondary rt > t, § 124), and the result was a complete, regressive assimilation. At a still later date rn (< *radn) *radn remained intact.

Regarding n < rn in secondary contact with t cf. § 121 pir 'full' is borrowed from Prs.

134 Ir. rm remains in yārme, etc 'foreleg, shoulder' < arəma. Y rm kurmo 'scorpion', M kurm(o), kərm 'insect, worm' may be genuine, but Yzh kzrəm 'bug' is probably borrowed from Prs

Ancient ry occurs only in pargušče, etc 'finger-ring' < *pary-ry anguštaka-

Assimilation.

A great number of cases of assimilation in contact have been mentioned above in the paragraphs describing the development of intervocalic stops and of groups of consonants. Cf also e g pəcəg-/pəzg- 'to break', maske/mazye 'mucus', etc. And note the simplification of specially heavy groups, e.g. in Y pəško 'tray' < M paxškyo, ažuryo ~ ažurżyo 'ember', čkyūgo, skugo 'urine' < *čašky-(?), što 'said' < *žsta, kafdūz < kovzdūz 'cobbler', etc

¹ Except, perhaps, in Yg.

² Cf § 127

Assimilation at a distance—called dilation by Grammont i—is mainly of two types, both of which are common also in other Ir dialects

A voiced fricative or liquid has been assimilated to a homorganic nasal in $ag^im\bar{\imath}n$ 'honey' $<*ang^ib/v\bar{\imath}n$, $n\bar{\imath}no\gamma o$ 'grain' $<*l\bar{\imath}no\gamma o$; namalen 'half-full' < lamalen

The only instance available of a type of perseveration of an initial nasal common to many Ir and NW. I A. languages is Y məndraye < mədraye 'neck-ring'

A dental sibilant is assimilated to a palatal or dorsal one Thus: šinjo, šižno 'needle' < *sužn-, etc., šäšte 'hook' Prs šast, šayūrš < sayūrž 'hawk', špūo = spūo 'flea' < *spīšā-, žōržo < zaržo 'partridge'. Y žažīro 'chain' Prs zanjīr, but cf. also Khow. janjēr

An isolated case is sarbargo < sabargo 'trefoil' < Prs. sibbarga Cf also warwaden 'trouser-string' < *war-vaden

Dissimilation and Differentiation.

136. The most frequent type of dissimilation is that which affects one of two nasals Thus: ləγan- < nəγăn- 'to throw away', loγn- < naγon- 'to he down', ləmōn- 'to rub' < *nəmon-; ² lažīno 'woodpile' << *nižīno Cf also šaklām 'dew' < Khow, Shgh, etc sagnām < *šabnam, blāum 'soft' < məlāum

When an l follows after the second nasal, the dissimilation does not take place Eg. $nom\bar{a}lyo$ 'salt', not $^*lom^o$ But the principles regulating the assimilation and dissimilation of nasals are far from being clear.

Dissimilation of a liquid occurs in $ha'l\bar{a}r < ha'l\bar{a}l$ 'lawful', $\check{z}ir'm\dot{a}l(e) < \check{z}ilm\dot{a}l$ 'kernel'; $vul'\gamma\bar{o}r < wul\gamma\dot{a}r$ 'shoulder-blade' (or vice versa?), $T\dot{a}la\check{s}$ $M\bar{v}r < Khow$. $Ter\tilde{v}c$ $M\bar{e}r$, $kala'k\partial r$ 'wrinkles' <

¹ But the term dissimilation is reserved by him for the changes taking place in contact!

² Cf. Shgh demān-.

Khow kalakalı yarbīl and yal'bīl 'sieve' may both have been borrowed from Prs

Loss of r is entailed in ka'drən 'earring' < Khow. karıdren, $f\bar{a}ru$ 'mill-broom' < * $fr\bar{a}ruv$, fri- 'melted' < *frari-; awarxo 'flame' $< urv\bar{a}xra$ - (?)

Regarding the preventive dissimilation in dal- 'to give' $< *\delta a \delta a$ -, cf also § 56.

The development of $x\check{s}usta->xusto$ 'wet' is paralleled in other Ir. dialects, and so is $\check{c}\check{t}\check{x}->t\check{t}\check{x}$. 'to sit down', cf also Voc s v ${}^*\check{s}t\iota$ Dissimilation of $\check{s}-\check{s}>s-\check{s}$ has taken place in $spa\check{c}<\check{s}pa\check{c}$ 'behind', and possibly at an early date in afsunyo 'ladder' < * $af\check{s}\check{\iota}\check{s}n-<$ * $upa-sri\check{s}nak\bar{a}-$ Cf also $wu\check{j}uzgo$ 'frog' < *wuzuzgo (v. s v azuzyo)

The change of t-db > t-gb in $tagb\bar{t}r < tadb\bar{t}r$ 'plan' is not confined to Y-M, and probably belongs to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed

Generally speaking, the examples of dissimilation mentioned above fit in with the rules laid down by Grammont. There are, however, exceptions (such as $ha'l\bar{a}r < ha'l\bar{a}l$) which may be due to special causes

A segmentization of l', r' > lg(y), rg(y) occurs in Mg, etc, $wulg^y ig\partial$, $wulgi\gamma$ 'kidney', zil^{gy} 'heart', Mt $storg\bar{i}$ 'stars' (sg $st\bar{o}riy$)

Metathesis and Interversion.

137. Metathesis is quite frequent in Y—M. Examples are M kupôr < Y p³kore 'mouth', nɔlıv- 'to lie down' < *nɔvıl-, lur- 'to run away' < *rul-,¹ plār- 'to sell' < *prāl-, laγafĕι ~ lɔvaxĕe 'torch', zɔ¹gārmyo < zəmargıre 'lizard', xəsmānek < səxmānek 'pellet-bow', ərγūγ < åγurγ 'egg', krabəre 'wool of lambs' < Khow kābraılı, karberı; azuzγo ~ wuyzəga 'frog', yaržo 'beard' < *raıžo; oy'mīno 'podex' < yu'mıno; nıšāž- < nıjāš- 'to show', warwaden 'trouser-

¹ Cf Psht r-l > l-r in $l\tilde{a}r$ 'road', lara 'for'

string'<*warvaden, bràyıko 'sparrow'<*mar γ -; pəšgirdio<pəškədrī 'dung'; Y xird- (but xrist!)< M xred- 'to shave'.

Regarding interversion in groups of consonants v. § 97 (rf, rx < fr. xr), § 127 (secondary rd > dr), § 119 (md, mg < dm, gm)

Cf. also alvosto < avlasto 'sleeve', varzeyo < *vazrayo (vəzəryo) 'wing', sinjo < sizno 'needle', pazyo < payo 'clean', sfin < sizno 'comb', sfarm < sfarm 'shame', sfin < sfin < sfarm 'husband'.

But note niyzo < (?) nezyo 'mucus', skåvrio < skarviyo 'coal', zaxmo 'field' < *zamxa, zoyno 'chin' < *zanya, wuyzəga 'frog' < *wazyaga (v azuzyo) In these words an apparently easier sequel of consonants has changed into a more difficult one

Vowels.

Any attempt to reconstruct the development of Ir. vowels in Y—M is beset with many dangers, and the results must of necessity be much more uncertain than those we can arrive at with regard to many of the consonants. In most languages, and certainly to a marked degree in Y—M and some other E Ir dialects, the vowels are more variable and more subject to complicated influences from neighbouring sounds than the consonants

A glance at the Vocabulary will show that, while the consonants generally agree in Y and M, or present only two different forms, the vowels often appear to vary with the speaker. No doubt some of the variations may be due to faulty notation. It takes much longer time to penetrate the vowel system of a language, than to ascertain the number of consonant phonemes. But there really appears to be a certain instability in the articulation, especially of short vowels, in Y—M. They often tend towards a neutral θ , and θ and θ may interchange in the same word and with the same speaker according to the phonetic context.

¹ But also Khow pazqā, pagzā

Without the knowledge of older forms of these dialects the task of tracing in detail the vowel changes, which have taken place at different periods and under varying conditions, is just as hopeless as the fixation of the sound-laws which have changed Germanic a, au, ai, e, \bar{e} , \bar{o} , and iu into Modern English ii, would be, if we knew nothing about Anglo-Saxon, or the older stages of English.

a

In the majority of cases Ir. "a" (whatever its exact phonetic value) is represented, in stressed syllables by Y ă, M ŏ (â) It is doubtful whether the difference of quantity has any historical or phonological significance ²

To give an exhaustive survey of the development of ancient a would entail a repetition of the majority of the words contained in the Vocabulary, and I must therefore restrict myself to quoting some selected examples

Before a nasal, also when derived from an earlier group of consonants (e g $\dot{s}m$, rn), we find Y \ddot{a} , M \ddot{o} , e g. in $l^2b\bar{a}n$ - $l^2v\bar{o}n$ - 'to winnow', $l^2\gamma\bar{a}n$ - $l^2\gamma\bar{o}n$ 'to throw away'; $\dot{s}am$ - $\dot{s}\bar{o}m$ - 'to drink', $y\bar{a}n$ - $y\hat{a}\eta^{gy}$ - 'to grind', $p\bar{a}m$ $p\bar{o}m$ 'wool', $c\bar{a}m$ $c\hat{a}m$ · $c\bar{o}m$ 'eye', $p\bar{a}do$ $p\bar{o}ndo$ 'road'; $p\bar{a}n\dot{s}$ · $p\bar{o}n\dot{c}$ '5'; $\gamma\bar{a}d\partial m$ · $\gamma\bar{o}ndom$ 'wheat'; lad lod, $l\bar{o}nd$ (but LSIm $l\bar{a}d$, MFB $l\dot{a}nd$) 'tooth', vad-. $v\bar{o}nd$ 'to the', $tr\bar{a}\dot{z}$ -· $t^2r\bar{o}n\dot{y}$ -, $tr\hat{a}\dot{y}$ - 'to bind', akade akody 'bramble', tandy-· $tond\partial no$ 'thunder'—Corresponding to Y $y\bar{a}de$ 'blind', we find Mm, Z, G $y\bar{o}dy$, etc., but Mti, t, (t), g $y\bar{a}ndy$, where the \bar{a} can scarcely be due to the influence of y- (cf Mt $y\bar{o}n'^{gy}$ - 'to grind'). Nor am I able to explain the vocalism of Y $l^2m\bar{o}n$ - 'to rub', boda 'dyke, ankle-bone' (< Prs)

Before r, l Y $f\check{s}arm$ M $\check{s}for^{o}m$ 'shame', $\gamma ar\gamma$ ' $\gamma or\gamma$ 'heavy'; larze lorziy 'sheaf', γalv $\gamma \bar{o}lv$ (but LSIm $\gamma \bar{a}lf$) 'dog', $p \ni larz$. $p \ni l\bar{o}rz$ - 'to wrap', $par\gamma$ $por\gamma$ 'mouse'.

Before s. niāst· nišst 'sat down', karāst kərost 'hide', last lost
¹ Eg in heel, leaf, heal, steal, eel, feel, creep ² Cf § 35

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'hand', aščo' ošk^yo, etc (but G, LSIm ā-) '8'; yasp' yosp 'horse', čāst: čōst 'fell', vāst vōst 'tied', yašk: yošk 'tear'—Note Y xāste 'straw', but xosto 'grain' (with assimilation to -0°)

Before other consonants Y $m\bar{a}g^{y}$. M $m\bar{o}g^{y}$. 'to rub'; parwaxše. parwaxšiy 'broom'; maxše $m\bar{o}xši$ 'mosquito', max $m\bar{o}x$ 'we', $s\bar{a}vde$ · $s\bar{o}vdiy$ 'basket', avdo $ovd\bar{o}$ '7'; maf $m\bar{o}f$ 'you', etc

One group of exceptions to this rule are the cases with Y o M a in the proximity of x and the labials. But we do not always find Y o, M a in such positions (v above), and it is impossible to tell what has really taken place in such words, assimilation in Y or dissimilation in M.

Examples with x- are Y xof. M xaf 'scum'; xof-· xaf-, xef-· 'to cough', xos-· xas-, xes-· 'to pull', xoro. xara, xera 'ass'; xo(u)d-xad- (Z xad-) 'to laugh', xo(a)n-· xan-· 'to buy'. But note Y—M xot xot-· xot xot-· xot

Before $x \in Y$ yox M yax 'cold', Y xurox- M xir $\bar{\epsilon}x$ -, kırax 'to shy'; kutox: kutax 'sour milk'

After w the development is more troubled Cf eg. Y wof šīo M wafšiyo 'wasp'; woryo wargå 'quail', wor- war- 'to knit', but also Y waly 'wedding', wor, war 'oath', wo/arfo M worfo 'snow', Y wāzd M wōzd 'fat'

Before labials we find Y o in; Y kofše: M kafšo 'shoe', novnăv- 'to raın', skåvrıo: skarvıyo 'coal', x³šovo· x³šavo 'night'; yourso yavurso, yə-, ye- 'juniper' But Y yavo (sh yowo) M yŏwa 'cow'

But the hopelessness of finding some principle or principles to explain all the variations in the development of a in Y—M is demonstrated by Y poləm. M palum 'soft', Y sŏro M sara 'dung', Y la/oso M lăsa 'rope', Y moyuso: M maguso, må, məo 'fly', Y xurom M xuram 'threshing-ground', etc. Cf also e.g. Y los '10', rok 'colour', kob (= M) 'little', Y—M nayən 'bread', etc.

141 After initial k^{y_1} Y a has been palatalized in $k^{y_e}l$ 'baldheaded', k^y amder 'younger', k^y emalyo 'skull' Mj k^y āl, kamder But in other cases Y has ka-, ko- Reg $a\check{x} < a\check{x}$ (?), cf. § 153

¹ V. § 41

After x < hw- ancient a has been labialized in Y—M xun, $x\bar{o}n$ 'raven', M $xur\bar{\imath}$ 'sister's son', etc. Cf also (w)urv- 'to boil' with u < a between two labials (but Y $wof\bar{s}\bar{\imath}o$ 'wasp')

Y $p\bar{u}na$, M $p\bar{u}\eta^{gy}$, etc may go back to a form in \bar{a} , or have early compensatory lengthening, cf $x\bar{u}t$ 'he eats', $z\bar{u}t$ 'he speaks' and other syncopated 3 sg forms with early lengthening.

Very difficult to explain are the M preterites in \bar{e} , such as Z $\bar{s}\bar{e}md$ 'drank', $fx\bar{e}vd$ 'sheared', etc ¹

142. Before the accent a usually remains. Thus, e.g. Y—M a'larsine 'threshold', av'lāsto, etc 'sleeve', aspə'lan 'stable', par'gušče: par'gušk'yy 'finger-ring', ag''mīn 'honey', 'agidro, 'aglero 'grape' (with shift of accent?). But note Y o'guščo M 'ogušk'ya, 'āo', 'ə-'finger' After the accent we find u in mo'yuso, 'mayəsa 'fly' < *'makasā-, and possibly in av'yuš, 'yıvguš < *'upakaša-(?).

Note Y—M 'ida 'slave' < *hantaka- (but hade), Y $\bar{\imath}$ 'dou, M yidou 'fever' < *han-tapa-, Y $d\bar{\imath}r$ M yu'dur, \imath 'd $\bar{\imath}r$ 'other' < *ant $\bar{\imath}r$ a-with unexplained \imath , etc.

Ir \bar{a} .

143. Ancient Ir \bar{a} 'normally' results in Mm, Z, G \bar{u} , Y, and some forms of M $\bar{\imath}$, in some cases with secondary shortening. This M \bar{u} appears to be identical with that which arises from ancient \bar{u} and au, but the fact that in the latter cases \bar{u} remains in Y proves that the common Y—M sound derived from \bar{a} was not identical with $\bar{u} < \bar{u}$ (and au), but was probably of a palatal type. Thus perhaps.

Ir
$$\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{o}$$
 $(\bar{u}) > \begin{cases} \bar{i} \text{ (Y, Mg, t, etc.)} \\ \bar{u} \text{ (Mm, etc.)} \end{cases}$

$$\begin{array}{c} u > ou \\ \bar{u} > \bar{u} \end{cases} > \bar{u}$$

¹ Cf § 159

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Examples of $\bar{a} > M$ \bar{u} , M-Y \bar{i} are Mm, Z, G, LSIm $\hat{c}f\bar{u}r$. Y $\hat{c}s\bar{i}r$, Mt, ti, g, (sh) $\hat{c}f\bar{i}r$ 'four' Mm, Z, G $n\bar{u}fa$ Y, Mg, t, ti $n\bar{t}f$ 'navel' The same distribution of \bar{i} and \bar{u} appears in Y $asm\bar{u}no$ 'sky'; $i\check{s}\check{c}\bar{i}n$ 'female breast', $d\bar{i}r$ 'other', $f\check{i}z$ 'breast', 1 $now\bar{i}sa$ 'grandson', $pr\bar{i}st$ 'sold' $(pl\bar{u}r-)$, $p\bar{i}\check{x}$ 'arrow', $r\bar{i}\gamma o$ 'vein', $r\bar{i}v$ 'rhubarb', $s\bar{b}r\bar{i}m$ 'fat' (of unknown etymology), $\check{s}f\bar{i}n$ 'comb', $\check{s}\check{i}\check{z}$ 'vulture', $t\bar{i}ro$ 'darkness', 2 $v\bar{i}z\gamma o$ 'arm', $v\bar{i}ra$ 'burden', $z\bar{i}k$ 'knee', $z\bar{v}\iota\bar{i}\gamma$ (and $z\bar{o}b\bar{e}\gamma$) 'tongue', as compared with the forms in Mm, etc. Possibly also Mti $nv\bar{i}lo$ · Z nawulo 'bedding' < *ni- $p\bar{u}d\check{a}$ -, Y $m\bar{i}r\gamma o$, Mg $m\bar{i}r\gamma a$ Mm $mur\gamma o$ 'meadow' < * $m\bar{a}rg\bar{a}$ -

Words with ancient \bar{a} found only in Y are $s\bar{\imath}\gamma$ 'hare', \bar{s} $st\bar{\imath}n\gamma o$ 'supine', $t\bar{\imath}\gamma o$ 'rope made of willow bark', $z\bar{\imath}lo$ 'hail'. Of also Voc s vv $\check{c}e^ir\bar{\imath}\gamma$, $\check{c}\imath'r\bar{\imath}\gamma$ 'lamp', $p\bar{\imath}\gamma$ 'onion', $pilo\gamma o$ 'cup' ' $sk\bar{\imath}u$ r 'shooting', $p\check{\imath}uze$ 'falcon' (< Prs $b\bar{\imath}z$), and possibly $\check{s}ulo$ 'rice pillau' must have been borrowed too late to join the development of ancient \bar{a}

Special M words are cirūy 'lantern' (early lw), tūr 'trap', 'zurī 'itching'; zu'rī, 'zūrēya 'sister's son', 4 pērīvur 'cow-house'

Most of the exceptions to this rule can be explained Thus after x- and w- Y \bar{u} remains in Y—M $wu\S$, $u\S$ 'grass' > $< v\bar{u}stra$ - (cf. Y $u\S\bar{c}eno$, M $wu\S\bar{k}^yeno$ 'hay-stack'), Y—M $x\bar{u}\gamma o$, $x\bar{u}go$ 'spring, well', $w\bar{u}\imath$ 'wind' (but Mt, g, etc $w\bar{\imath}y$, $w\bar{\imath}y$), Y $x\bar{u}no$ 'lid of a tray', Y $h\bar{u}\gamma$ ($<*w\bar{u}\gamma^2$) 'money'. Possibly also after m, cf Y mvx (Biddulph 'moogh') 'month', and cf s v $mun\gammao$ 'sheep-skin bag' But, on the other hand, cf $now\bar{\imath}sa$ and $asm\bar{\imath}no$ above

After y- we find Y \bar{u} , possibly retained through preventive differentiation, in Y $y\bar{u}r$. M $y\bar{u}r$ 'fire' < * $\bar{u}rt$, 6 $y\bar{u}rzvn$, etc 'millet' (prob < * $\bar{u}rz$ -, v Voc s v), yurzuyo 'grindstone' (if < * $y\bar{u}hr$ -<

¹ Biddulphs's fuz can scarcely be an older Y form.

² With * $\bar{a}r < *a\theta r$

 $^{^{8}}$ With $^{*}\tilde{a} < aha$ Cf Psht soe, etc.

⁴ With $*\bar{a}r < *ahr$

⁵ But Mt wiš

⁶ Cf. § 101

* $ya\partial ra$ -) But corresponding to M $y\bar{u}r$ - 'ground' (< * $\bar{a}rta$ -) we find Yg $y\bar{i}r$ -.¹ Reg is-, $y\bar{i}s$ v below. Mm, Z, G $y\bar{u}sp\partial n$, Mt, g $yisp\partial n$ 'iron' goes back to * $\bar{o}span <$ * $\bar{a}spana$ -, and the vocalism of Y rispen seems to show that the mysterious r- was introduced at an early date in * $\bar{o}span >$ * $r\bar{o}span >$ * $r\bar{u}span$, etc

Also before -y- < -t- we find \bar{u} in $s\bar{u}\bar{i}$ 'slate' ($< *s\bar{a}ta$ -) But I am unable to explain the varying development of *- $\bar{a}ta$ - in Y, Mm, Z, G $w\bar{u}\iota$ ($w\bar{u}y$) Mt, ti, g $w\bar{\iota}(y)$, $w\bar{\iota}(y)$, $w\bar{\iota}(y)$, $w\bar{\iota}(y)$ 'wind', Y $l\bar{\iota}$, $l\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$ Mm $l\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}iy$, Mt, Z, G $l\bar{\iota}y$, ($l\partial y$) 'gave', 2 Mm $y\bar{u}\iota$ Mg $y\bar{\iota}y$ 'brother-in-law', etc. Cf. also Y $l^2r\bar{u}$ - γus · Mt, g, etc. $l^2r\bar{\iota}$ - γus , but Mm $l^2r\bar{e}$ -gus (possibly $< *dr\bar{u}\iota$ with epenthesis of ι ?)

There are no examples of ancient, unshortened $-\bar{a}y$ - in Y, but in M this group has been subject to early palatalization. Thus Mm nusiy, g nisiy 'shadow' < *nisāya, Z zīy- 'to bear' (but zūy- < zāta-), cf cīy- cūy- 'to freeze'

In a great number of words \bar{a} has been shortened at an early date and has shared the fate of ancient a. This shortening has taken place before some nominal suffixes, in the first hand $-o/-a < -\bar{a}$ and -e/-iy < -aka, in nominal compounds, and in the present tense of the verbs \bar{a} . It is not necessary to assume that all of these suffixes have once carried the stress; the shortening may be due to rhytmical tendencies

Examples are, e.g. Y a'lāno 'pome-granate' < *ha-dānā-, Y lāmo, M lômo 'village' < 'dāmā-, M lōmago 'snare' < 'dāmakā-, Y mayo'yo, M mōyaya, etc. 'mare' < *mātakā-, Y nāno'yo 'grain' < *dānakā-, Y palo, polo, M pālo 'foot' < pādā-, Y warvyo 'rain' < 'wārīkā-, Y wāro, M wōro 'summer' < 'wāhrtā-, Y yåuyo, M yougo, etc 'water' < 'āpakā; Y no'woso, M 'nawəso 'granddaughter' (but Y nowīsa, nowis m)

Y $f \in r' \gamma \bar{a} m \bar{\sigma}$, -e, M 'frayomiy 'he-goat' < 'fragāmaka-, Y 'može

¹ Other Y informants gave the remade form yagvi-, etc

² But $y\bar{a}\imath$ 'brought' (is-, $y\bar{i}$ s- 'to bring' $< y\bar{a}$ s-)

⁸ With the exception of the early syncopated 3g in—ati

M 'mažiy 'stick' < †māðaka-, Y 'stāre, M störiy 'star', Y 'yāre, M yō'riy 'flour' etc

In such words as asmino 'sky', riyo 'vein', zilo 'hail', xilo 'well', pilo 'hawk', etc, the suffix may have been added at a later date.

Y vrai, M $v^2r\hat{a}i$ 'brother'; Y za^imai , M $zam\hat{o}i$ 'son-in-law', which apparently have shortening without suffigation, may perhaps be derived from vrayyy < biataka, etc.¹

In compounds we find shortening of $*\bar{a}$ in poruylan 'key-hole' and other words in ancient $*d\bar{a}na$ -, |aspalan 'stable', $aw|l\bar{a}n$ 'bridle', Y $|pi\check{s}\check{c}an$, $-\epsilon n$, M $pi\check{s}\check{k}^yen$ 'thigh' ($< partist\bar{a}na$ -), $mal\bar{a}n$ 'waist' ($< mar\delta y\bar{a}na$ -), $p\bar{s}tan$ 'udder' ($< *payah st\bar{a}na$ -), Y $xal^if\bar{a}n$, M $|xalif\bar{o}n|$ 'skin bag for flour' ($< *hivar\partial a - p\bar{a}na$ -). $i\check{s}\check{c}\bar{i}n$, $asm\bar{i}no$, $st\bar{i}nyo$, $x\bar{u}no$, $z\bar{i}k$, etc, mentioned above, show that the shortening can not have been caused by the nasal which follows the $*\bar{a}$.

Among the present forms of, e.g., Y aydāum, M (Z) aydōvəm 'I dress' (and other causatives), Y plār-, M plōr- 'to sell' (< 'parā-dǎ-), lār- 'to hold', vəzān- 'to know', wāf-, etc 'to weave' (Prs. bāf-), zənay- 'to wash', etc But Z zīy- 'to bear',² etc, may have been influenced by the 3 sg. Cf. Z aydūvd 'he dresses', etc. with regular $\bar{u} < \bar{a}$ 3

The verbs in \bar{a} and those in a have thus to a large extent, if not completely, coalesced through the shortening of \bar{a} in most forms, and the lengthening of a in Pres 3rd sg

Also the prefix \bar{a} has been shortened, or has at any rate not taken part in the development towards \bar{u} . Thus Y $\bar{a}\gamma dem$, M $\bar{a}\gamma udem$, etc. 'I dress' Y $a\gamma d\bar{a}um$ 'I dress (somebody else)', $\bar{a}\gamma\sigma$ (or with

² Cf. above § 144.

⁸ Reg Z nigëvd 'bites', wëft 'weaves', firšëd 'shakes' (firšön-), bispët 'entrusts' (bispör-), pilër- 'sells' (pilör-) of the Morphology. The phonetic development is not clear

assimilation Y $\bar{o}\gamma oi$) 'came', $a^*run\gamma o$ 'light' $< *\bar{a}$ -raux $\bar{s}nak\bar{a}$ -, etc But in M $y\bar{u}sp\bar{e}n$ 'iron', etc, \bar{a} - has not been felt as a prefix.

Final $-\bar{a}$ was shortened at an early date, but did not coalesce with original -a

146. In Prs. lw.s, except possibly in the very early borrowing pūze 'falcon', we find ă, ō, ā, varying very much in the same manner as in genuine Y—M words with ancient a Thus, e.g., zəmistān, -ōn 'winter', Y šām · M šōm 'evening', Y xām M xōm 'raw', Y bāya 'garden', Y sāl M sōl 'year' (if borrowed), etc.

Ir. 1.

147. As has already been pointed out by Gauthiot, i and u have a i tendency to lose their specific articulation in Y—M, and to become mixed vowels of the type o, i. This tendency is shared also by Psht and some other E Ir. dialects.

Examples of i in Y—M are ce, ci 'what', ceb-, ceb- 'to pinch'; dis- 'to know', ind 'so much' < *imanta-, Y imar-, M yumar- 'to count' < hismar-, lizo, lizo 'fort', risko 'mit', sepio, sig^yo 'sand' < * $sikat\bar{a}$ -, silyo 'cream' < * $sidak\bar{a}$ -, silyo 'gujube tree' < * $sinjit\bar{a}$ -, $tir\gamma$, ti^o , tio 'sharp', xird-, xird- 'to shave' < 'xrind-, yimsâl 'this year' $< ima^o$.

After w- ancient i has been labialized in wul-· wust 'to throw' < *wul-, $wul\bar{e}yo$ 'span' $< *wul\bar{e}ti$, $x^u \dot{s}uvl$ 'sweet' $< x\dot{s}vipta$ -; Z $p \partial r w \dot{o} y d$ 'sifted' ($p \partial r w \dot{v} \dot{z}$ -), possibly $ur \dot{v} z$ - 'to spread dung' (vi- or ava-)

Between a labial and ancient \check{s} we find \check{u} in $sp\bar{u}o$ 'louse' $< spi\check{s}$ -; $pu\check{s}\check{c}$, $pu\check{s}k^y$ 'flour made from dried apples', puma 'avalanche' < ' $pi\check{s}m\bar{a}$.

Before $hr < \vartheta r$ i has been lengthened in $m\bar{\imath}ra$ 'sun'.

¹ Op cit, p 142.

Ir î

148 Ancient $\bar{\imath}$ is retained in $x\bar{s}\bar{\imath}ra$ 'mılk', $\cdot \bar{s}\bar{\imath}yo$ 'woman', $z\bar{\imath}o$ 'bowstring', $w\bar{\imath}st(o)$ '20', $n\bar{\imath}ya$ 'sour milk' With constant shortening ' $s\bar{\imath}-n\bar{a}mia$ 'girl' $< str\bar{\imath}-n\bar{a}man$, $t\bar{\imath}$ - 'to enter' $< *at\bar{\imath}$ -

The relation between $\gamma urvo$, $\gamma rrva$, etc. 'throat' and Av $gr\bar{\imath}v\bar{a}$ 'neck' is uncertain

Ir u

In most cases Ir u remains, or becomes ∂ , i^1 Thus, e.g. $lu\gamma do$, $l\partial^o$ 'daughter'; $v\partial z\partial$, vv^o , vv^o 'she-goat', surx, $s\partial^o$, sv^o 'red', suvdo, $s\partial^o$, sv^o 'shoulder', surv 'hole'; $ogu\check{s}\check{c}o$, etc 'finger', $(w)u\check{s}k$ 'dry', $poru\gamma$ 'lock, bolt'; yuxs- 'to learn', tu, $t\partial$ 'thou' (Psht. $t\partial$ points to * $t\check{u}$), $v\partial n$ 'bottom, root', rust 'fled', etc. Note Y \check{s}^ife , M \check{s}^ofvy , $\check{s}^fu\bar{\imath}$, etc 'husband' < * $f\check{s}^o\partial y\partial y <$ * $f\check{s}^iuyaka$ -.

In zinio 'daughter-in-law' (< *snuša-) and $fri\gammao$ 'flea' (< *frušika-) u has resulted in i before $y < \tilde{s}.$ In $g^{y_i}b$ 'lost' (< *gumb), lib 'to card wool' (*dumb-), and lim, lim, etc 'tail' u has become i before a labial s I cannot explain the reasons for the development in Y 'agidro, M 'aglero 'grape' ($*angurd\bar{a}$ -?), 'škiro, etc 'camel', $frai\gammao$ etc, 'yoke-rope' ($< *frayug\bar{a}$ -)

In $p\bar{u}r$ 'son' the lengthening has been caused by the loss of $h < \vartheta$ But note the lengthening also in other monosyllabics, such as $y\bar{u}\gamma$, $y\bar{u}\gamma$ 'yoke', ${}^{\circ}st\bar{u}\gamma$ 'long hair', $\check{s}\bar{u}\imath$ 'went'

In unstressed position we find u, ∂ in $\gamma \bar{a} d\partial m$, $\gamma \bar{o} n d\partial m$, oum 'wheat', $p\partial r \partial \gamma \partial v$, etc 'rıb' $\langle p\partial r \partial s u \rangle$, Y urzŭγ, M (w)urzug, o $\partial \gamma$ 'straight', Y $\bar{a} \gamma d \partial v$, M $\bar{a} \gamma u d \partial v$ 'to dress'

Initial u is preserved in $usx\bar{u}bun$ 'sleepless', $ustu\dot{s}\ddot{c}$ 'to jump', but lost in the atonic word sko 'on' $< usk\bar{u}\dot{t}$ Corresponding to Y $ul\bar{u}$ " 'belly' (*udarya-?) M has Δ^o , yv^o , etc., cf. Y voyo, M vu^o ,

¹ Cf above regarding &

 $^{^2}$ The statement § 74 is hardly correct. But cf above $\imath> u$ between labial and -ś-¹

⁸ Through differentiation?

⁴ Cf § 181

 $y\iota^o$, ι - 'moon' < *ux\$mo Y $\bar{a}^i v\epsilon li$, M a^o , δ^o 'both' may have suffered a very early reduction of the initial vowel, cf. Av uva-, ava-, va-Regarding upa, upa- cf § 165

Also in lw s u is rendered by ∂ , ι E.g k ∂lf , kulf 'lock', $p\iota r$, $p\partial r$, pur 'full'; $s\iota n\dot{q}$, $s\partial n\dot{q}$ 'two-storied house' < Khow. $sun\dot{q}$

$Ir. \bar{u}.$

150. Ancient ū retains its quality in Y—M kū 'where', Y—M yū(w) ū 'excrements' (but also Y yŏ(h)), Y—M (")stuno (and Y "stəno) 'post', M tūι 'mulberry' M shows a tendency to palatalization in līy, lūy, lī 'smoke', lura, ləo, lū 'far', stur, sətər, sətir 'big': Y lūι, lūro, "stur In Y pīo, M pīəy 'rotten', vīo, etc., 'was' and Y astīo 'abuse' (if < *a-stūtā-) this tendency has prevailed completely (before y < t) in both dialects Also Y—M vrīyo, etc. (G vrēga) has an unexplained ī</p>

Y—M $\S\bar{u}$ 'horn' may go back to $sr\bar{u}$ - or *srau- (cf. the Wkh. form) Y $v^{9}r\tilde{u}t$, M $br\bar{u}t$ 'moustache' are lw s

Ir. r

In view of the general instability of short vowels in Y—M it is r not surprising that the very short vocalic element which developed in original r should show a wide scope of variation, which cannot be explained in all particulars

In the neighbourhood of a labial r usually results in u Thus: wulya 'kidney', wury 'wolf'; $(w)u\dot{s}\bar{\imath}yo$ 'hungry', xur 'ate', $\gamma urv\cdot(\gamma vrv\cdot)$ 'to seize', yovurso 'juniper' ($\langle hap\partial r\partial s\bar{\imath} v, Y \rangle$), Y $n\partial vur$, ° ∂r , M $n\varepsilon v\varepsilon r$ 'took out', mur 'died', imur 'counted'; urzuy 'straight', M $purs\partial go$ (but Y $p\partial r\partial v$) 'rib', M $purs\partial v$, $p\partial r\partial v$ (but Y $p\partial r\partial v$) 'to ask', $w\bar{u}r\dot{z}$, $w\bar{u}r\dot{z}$ 'thread'; $vurzan\dot{e}$, $vurzon\dot{e}$ 0 'pillow' $\langle *brzon v$

Before Y šč, M šk^y the vocalic element became palatal lišč · lišk^y 'saw', kišč kišk^y, kišk 'ploughed', polišč 'wrapped' (polarz-),

^{7 -} Kulturforskning

52.

 $p^{i\dot{s}\dot{c}}$: $p^{i\dot{s}k^y}$ 'farted' (pil-); $p^{i\dot{s}\dot{c}o}$ $p^{i\dot{s}k^y}o$, but also p^{io} , p^{io} , p^{io} 'back' the same conflicting influences of an initial labial and a following palatal is due the vacillation in Y wušč, wišč M wušk 'knitted' P^{n-1} , etc. It is doubtful whether formisc 'forgot' has ancient r^{-1} An l appears to have prevented the development of a labial vowel in Y milyo M mão, mo, mo 'clay' (< *mrd-), Y pil- 'to fart', Y pilf polf 'ford'

Other examples with i, o, are Y lirs M līrs, lurs 'goat's hair' '*dṛsa- or *dārsa-?), Y prasilane 'belonging to last year' *para-srd-anaka-?), Y zil, zel M zilgy, zülg, etc 'heart', Y fsidro (= ing' (< *upa-sṛdā-, or osārdā-); kirio, etc. 'hen', Y kər M kər

Note Y mur 'died' (v above), but mer- 'to die' with the usual reduction in the present

Initial r is found only in Y yars, ef Av. arosa-.

Reg. M vəzvurgo, Y zeviryo 'birch', Y kurmo 'scorpion, insect' (but kiram 'bug'), yīk' 'penis' v Voc s.vv Note kanam 'I do', the does' $< kun\bar{a}mi$, kunati with early change of into u, as kit . Sheh at in Prs, Shgh etc.

Diphthongs.

In most cases ancient as results in i (1), the older stage e being as preserved in a few words without any apparent reason

Examples are agimin (rarely oin, oin) 'honey', animof 'half' (adv, cf nimopir 'half full'), axšin, oën, -ən 'blue', Y iz'ma, (au $(y)\tilde{t}^0$, yz^0 , yz^0 , yz^0 , if irewood', $d\tilde{z}z$, dzz- 'to bury', $\gamma \tilde{z}s$ 'goat's hair thread', $\gamma \bar{\imath}(w)$ - 'to spin', $l\bar{\imath}u$ 'rotten, bad', $m\bar{\imath}\gamma$, $m\bar{e}\gamma$ 'cloud', Yzh Ysh, Mm mēz- 'to urinate', nerīz- 'to lick', pərwīz- 'to sieve', m^{iz} 'span' (Sgl $p\bar{e}x$), $sp\bar{i}$ 'white', $vr\bar{i}$ - 'to break' (Sgl $vr\bar{e}l$ -), $w\bar{i}n$ - $p\bar{i}x$ 'span' (Sgl $p\bar{e}x$), $v\bar{v}uq$ 'willow' to see', wiya 'willow'.

In Y-M yε'ya, yĕ', Z 'yāya 'bridge' (< haētu-) the development of initial (h)ar- differs from that found in izma. The difference is or the development p^{er} haps conditioned by the following y In $y\bar{u}$ one the development ı V. § 132

appears to have passed through the stages aiw > yau.¹ M yax^il^n , yi^o 'cold' might be explained in the same manner, but this word is probably borrowed from or influenced by Prs (cf. M $yaxs^2riy$, Y $laxs^2riy$ 'ice'), genuine *aix- occurring in Y ax^il^n Cf Y max M $m\bar{o}x$ 'peg' (Prs $m\bar{e}x$), Y woxo- M $w\bar{a}xo$ 'root' (Prs $b\bar{e}x$), with loss of the palatal element before x^2 Y $x\bar{u}l$ M xa^ila 'perspiration' is difficult to explain Possibly i has been absorbed into the l (< *l') 3

Between a labial and ancient \dot{s} we find \bar{u} , etc. $\ll ai$ in Y ' $m\bar{u}o$ M miyo, mv^o , mv^o 'sheep', and possibly in Y $\dot{a}b\bar{u}ya$ M $\bar{a}biy$ 'moraine' Cf above regarding the treatment of i in similar positions.

Y yaržo M yŏržo 'beard' may be derived through *raıžā- < *raıšā-

The pronoun yo 'this' (half proximate) probably goes back to $*ayo < a\bar{e}ta$ - (or nom $a\bar{e}\check{s}a$), of mo < ima-, etc Loss of ai- is also recorded in Y fkyiyiko (Biddulph still $ifk\bar{i}go$) 'alone' $< *\bar{e}w + k^o$, of Sar $iv\check{y}$

In the lw $qiza^igi$ 'bridle' < Prs. qaiza the foreign sound ai has been reduced in unstressed syllable

The actual diphthougs in Y $n\dot{a}ul\bar{a}$ 'to make sit down', $naul\bar{o}$ 'to circumcize' are probably derived from $*n\partial y < *nu\bar{s}/z$.

partawo 'puttees' is a lw, and the etymologies of parfar 'steep hill side', $parx\bar{o}$ 'unthreshed grain' are unknown par- may go back to patr- Cf also § 46

au

153. The development of au into \bar{u} (u, u) is parallel to that of $ai > \tilde{i}$ auAs mentioned above, this \bar{u} did not coalesce with the sound resulting from \bar{a} in common Y—M In Y $\bar{u} < au$ is palatalized before -y < -t, of $\bar{i}y < \bar{u}ta$, § 150

 $^{^1}$ Cf. Psht yau, Par. žū, etc. But v also Junker, SHAW phil hist Kl 1914, p. 21.

² But cf $p\bar{\imath}x$ above!

³ Cf Psht xwala, but also wala 'willow' Y wiya

⁴ Cf § 143

Examples are Y å'bruo 'pear' (<*hamrautā-), Y o'yŭzo 'walnut', à'runyo 'light' (<*ā-rauxŝnakā-), drūv- 'to dance' (Sogd $\delta r'w\beta$ -), $\gamma \bar{u}$ ($\gamma \delta n$), etc 'ear', $\gamma \bar{u} ma$ 'hair', $\gamma \bar{u} \bar{s}$ 'meat', Y 'k"Ifo, k"uo, M k"īo 'hump' (<*kaufyā-? kūfân 'camel's hump' may be a lw), M kūīko 'stone'; Y kovio, kōviyo M kouyo, kowūya 'pigeon', lūž- 'to milk', $n \partial \gamma \bar{u} y$ - 'to hear'; $r \bar{u} \bar{i}$, etc 'bowels', Y $R \bar{u} n$ 'n. of a village' (cf Prs $r \delta d^2$), Y rufo 'small broom' (*au or u^2), rūyon 'clarified butter', Y rūso M 'raūso 'fox', rūžen 'smoke-hole', M sotūr 'horned cattle', tūyum 'grain', xūlo 'cap', M yōruya 'eructation' (*ā-raugā-), yūya 'ear of wheat' (Prs $x \delta s a$).

Of unknown or uncertain derivation are Υ ἀγυτγ Μ ατ'γūg 'egg', γυνψ 'wooden trough'; kuso 'maize-straw', mūż- 'to move', Υ sŭγικο Μ sūgo (M(g) sῖγακα') 'tale', Υ "stuγnūl 'dripping', yur-sılıko 'shoe-string'. V Voc s vv

Note Y pisto M pūsto 'bark' (Prs pōst), possibly < *paustā, cf. Av. pasta-.—Reg -awa- (e g m tō 'thy', etc), cf § 85

Umlaut.

- 154. Umlaut caused by a following i or j is common in Y—M as in most other Ir languages, but it is not easy to determine the exact conditions under which this assimilation takes place, nor are the results always the same
- 155. Before a following y an ancient a results in ĕ or ĭ Thus, e.g., a-y Y mēr M mēr, mar 'man' < *mart(i)ya- (but Y mara, M mēra < *martyaka-), Y kero, kəo, koo· M kēro, kēo 'knife' < *kart(i)yā-, Y γu'rex, °ōx 'knot' < *graθyā-, Y yexio M yōxo 'hand-ınıll' < *yaθriyā- (?) Reg vəzāxo 'pregnant', zāxko 'child-bearing', pəzexi, pəzäxë 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < °zaθya- or °zaθa-, v §§ 66, 155

 But ĭ occurs in M nəliv-, nīlv- 'to lie down' < nī-paīðya-, Y mīstor 'prince' < *masyah-tara-, ilīr, etc 'belly' < *udarya-; Y sīrī 'upper' < *sarīya- (?) There is no epenthesis or umlaut in the unstressed first syllable of m²lān 'waist'.

Before i we find umlaut in: $i\dot{z}$ 'snake' $< a\dot{z}i$ -, $z\bar{i}t$ 'yellow' < a-2 zarrita-; $\dot{z}ina$, $\dot{z}inko$ 'woman' $< \dot{z}aini$ -, $\dot{c}e\dot{s}o$ 'pin of a spindle' < * $\dot{c}astr\ddot{t}$ -, \dot{M} wēlo. Y wolo 'irrigation-channel' $< vai\delta i$ -; 1 possibly also in Y sporo Mm sparo, Z $s^{3}p\bar{e}i$ a 'plough-share', Y woro M wēro, etc 'trousers', Y pero M pēro, etc. 'hip', Y loso, $l\epsilon^{o}$ M $l\bar{\epsilon}so$ 'wild oats' (Sgl. $d\partial s\bar{s}n$)

The absence of umlaut in γar 'stone' < gairi may be due to early transfer into the a-stems of masculines in -i

157 Examples of \bar{a} — y are Y $pe\check{x}iko$ 'snare' $< *p\bar{a}\vartheta y\bar{a}$ - (v. s v.), \bar{a} - y M $vr\bar{e}r\imath$ 'nephew' ($< *br\bar{a}\vartheta ryaka$ -); M $x\check{s}\bar{e}ma$ 'supper' $< x\check{s}\bar{a}fnya$ - (if a lw, of very early date), Y $y\check{e}\check{x}ko$ 'duck' $< *\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ - (?), $m\check{t}\check{x}$ 'day' ($< *m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ - 2) Reg. the various forms of yaxio 'ashes' ($<\bar{a}trya$ - 2), v. Voc s v

wulēyo 'span' < *wı-dātı, 3 M frayingo, frayengo 'she-goat, 1 y. ā-² old' < *fragāmīkā-, Mm l³rē-gus 'siekle' < *drātı- (°), Y pāṇıo M pāng³o 'heel' < *pāršnı-

158. Umlaut of \check{a} seems to be regular in Pres 3rd sg before syncopated -ati Thus Y nəvīt 'he takes out' < "nibar(a)ti, but 1sg nəvorum, M kēd 'he digs' 'kanəm, M xišk 'he pulls out' 'xašəm; M gi'yīt 'he passes' gi'yarəm From stems in *ā M gi'yēt 'he lets pass' gi yōrəm, Y lat, M lēt 'he has' lārəm, lōrəm, M wēft (Y waft) 'he weaves' wōfəm Cf. also Y kīt, M kēd 'he does' < 'kunati ke/ənəm The umlaut possibly also took place in the 1st sg and 3rd pl Cf § 167

The majority of the exceptions are due to the neighbourhood of a labial. Thus M $a\gamma d\bar{u}\iota d$ 'dresses' (caus), M $\bar{a}'\nu\bar{u}d$ 'brings' $(\bar{a}\iota\bar{\nu}r\bar{\nu}m)$, 4 Y xut, M $x\bar{u}t$ 'eats' 5 In Y—M $z\bar{u}t$ 'he speaks' the double tt in $(z\bar{u}t\iota <)$ * $z\bar{u}t\iota <$ * $z\bar{u}t\iota$ may have prevented the umlaut But note also M $z\bar{u}t\iota$ 'he carries': $(y)\bar{u}s\bar{\nu}m$

¹ Or *wadı- as indicated by some of the forms in the Shgh group

¹ As rendered probable by Sar *mã\$

⁸ Cf Čitrēyo 'Chitral', which is, however, a lw of uncertain date

⁴ Y avīt with $\bar{\imath} < \bar{u}$? Cf nəvīt above

But xīt 'he buys'

159. In several cases we find, especially in M, a palatal vowel in the preterite Thus, e.g. Y aγdavd: Z aγdēvd 'dressed' (caus), Y ava/εzd. Z aνēzd 'brought', Z, Mm kěd 'dug', Y ləbad Mt l³νε̄y, Mm l²νε̄d 'winnowed'; Mm nijašt· Z niješt 'showed', Y vəzad, vzɛnd· Mm, t, Z v²zē(n)d 'knew'; Y waft. Mt, Z wēft 'wove', etc It is possible that these formes have been influenced by ancient verbal nouns in ·ti.¹

There are some traces of epenthesis caused by a following -aya-in present stems. Thus, e.g., Y $ur\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to spread dung' ($<*w\imath-\imath azaya$ -); $\imath\bar{\imath}m$ -, $\imath\bar{e}m$ - 'to please' ($<*r\bar{a}maya$ -), Z $st\bar{e}r$ -, but Mm, Y 'st $\bar{b}r$ - 'to sweep'; Z $t\bar{e}w$ - 'to stir' (soup, etc.) $<*t\bar{a}waya$ -(?), M $t\bar{\imath}z$ -, $t\bar{e}z$ - 'to cut' $<*t\bar{a}vaya$ -, Z $\iota^2r\bar{e}m$ - 'to stand' $<*upa-r\bar{a}maya$ - (?) But most of these etymologies are doubtful, and we find no umlaut in $l\bar{a}r$ - 'to have' and $u\bar{\imath}aw$ - 'to call,' $< d\bar{a}raya$ - and *us-sr $\bar{a}waya$ -. Cf., however, Parachi $m\bar{e}r$ - 'to kill' $<*m\bar{a}raya$ -, etc.

- 160. It is impossible to decide whether r in Y mršč (M $mvšk^y$, etc.) u^{-r} 'first' is due to umlaut or to the influence of $š\check{v}$ (cf. above § 149). But most dialects have suvdo, sp^o , sr^o 'shoulder', without any trace of umlaut Likewise we find Y $\check{s}rno$ (Yg $\check{s}uno$) M $\check{s}\~{i}no$ 'vulva, au^{-r} podex' < sraoni- and Y $\check{s}\~{i}n\check{j}o$ (Yr $\check{s}u^o$) M $\check{s}\~{i}\check{z}no$ 'ncedle' $< sau\check{c}an\~{i}$ (or $*su^o$?), but $l\~{u}\check{z}d$ 'he milks', $l\~{u}rd$ 'he flies' $< *raudatr (y)\~{i}no$ 'blood' and related words in other Ir dialects present special difficulties, not altogether surprising in a word which may have been subject to taboo But $*uvahunr > (w)\~{u}nr > \~{i}n$ seems possible $*p\~{i}ro$ 'before' may be derived from paurvya- ($*p\~{v}vya$ -) and reg r-*prst 'he asks', cf above
- Epenthesis of u, or u- umlaut, is comparatively rare in Ir.⁴ The a^u only possible examples in Y—M are wulo 'wife' $< va\delta \bar{u}$ -, $urzu\gamma$

 $^{^1}$ Cf Henning, ZII, 9, 216 «Auch tz-Bildungen mogen gelegentlich die Form des P.P P beeinflusst haben, wahrscheinlich bei [Turfan Phl] $\sigma \beta ist$ 'fiel herab'»

² IIFL, I p 28

³ Searcely with Henning, ZII, 9, 226 *win- < *whūn- < *wohún-

 $^{^4}$ Cf the development in Swedish and E Norw where the \imath - umlaut is much more important than the \imath - umlaut.

'straight' $< \partial r \partial z u + k a$, and muryo 'ant' $< *marwi + k \bar{a}$. It should be remembered, however, that unstressed u was dropped at a very early date

Accent and Contraction.

- 162. It is impossible to derive the present accentuation from any ancient system, either of the 'Vedic' or of the 'Latin' type If we want to reconstruct the pre-Y—M accent, we must try to trace it from its effects on modern Y—M vocalism. But it is by no means certain that all vowel-changes due to stress date from the same period, or are even due to the same system of accentuation Thus a and u have been elided at an early date in e.g. xun'raven' < *xwărana-, yary 'heavy' < *garuka-, but quite recently, and owing to the modern accent, in 'lamdo < 'lōmada' 'hem', āyd- < āyud- 'to dress'. Reg the interchange between stressed and unstressed initial vowels in certain words v. § 84
- 163 The majority of Y-M words are of the accent types $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ and $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$.

Thus, e.g., with - : o'guščo 'finger' < an'guštā; ag'mīn 'honey' < *anka'paına-, āyəst 'dressed' < *ā'gusta-, čšīr, čfūr '4' < ča' ϑ wārō, dīr, yu'dūr 'other' < an'tāra-, dram 'inside' < *anta'rahmı; ax'šın 'blue' < ax'šāēna-; wu lēyo 'span' < *wu'dātı (+ o), zəvīy 'tongue' < *hız'wāka-, etc

 $\sqrt{n} k \partial n$ 'cow-dung' may be a remnant of the ancient type $- \cup \cup = 1$

¹ Or stā'rakahya, cf Orm star'rak V. § 182

² Cf Parachi, HFL, I, 32

or perhaps more probably, the form may be due to the tendencies determining the vocalism of compounds ¹ Orm (*)skan warns us that we do not know all factors regulating Ir. accentuation

164. Regarding the shortening of \bar{a} in ancient stems in $-\bar{a}$ and -akacf § 145. In the case of -aka- it might be presumed that the accentuation of the oblique -aka-had caused the shortening, but it is hardly probable that the f suffix $-\bar{a}$ normally carried the stress. But cf also in Psht e.g. $\dot{s}pa$ 'night', $ml\bar{a}$ 'waist', sra f of $s\bar{u}r$ 'red', etc

The opposition between $ky \varepsilon m$, kiyam 'who' (adj) and $k \partial d\bar{\iota}$ 'who, which' (subst.), and between Y ' $\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}l\bar{e}$ M $\bar{\imath}k^y \iota y$ 'neck' is probably due to 'accent shift' kiyam < *ka'tamahya and $k \partial d\bar{\iota} < *kand \partial y < *kadmag' \iota < *kata'makahya$, $\bar{\imath}il\bar{e} < *u'\bar{\imath}adakah$ and $\bar{\imath}k^y \iota y < *u\bar{\imath}a'dakahya$.

With the secondary deplacement of accent in lamdo 'hem' and in $\bar{\alpha}\gamma(u)d\partial m$ 'I dress' $< \bar{\alpha}'gund\bar{a}mi$ mentioned above, s cf. also ind 'so much' $< \bar{\alpha}'u$ manta-(?), avlānd 'hem' $< \bar{\alpha}'abi-1d\bar{a}m$ manta-(?), 'yougo 'flood' $< \bar{\alpha}f$ vantakā-.4

Short a appears to have been more resisting against contraction than u While -aka(hya) resulted in Y $-\ddot{e}$ M $-\imath y$, -uka- was contracted except after a group of consonants $(v\bar{\imath}z\gamma < {}^*b\bar{a}zuka$ -, but $urzu\gamma < {}^*yzuka$ -) 5

The prefix upa- (and abi-, possibly also apa- and api-) appears in the torms av- (af-) and $v(\partial)$ - (f-). It is possible that this double development is due to presence or absence of a secondary accent, but we cannot explain all the examples according to this rule without resorting to artificial and improbable constructions

¹ Cf § 145

² Cf Orm, IIFL, I, 327 and 360 f

³ § 162

⁴ kando 'plough share', prob. from Prs kanand

⁵ Cf §§ 162, 175

Cf, on the one hand, $a'' \bar{a}z = m$ 'I fetch' (3rd sg $a'' \bar{v}z = d$) < *_upa'zam, av'lasto 'sleeve' < *_upa'dastā, av'zno 'first irrigation' < *_upa'zayanā, av'zano 'ladle' < *_upa'zāwanā (?), Y 'afscno, M 'yufse'no 'whetstone' < *_upa'sānyā (or *_upa-, *āb-?); aw'lān 'bridle' < *_ubi'dāna-, af'sunyo 'ladder' < *_upa'srišnakā, af'sinne 'summer wheat' < *_upa'srdnaka-(?) On the other hand we find 'fšūvum 'I suck' < '\beta's\beta'vum 'I bring' < *_upas\beta'p\bar{m}m, 'fxavum 'I shear' < *_upaxa'b\bar{m}m (?), v\rangle'nim 'I bring' < *_upana'y\bar{m}m (or second. pres from *v\rangle nt < *_upanita- < *_upanita-?), v\rangle'd\bar{a}\rangle m 'I mix' < *_upakan_t\bar{a}ka'y\bar{m}m (?), v\rangle'z\bar{a}n\rangle m 'I know' (3rd sg. v\rangle z\bar{t}) < *_upaz\bar{a}n\bar{m}m (or wu-?), v\rangle z\bar{a}n\rangle m 'Now', etc < *_upaz\bar{a}\bar{a} (with a treated as a short vowel?) V Voc s vv in av-, af-, f-, v(\rangle)-

But several of the derivations tentatively suggested above are quite hypothetical aryuš 'lap' cannot be fitted into the rule without assuming an original form * $upa \cdot k\bar{a} \cdot s\bar{s}a$ -, and fsidro 'spring' < * $upas\bar{a}rad\bar{a}$ -(?) remains altogether unexplained ¹ The theory cannot therefore be proved

Initial unstressed i- has been dropped in Proyo 'clear sky' $< \frac{r_i drak \bar{a}}{r_i}$

But also a is frequently contracted before the accent Thus, e.g. $\dot{c}\dot{s}\bar{i}r$ '4', $pl\bar{a}r$ - 'to sell', $prasilan\dot{e}$ 'lamb, one y old' And initial (h)a- is lost in $\check{z}a$ 'from', zo 'I'; $t\bar{\imath}$ - 'to enter', max 'we' yo 'this', just as well as u- in sko 'on', $\check{s}il\dot{e}$ 'neck'

I am unable to explain the reason for the different treatment of (h)an, (h)am in Y $d\bar{\imath}r$ and M $yud\bar{\imath}ur$ 'other', and in the verbs $di\bar{s}$ - 'to think', $d\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to bury', $bax\dot{s}$ - 'to divide', $g\bar{\imath}uy$ - 'to knead' as compared with the nouns abruo 'pear', $ab\bar{\imath}uya$ 'moraine', $agung^y$. 'dough', $hadam\bar{\imath}$ 'limb', etc

167 The accentuation of the present tense may be explained in the following manner.

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¹ The same is the case with Psht psarlai < *upasaradaka-.

² V Voc s vv. Reg što 'said' cf § 110

⁸ Gen amax, cf § 204

Yzh

1st sg. $ke'nem < {}^*ka'n\bar{e}m < {}^*ku'n\bar{a}^*m < {}^*ku'n\bar{a}m$ 2nd » ${}^!kene < {}^*!kan\bar{e} < {}^*!kunan < {}^*!kunah$ 3rd » ${}^!k\bar{i}t < {}^*!k\bar{i}nt < {}^*!ku'nt < {}^*!kunat$ 1st Pl. $ke'nam < {}^*ka'n\bar{a}m < {}^*ku'n\bar{a}m < {}^*ku'n\bar{a}m\bar{a}h$ 3rd » $ke'net < {}^*ka'n\bar{e}nt < {}^*ku'na'nt < {}^*ku'nant$

Similarly, e.g.: * $nipa^id\bar{a}mi > *nivl\bar{e}m > n\bar{i}lvam$, but * $nipadati > *niv\bar{e}ld > n\bar{u}ld$, etc

Cf Konow's reconstruction of the development in Saka 1

Ancient Final Consonants and Vowels.

168 The only Y—M words which may go back to forms in final consonants (other than nom. -h and acc. -m) are sko 'on' < uskāt, uxšo 'sıx' < xšvaš, 2 zo < azəm, and possibly yo < aētat (and aēša), etc.

All short vowels (including mase nom sg in -ah, $-\bar{b}$) are dropped, the only exceptions being bisyllabic words which have become oxytones at an early date zo 'I', yo, mo 'this' and possibly $v\bar{\imath}o$ 'was' $\bar{z}a$ 'from' and lo 'with' may rest on forms in $-\bar{a}$ Likewise $\bar{a}vdo$ '7' < *haftā with $-\bar{a}$ from *astā Cf. Psht $\bar{o}vv$, ato.

Final $-\bar{a}$ normally remains as -o or -a But vrai 'brother', zamai 'son-in-law', lad 'tooth indicate an early shortening of $-\bar{a}$ in masculines.

In Pres 2 sg $-\dot{e}$ goes back to -ahi, cf also 3 sg -e, $-\bar{i} < -ayati$ Reg $-\ddot{e}$, -iy < -aka(hya) and plurals in $-\dot{e} < *-\bar{a}h$, s cf §§ 182, 198.

Prothetic Vowels.

169. An unexplained prothetic vowel appears in Y akadė, etc. 'thorn, bramble' Sgl kandāk and in anaxno, etc 'nail'. The existence of a prefix \bar{a} - in these words is conceivable, but not probable.

¹ NTS, VII, p 41

³ Not with Gauthiot < *xśwaša.

³ Ace to Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156

Relative Chronology of Sound-Changes.

- 170. There is no material available which enables us to date the various stages in the phonetic development of Y—M. But it seems possible, at any rate in some instances, to establish the chronological sequence between different sound-changes A number of such cases have been mentioned above, but it may be useful to give here a synoptical review of the more important ones.
- 171 1) The transition of b, d, $g > \beta$, δ , γ and of ft, xt into vd, γd are pre-Y-M, and probably common E Ir
 - 2) rst, ršt must have become * $\dot{s}t$ before $\dot{s}t$ changed into $\dot{s}k^y$, etc. (cf. § 110).
 - 3) $\dot{s}ta/o$ 'said' $< *\dot{z}asta$ is later than $\dot{s}t > \dot{s}k^{y}$.
 - 4) str became \check{s} , and $-\check{s}at$ was syncopated, before $\check{s}t$ became $\check{s}k^y$ (ef Y $u\check{s}\check{c}eno$, §§ 105, 110).
 - 5) sr became \check{s} before the syncope took place in $y\bar{a}\check{s}k$ 'tear' < *asruka-
 - 6) k > q before $g > \gamma$ in Y etc, the partial change of $\eta g > g$ being still later
 - 7) Syncope of nat (e.g. in $w\bar{\imath}t$ 'sees', § 118), and of rat, $r\imath t$ (e.g. in $x\bar{\imath}t$ 'eats', $z\bar{\imath}t$ 'yellow', § 125) into * ηt , rt (from which t) before sonorization of intervocalic t, but after change of ancient rt into *rd (from which *d > r > M r)

But after an occlusive the contraction has been delayed, evidently in order to avoid the development of a heavy group of consonants Thus e g * $\delta au\check{c}at\iota$ 'milks' > * $\delta o\check{c}^a t$ > * $\delta o\check{c}^a d$ > * $\delta o\check{c}^a d$ > $\delta o\check{c}^a d$ + $\delta o\check{c}^a d$ + δo

¹ The relative chronology in Saka is quite different. Cf. Saka Studies, p 27 (pītta 'falls' < *padati, but hvīḍa 'eats' < *hwarati, and pasūste 'burns' < *pati saučatai, etc)

- 8) $\delta > l$, and possibly $r\delta > l$, after $\delta w > \delta v > d^2v$, and $\delta r > \delta^2 r$, but before syncope of $r \delta$, from which $*\delta r$ (cf. § 127)
- 9) Syncope of $hi\delta > h\delta$, from which ϑ , before $\delta > l$ (8), and $\vartheta > \check{x}$
- 10) $a\vartheta r > ahr$ (from which $\bar{a}r$) before $\vartheta > \check{x}$
- 11) $ahr > \bar{a}r$, $aha > \bar{a}$, $arn > \bar{a}n$ before $\bar{a} > \hat{a} > \bar{o}$ (cf. § 143).
- 12) Possibly - $\mathring{r}\mathring{s}$ -> *- \mathring{s} before - \mathring{s} -> - \mathring{z} (cf. §§ 74, 151), and metathesis of * $raiz\tilde{a}$ >> $yar\check{z}$ 0 'beard' before - \mathring{z} -> -y-
- 13) Prefixed $ha\check{c}a > \check{c}a$ (§ 50) and $at\iota > t\iota$ (§ 46) before $-\check{c}$, $-t > -\check{z}$, *-d- But loss of initial vowel in $\check{z}a$ after $-\check{c} > -\check{z}$ (cf § 50)
- 14) xn > yn before xan > xn (cf § 96)
- 15) $x \sin x \sin x = z m$, $z = z \cos n$, $z = z \cos n$ before nasal influenced preceding $z = z \cos n$.
- 16) $r \tilde{s} n$, r z n, r n > n (§§ 130, 133) before secondary r n > n (§ 133) and r d n > r n
- 17) rn-t > nt before $nt > \eta k^y$ (> Y k^y) of §§ 62, 132
- 18) m-d > nd before nd > d (§ 119).
- 19) mr > mbr before mb > b (§ 120)
- 20) $nd > ng^y > g^y$ (§ 121) before M $n > ng^{gy}$.
- 21) Prothesis of y- before $\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$ (e.g. $y\bar{u}r$ 'fire', § 144).

In the following table the chronological sequence runs from the left to the right. Phonetic changes which are approximately of the same age, are put in the same vertical column. The sign || has been employed to separate two series of changes, which in order to save space have been placed on the same line, but which are not connected with each other.

Synoptic Table of the Relative Chronology of Y-M Sound-Changes 172

2) št>M š $k^y>Y$ šč, 3) *žasta > *žsta, šta g^{y} $\begin{array}{c} ng \\ \wedge du \\ \wedge dm \\ \rangle \\ \rangle \end{array}$ $g > Y \gamma$ 18) md > nd, $> M r \parallel 19) mr > mbr$ \parallel :20) $n\dot{q} > ng^y$ $\begin{array}{c} n_t \\ -k > g \\ -k > g \\ 4 \\ > t \\ >$

13) $ha\dot{c}a - > \dot{c}a$. $ha\dot{c}a > a\dot{z}a > \dot{z}a$ 13) $at_{-} > ti$.

14) $xn > \gamma n$, xan - xn15) $(x)\dot{s}m > \dot{z}m > m$ 15) $(x)\dot{s}m > \dot{z}n > n$ 15) $(x)\dot{s}n > \dot{z}n > n$

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \sin & > r\bar{z}n > n\\ 16) & rn > n\\ 16) & rn > n\\ 16) & rn > n\\ 16) & r - dn > rn \end{array}$

20)> M η^{gy}

 \searrow

 $> \eta k^y$

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MORPHOLOGY

Nouns.

Stem-Formation

Primary Stems.

- 173. Ancient stems in -a are numerous in Y—M. As a matter of fact, most genuine Y—M nouns ending in a consonant go back to, or may go back to, stems in a Thus, e.g. awlān 'bridle', iščīn 'female breast', fšarm 'shame', γū(i) 'ear', γàl 'thief', γūδ∂m 'wheat', γalv 'dog', γīs 'goat's hair thread', lvm 'tail', last 'arm', mīγ 'cloud', mer 'man', nīf 'navel', M pūngy 'feather', pūr 'son', piščan 'thigh'; rūγ∂n 'ghee', rūżen 'smoke-hole'; vən 'bottom'; wūi 'wind', wuš 'grass', xul 'perspiration', xusur 'father-in-law', xūbun 'sleep', yōu. 'grain', yarš 'bear'; yasp 'horse'; zīt 'yellow', and past participles, such as kər, mur, etc All of these words correspond to Av. stems in a Also a number of other words lacking in Av and Old Prs., are probably original a-stems E.g aspəlan 'stable', lūi 'smoke', surv 'hole', yurzun 'millet', zəvīγ 'tongue', and many others
- Ancient $\bar{\imath}$ -stems are comparatively rare, and most of those surviving are feminines which have been enlarged with the secondary suffix -0 Unenlarged words are $\bar{\imath}\dot{z}$ m 'snake' $< a\dot{z}\imath$ -, γar m. 'stone, hill' < gairi-, $mi\check{s}\check{c}$ 'first' $< mu\check{s}\imath$ -, $\gamma ur\check{\epsilon}\check{x}$ 'knot' $< *gra\vartheta\imath$ (?), but scarcely $wir\check{z}$ 'thread', v. Voc s v.

¹ Cf §§ 66, 156

Enlarged $\check{\imath}$ -stems are suvdo 'shoulder' < supti-, \check{s} -no 'vulva, podex' < sraoni-, wolo, $w\bar{\imath}lo$ 'irrigation-channel' $< va\delta i$ -, \check{z} -ina, \check{z} -inko 'woman' $< \check{z}$ -ani-, $(y)\bar{\imath}$ no 'blood' < vohuni-, wisto '20' $< v\bar{\imath}$ -sait, $pi\check{s}\check{c}o$ 'back' $< par\check{s}\check{t}i$ -, yourso 'jumper' $< happros\bar{\imath}i$ -; $\check{s}iyo$ 'female' $< str\bar{\imath}i$ -, $wul\bar{e}yo$ 'span' $< *wul\bar{a}ti$ -, \check{s} -in $\check{j}o$ 'needle' $< *su\check{c}$ -ani- (?); but $pren\check{\jmath}$ -io 'she-goat, one y. old' $< *parana\check{c}i$ - (?)

muryo, məryıka 'ant' < maurvı-, frīyo 'flea' < *frušı-(?), frayıngo 'she-goat' < *fragāmī(kā-).

 $max\check{s}\dot{e}$ 'fly' $< max\check{s}\bar{i}$ f , hanadiy 'out of breath' < *an-anti-, but yaste 'bone' probably < ast-, not $\cdot ast$ -. Note wiya m 'willow' $< va\check{e}t$ - f

Cf Psht šna 'hip-bone', wāla 'irrigation-channel', wīna 'blood', šəja 'woman' < *strīčī + ā, etc.

- Ancient stems in \bar{u} are $\bar{s}\bar{u}$ 'horn' $< sr\bar{u}$ -, wulo 'wife' $< va\delta\bar{u}$ -, $x^u\bar{s}o$ 'mother-in-law' $< *hwasr\bar{u} + \bar{a}$; cf $vr\bar{\imath}\gamma o$ 'eyebrows' In most cases -ka has been added at an early date, and u has been elided after a single consonant 2 Thus· $urzu\gamma$ 'straight' $< \bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}zu$ -, $\gamma ar\gamma$ 'heavy' < gouru-, $ya\bar{s}k$ 'tear' $< asr\bar{u}^o$, $z\bar{\imath}k$ 'knee' $< z\bar{\imath}nu$ -, $v\bar{\imath}z\gamma(a)$ 'upper arm' $< b\bar{a}zu$ -, yuvg 'arrow' $< \bar{\imath}\bar{s}u$ -; $p\bar{\imath}r\bar{s}\bar{\imath}\gamma\bar{\imath}e$ 'rib' (pl ?) $< p\bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}su$ -. Probably also. $par\gamma$ 'mouse' < *paru-; $Id\bar{\imath}\gamma$, Yidg < *Hindu-ka-, $wal\gamma$ 'feast' < *wadu- (?), $\gamma\bar{\imath}k$ 'penis' $< *g_{\bar{\imath}}\bar{\imath}nu$ -. But $y\bar{\imath}ya$ 'bridge' $< ha\bar{\imath}tu$ seems to have -a added at a comparatively recent date.
- Ancient stems in diphthongs are γavo 'cow' and possibly also $\dot{z}\bar{u}(u)$, $\dot{z}\bar{u}g$ 'leather' ($<*\dot{\gamma}au-ka-?$)

Vrai 'brother' and zamai 'son-in-law', are ancient nominatives of r-stems, with *-ah instead of $-\bar{a}$, which looked like a feminine ending To this group has also been added $y\bar{u}i$ 'husband's brother'.³ $l\partial ydo$ 'daughter' goes back to $dug\partial d\bar{a}$, duyda (or * $duxt\bar{a}$), and similarly $ux\bar{o}$ 'sister' may be derived from < *(y)ahw \bar{a} < *hahw \bar{a} < *hahw \bar{a}

¹ Or, with Psht mač, meč m, < *maxši-(?)

² Cf § 149

³ Cf Voc sv.

 $y\bar{u}\eta$, $y\bar{u}r$ 'fire' point to a secondary stem * $\bar{a}rta$ -, and also l^9vor 'door' may have become thematic at a very early date

cam 'eye', păm 'wool', tuy"m 'grain' are ancient neutral nominatives of stems in n. Probably also lad 'tooth' goes back to *dantah (< *dantā, v § 108) lāmo 'village' may rest on the pl dāman, ¹lōmago 'snare' and šinamio 'girl' (< strī-nāman-) have had secondary suffixes added to the original n stem, and $r\bar{u}sk\partial n$ 'cow dung' is derived from a thematic *osakana- Note $y\bar{e}r\partial n$ 'liver' < *yaxnya-, a form based on the oblique stem

The small number of nouns which go back to stems in other consonants than r and n have probably become thematic at an early date Cf wor 'oath' < varah-, $sp\bar{u}o$ 'louse' $< spi\dot{s}$, zil heart' < zorod(aya)-

II Feminines in -o (-a)

- Ancient Ir. nom fem. -ā (and acc -ām) becomes Y, Mm -o, Mg, and occasionally Zar²-å, G, Z, LSIm, Mti, (t), (sh), and occasionally g, -a, Mt palatal -a and M(g) -a Mg, (sh), ti and LSIm also have -e, -ε in a few words Some of these forms may be plurals, thus e g Mg pālε, pāngyε, Mti pāle, pān'gye 'foot', 'heel', or Mti yīne, wōrfe Mg yīnε, but worfo 'blood', 'snow'. But this explanation can hardly apply to e.g. Mg, sh γôwε 'cow', LSIm feske 'nose', yelke 'duck', etc., and we have to admit the existence of unexplained variants in these dialects of M
- Some of the words in -o/a correspond direct to Av feminines in -ā. Thus x³šovo 'night', żīo 'bow-string', γurvo 'throat', xoro 'ass', ¹škiro 'camel' · Av. xšapā-, jyā-, grīvā-, xarā-, uštrā- In other cases, too, the -ā is probably ancient. Cf seγio 'sand', vəzo 'she-goat', riško 'nit', tīro 'darkness', yaržo 'beard' with Psht. səga, uuza, riča, tyāra, žīra, etc

¹ But pado 'road' < panta is not an ancient stems in n

² Z's informants probably belonged to different villages

² Cf Psht wine, waure, pl in common use

sōro 'dung', yavo 'cow', šīno 'podex', īno 'blood', warfo 'snow' correspond to Av sairya-, gav-, sraoni-, vohunī-, vafia-, and zīnīo 'daughter-in-law' was originally a stem in -a-. But Psht has saiā, šīna, wīna, wāwra as fem., and Shgh. zənaž goes back to *snušā-¹ It is, of course, possible that in some cases the formation in -ā has been made independently in the various dialects, and Y mūo 'sheep' < *maišā differs not only from Av maēšī-, but also from Psht mēž (Shgh maž is doubtful in this respect)

179. Forms in -o/a may of course denote the female animal (cf Voc s vv $m\bar{u}o$, v^2zo , kirio) But in many cases the fem form in -o is epicene Besides xoro and $i\dot{s}kir\bar{o}$ mentioned above, we have also $r\bar{u}so$ 'fox', $ilde{z}kovio$ 'pigeon', $ilde{k}unyo$ 'magpie', $ilde{w}$ 'wasp'; $ilde{w}$ 'duck', $ilde{x}$ cur $ilde{u}$ so 'weasel', etc

The \bar{a} -stem is ancient in amuno 'apple' (Psht. mana), and probably also in some other names of plants and fruits. But the use of the suffix -o/a has been extended to the majority of such words. V. Voc. s vv. abruo, agzdro, oyuzo; alano, imoyo; amaxno, ario, irgoyo, asasto, axrio, azito, etc.

A separate f form in -o of adjectives is still in use.3

180. Many Prs lw s in -a have been included among the Y—M words in -o/a Thus, e g aftōνo 'bucket', xarbuzo 'melon', banafŝo 'violet'; âno 'mirror', amsāyo 'neighbour', bīwo 'widow', Y paisō (but Mm paisa) 'money'. This suffix has also been added to other lw s E g, rōγ(o) 'deodar' < Khow. rōγ; amburo 'pincers' < Prs. ambūr; qaĕιo 'scissors' < qarēī Note kučīo 'street' < Prs. kūča

¹ Also Psht nžor, Bal našār presuppose an earlier *nušā.

² Cf Lidén, Namn och Bygd, 19, 87 sq about other epicene names of the fox, and Meillet BS1, 32, 7.—Note Mm škyuro f. and epicene nar-škyur m.

³ Cf § 195

Ancient Suffixes in k

III. Nouns in $-\gamma$, -g.

IV. Masculines in Y -ė, M -ių

182. A still living and productive suffix is Y -ē (-ə), Mm. g -ıy, t, (t) -ıy, (g), ti, (sh) -ı, Z -əy, G, -ē(y) < -akah.² Cf the similar development in Psht · Y stārē (Yr stārə), Mm, g stōrıy, t, (g) stōrı(y), Z stōrəy. Psht stōraı 'star'

The suffix appears to be ancient in this word and also in ferγāmə, fraγοmıy 'young he-goat'. Psht waryūmaı, Mm nūwıy 'new' Psht. nawaı, Sgl. nuwök, M rūyei 'bowels' Prs rūda; ware 'lamb': Psht wrai, etc., yastē 'bone': Sgl ostōk, Sogd. 'stk, yārē 'flour'. Shgh yåužj, etc

In a number of other genuine Y—M nouns and adjectives it is impossible to decide whether the suffix $-\bar{e}/-iy$ is ancient or not Thus, e.g.: $m\bar{o}x\dot{e}$, $ma\check{x}iy$ 'stick', $vr\bar{e}ri$, $v^2r\bar{e}r\partial y$ 'brother's son', $y\bar{a}rm\dot{e}$ 'foreleg', etc, corresponding to Shgh. $m\hat{a}\partial$, Av. $br\bar{a}t\bar{u}irya$ -, Psht $wr\bar{a}r\partial$, Prs arm, etc.

This suffix serves to denote male animals, to form certain adjectives, and to derive secondary nouns, e.g. lastë 'handle' from last 'hand', and $\gamma \bar{\imath} s e$ 'plaited bottom of a bed' from $\gamma \bar{\imath} s$ 'rope of goat's hair'.

¹ Cf § 148

 $^{^{2}}$ Or < $^{\circ}$ -akahya? Cf -a < -akah (in mara, etc.), cf § 186?

hadë 'slave' (*han-taka-), M ābiy 'moraine' (*ham-paiša-?) and M kaləy 'soot' (*kata-dūta-?) do not belong here originally.

- In many lws -ė/ıy renders Prs and Khow -ī. Thus, eg: Y čugurē (M cìk²rī) 'rhubarb', čīnē, cīnī 'cup', našpotīy 'pear', pšānē (M pīšanī) 'forehead', xāle 'empty' from Prs, ačardīne, oni 'wedge for fastening the plough-share', calandurë 'window', puīne 'bellows', vrazīdīne 'pillow', etc from Khow Sometimes -ē varies with -ī. V. above, and cf Y virzane M vīznī 'pillow', Y čīrē Y, M cīrī 'apricot', Y pargūšče, M par-gūšk³īy but also ošk³ī 'fingerring'
- 184. A variation between -ė and -(y)a (<-yaka-²) occurs in Y izė.</p>
 M yijya, etc 'goatskin bag', Y γιιτε. Μ γιινγα 'wooden trough', Y pəzàxĕ, M pizaxiy Z pizaxya 'male sheep', but also Y muškoya M muškayı, məškâəy 'calf'.

A double suffix, theoretically $< *ka \cdot ka$ - appears in Y $\check{\epsilon}una\gamma\bar{\epsilon}$ 'small boy', and possibly in Z $duna\gamma\partial y$ 'distressed'

V Nouns in -a (-o).

- 185. The apparently masc. suffix Y, Mm, Z, G, LSI -a Mg, (g), t, ti -o (Z also -å) appears in the following groups of words
 - 1) A number of words which have no variants without -a and no corresponding feminines · mīra 'sun', vīra 'burden', xšīra 'milk'; nǐya, pōya 'sour mɪlk', wazda 'fat', ¹ l²vaza 'dough', fī(y)a 'shovel, shoulderblade', vzma 'firewood', wīya 'willow'; yɛya 'bridge' ² Probably also Mtı nıvīlo 'bedding' and nāmyo 'felt' are m.
 - 2) Names of animals, chiefly worms and insects ustada 'spider', Mg čal-kırmo 'an insect', kač-kurma 'silk-worm', Mm fusfesīya, yaspa 'locust', karbəsa, etc 'lizard', kautīa, rawa 'butterfly', xowıza 'bug'; mıg^ya 'ring-dove', tažīa 'heron'.
 - 3) In a few cases I have noted m. forms in -a corresponding to f forms in -o · vuza 'he-goat', miya 'male oorial'

¹ Mm maska, but Y masko 'butter'

² Cf § 175

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4) The majority of words in -a are derived from still surviving forms without this suffix. In many cases the addition of -a does not seem to change the meaning of the word, but the suffix may perhaps have a diminutive force Cf. Voc. s.vv ἀbūya (ābiy), iščīn (yīšk³una), bubuka, bāya (bāy), e³kena; čula, čana; maška, nīf (nūfa), nowīsa, mara, mēr, rūy³n (rūyna), surv(a), tōlo, taya, vīzγa, wulγa; wāzd (wazda)

But note on the other hand åyurya 'scrotum'. åyury 'egg', ilīra 'calf of the leg' ilīr 'belly', ustada 'spider'. ustāt 'carpenter' (*'weawer'?), mišca 'sheaf of corn'. mišc 'fist', pukara 'leather strap of pellet-bow' pokorē, pukōr 'mouth', yūen polma 'lobe of the ear'. polom 'soft', pūsura 'part of the spinning-wheel'. pusur 'head', šfīna 'instep'. šfīn 'comb', yaspa 'locust'. yasp 'horse'.

5) In lws Prs -a is frequently rendered by Y -a Thus arra 'saw', Yzh $k\bar{a}f\bar{\imath}la$ (but Ysh $k\bar{o}fil\dot{e}$) 'caravan', $m\bar{\imath}wa$ 'fruit'; $k\bar{u}za$ 'jar', qala 'fort', Yg $b\bar{a}sa$ (but Mm $b\bar{a}so$) 'falcon', etc I have not found any rule for the rendering of Prs -a with Y -a or -o.

It appears from Z's material that the numerous M lw s from Prs words in -a(h), pl $-ag\bar{a}n$ have stressed -a' and pl. -a, Y pl. $-a\gamma\ddot{e}$ e g. in $m_1w_3\gamma\ddot{e}$ 'fruit-trees', $degaza\gamma\ddot{e}$ 'fork of breedmoder' < Prs. * $d\bar{o}$ -gaza

According to Z, genuine M words and a few early lw s in -a have stressed penultimate and pl in $-ak\imath = Y - ak\ddot{e}$ in $\mathring{a}\gamma ur\gamma ak\ddot{e}$ 'testicles'; $wul'\gamma\ddot{a}k\vartheta$ 'kidneys' $(wul'\gamma a)$

M -'a has evidently been borrowed from Prs, and pl -'agr, Y -a $\gamma\dot{e}$ has been formed on the pattern of Prs. -agān at a comparatively recent date, but before the change of -g->- γ - in Y ¹ Also -a -akr, -akē has probably been borrowed, but at a much earlier date, when -k- was still preserved in Prs., but had already been sonorized in Y—M. The -k- of the pl renders a derivation from a genuine pre-Y—M suffix akah uncertain.

But note that the pl of Y mara is marë, and of Z $x\bar{u}'r\partial ya$ 'sister's son' $x\bar{u}'r\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}$

¹ Cf. § 45

VI. Nouns in -k.

187. A suffix -(e)k occurs in Prs lws (e.g. xūk, pušāk, xurāk, etc.) and as a secondary suffix in fəryōmček 'female calf, 1 y. old', rīzayak 'goats and sheep', pə'nek 'leaf', poršīk 'lip', stunek 'throat', kārīak 'yoke-peg'

VII. Nouns in -yo/go

Anc Ir. $-ak\bar{a}$, the f equivalent of -akah survives in Y $-\gamma o$, M -g o, -g a, $-\gamma a$ Cf e.g. Y $vr\bar{\imath}\gamma o$, Mm ${}^o g o$, Mg ${}^o \gamma a$, M(g) ${}^o \gamma a$, Mt ${}^o \gamma a$, Z, G ${}^o g a$ 'eyebrow'.

But words in -γο are not now used as f of masculines in -e, except in the case of Mm vrērigo, xurīgo 'brother's, sister's daughter' xurī, xūrəya, vrēri, v³rērəy m, and perhaps Yg wōrγo 'she-lamb, 1—2 y. old': Ysh ware 'male new-born lamb'.

Only a small number of words in $-\gamma o$ have exact parallels in other Ir. languages Examples are $n\partial m\bar{a}l\gamma o$ 'salt': Psht. $m\bar{a}lga$, $s\bar{a}\gamma o$ 'shade': Sogd. sy''k', $wor\gamma o$ 'quail' Phl vartak, Skr $vartak\bar{a}$, $x\bar{u}\gamma o$ 'fountain' Orm $x\bar{a}ko$, and possibly $y\dot{a}u\gamma o$ 'water' Wkh yupk (but Orm wok is m), poss $vri\gamma o$ 'eyebrow'. Oss arfig.

But also other words of this type may be ancient. Eg $fr\bar{i}\gamma o$ 'flea' < * $fru\dot{s}ik\bar{a}$, $orun\gamma o$ 'light' < * \bar{a} -i $aux\check{s}nak\bar{a}$ -, $fra\gamma ingo$ 'shegoat' < *fra- $g\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ - $k\bar{a}$; $l^3ro\gamma o$ 'clear sky' < * $idrak\bar{a}$ -, $x\bar{i}r\gamma o$ 'watermill'; $zevir\gamma o$ 'birch-tree' Note the adjectives $st\bar{i}n\gamma o$ 'supine'; $y\bar{u}\gamma o$ 'one of several'.

As a secondary suffix we find -γο, -go in M bīwogo 'widow' < Prs bīwa, pıloγο, pιōlega 'cup' < Prs piyāla, tavdoγο 'n. of a tree' < Prs. *tafta (?), maxmudiyo 'dagger', etc

VIII. Nouns in -ko (-1ko)

189. The fem. suffix -ko (-ka) is common Thus, e.g. Z 'γark'a 'small egg' (cf s v ἀγurγ), M kužkε 'hair', Y padreško 'small wooden bowl', prško 'cat', prško 'tray', toško 'adze', yažko, yalko 'duck',

zážko 'child-bearing', žinko 'woman' This last-mentioned word is a derivative of M žina, but apart from that -ko does not seem to be productive any longer, and after surd consonants it may simply be a phonetic variant of -go

The enlarged form -iko is still largely used to form diminutives, etc., from words in -o Only a few examples of this numerous group can be given here . oguščiko 'finger' (oguščo), luydiko 'daughter', mīryiko 'meadow', xūyiko 'spring', suvdiko 'end of a bow' (suvdo 'shoulder'), wēliko 'small irrigation-channel', etc, etc.

From words in $-\gamma o$, -ko are formed deminutives in $-\gamma iko$, -kiko. Thus, e.g. $p\partial l\bar{o}\gamma iko$ 'small cup', $war\gamma iko$ 'lamb', $zi\eta kiko$ 'woman'; $f\bar{\imath}\gamma iko$ 'small spade', $posti\gamma iki$ (pl?) 'bark of a tree', either from unrecorded or disappeared forms $f\bar{\imath}\gamma o$, $p\bar{o}sti\gamma o$, or direct from forms in -o

IX Nouns in -ya, -qa

190 The masc suffix Y -γa, M -ga, -γo, theoretically from *-kaka-(cf. Psht. -gai, etc.) is comparatively rare and includes forms of different origin.

In Y $v\bar{\imath}z\gamma a$ 'upper arm' (in reality $v\bar{\imath}z\gamma + a$), $topl\bar{a}\gamma a$ 'drum', $st\bar{u}\gamma a$ 'throat', $k\imath ta\gamma a$ 'almond' (Kafiri lw), $saf\bar{s}\bar{\imath}\gamma\dot{a}(n)$ 'armpit'. In M we find $t\bar{a}no\gamma o$ m 'male kid, one year old' ($t\bar{a}no$ 'new-born kid'), $t\bar{c}\bar{u}\bar{z}\bar{\imath}o\gamma o$ m 'chicken' ($t\bar{u}z\gamma a$ f), $tra\gamma\delta m\imath o\gamma o$ 'he-goat, one year old' ($tra\gamma omiy$), $travano\gamma o$ 'male calf, one to two years old' ($travano\gamma a$), $travano\gamma a$ 'male lamb' ($travano\gamma a$), $travano\gamma a$ 'small boy' (Y $travano\gamma a$). In Mm - $travano\gamma a$ has been added to lw s in $travano\gamma a$ 'bucket', $travano\gamma a$ 'neighbour'; $travano\gamma a$ 'dove'

Mg $k\hat{a}\gamma\partial ko$ 'throat' (interior) corresponds to Sogo 'palate', but the k cannot be direct derived from ancient -k.

Regarding the fem suffix M $-g\mathring{a}g\mathring{a}$ (of masculine participles in $-g\mathring{a}$) cf. Z p 122.

X Nouns in -ī.

191. As mentioned above, $-\bar{e}/-iy$ has been substituted for $-\bar{i}$ in most lws, but in recent borrowings $-\bar{i}$ remains. Thus, e.g. from Khow $\bar{a}rdi$ 'middle of the floor', $pi\bar{c}il\bar{i}$ 'n. of a plant', madiri 'hem'; $kitor\bar{i}$ 'dried mulberries', etc. From Prs. Y $nahar\bar{i}$ 'breakfast'; M $\bar{c}arpoy\bar{i}$ 'bed'— $\bar{c}aul\bar{i}$ 'stirrup'; $kaf\bar{c}\bar{i}$ 'hollow below sternum'; $q\bar{i}zag\bar{i}$ 'bridle'; $\bar{c}\bar{o}p\bar{i}$ 'he' are of Prs. origin, but the suffix seems to have been added in Y—M

Also some genuine words end in -i · froi 'chip', fšai 'out of breath', fšii 'very ripe and soft', paržini 'hedge', čoromi 'the fourth (finger)'

XI Nouns in -x-

192 Several Y—M words have preserved the ancient suffix x, but they do not form a group, and the suffix is not productive any longer

Examples are 'malax 'locust' (lw?), mvx 'month' (<*māhaxa-), max 'peg' (mīx 'nail' < Prs), woxo 'root-fibre' (Prs $b\bar{e}x$), $r\bar{o}x^9$ 'cheek' (lw?), $x\bar{a}xo$ 'thistle' (* $x\bar{a}ra$ - $x\bar{a}$ -?), penāxko 'eyelashes' (* $pa\bar{s}naxa$ -), selxiko 'sorrel', Y alīxa 'ribs' (only MFB) Also amaxno 'sloe', zaxmo 'field' and M zoyno 'chin' probably contain an ancient $-x\bar{a}$ 1 But awarxo 'flame' goes back to $urr\bar{a}xra$ -, and Y $c\bar{s}rox$ 'spark', nax 'floor' are probably lw s. krox 'scab' may be an adaptation of Khow. $kol\bar{u}k$, and in $band\bar{u}x$ 'a kind of handmill' an Ir suffix has been added to a stem which must be of IA origin

XII Nouns with Other Suffixes.

193 Traces of an ending in -z appear in bayaz 'bleating', milyuz 'red clay', cf dorz-kuryuz 'weaver', kiščyuz 'cultivator'

¹ Cf & 96

² Cf Par donas, khânas, Pashai yānas 'bellowing'

In yadmin 'wheaten bread' and $k\bar{o}sk\bar{\imath}n$ 'barley bread' we find a suffix $-\bar{\imath}n < -aina$, which has also been transferred to arzəmin (for *arzanin) 'millet-bread' and maymun 'pea-bread' (muyo).

Noun-Inflexion.

The Article

The numeral $y\bar{u}$ 'one' is sometimes used nearly in the sense of our indefinite article, but I do not think it would be correct to call it an article from the point of view of the Y—M linguistic system. Eg $y\bar{u}$ $l^2v\bar{v}r$ noyor Mm 'a door appeared', no $y\bar{u}$ kualtinen 'with a rich man'

In Ysh yurd wo maraken 'the man took it', etc the function of wo approaches that of a definite article Cf. wo ādam 'the man', wo vira yurah 'seize the burden', etc

Gender

195 Y—M is one of the few modern Ir. dialects which still preserve, at any rate to some extent, the ancient distinction between the masculine and the feminine.

In Y the f of adjectives has a separate form, e.g. in $x^u \dot{s}uv do$ f. 'sweet', muro f 'dead', zōro f. 'old', Yzh umidvāro (but Ysh umīdvār) 'pregnant', yauyo axleno šūi 'the water became cold', mun vulo šiloxo šūi 'my wife became destitute', Yzh, sh "sturo-guščo, Yg stro oguščiko 'thumb' For examples from M cf Z, p 125

In Y adjectives in $-\dot{e}$ do not change in the fem. Thus Yp mer yadə, žingo yadə 'the man, the woman is blind', Yg malane oguščo (Yr malanoguščo = malan' ogo or malano 'go') 'middle finger' But Mm malanīgo āgušk'o (m. *malaniy), M(t) yū mar 'yandıy: žinkika yan'dıya, cf. Z yādəy m. yādıga f, etc., v. Z pp. 122 sqq.

In the past tense no distinction is made in Y. Thus Ysh $y\bar{u}$ akābur māsto 'an old man was sitting' $\dot{z}i\eta kiko$ niāsto 'a woman was sitting', $v\bar{i}o$ m, f 'was', etc. Regarding the situation in M of Z p 125

In the nouns the ancient suffixes denoting gender are still in use Thus we find Y—M nar-kirë 'cock', but kirio 'hen'; nowis, nowisa 'nephew', 'grandson', but nowoso, nowasiko, 'niece' etc, Y 'ida m idiko f. 'slave', ware m, but wōryo f 'lamb'. But it is worthy of notice that the pairs miya miyo 'male and female oorial, vuza vuzo 'he- and she-goat', frayomiy frayingo 'male and female kid', xurī xurīgo 'sister's son and daughter'; vrēri vrērigo 'brother's son and daughter' have only been found in M. The corresponding Y forms are frayāmə or narbəz: vəzo, nar'can pran'jīo, while no'wīsa nowasiko are used both for 'grandchild' and for 'nephew', 'niece' '

Evidently the feeling for grammatical gender has been weakened in Y, possibly under the influence of Khow In Sgl the development has proceeded still further, and the only traces left of the ancient distinction are the suffixes denoting males and females of a few animals.

Number.

196 The pl suffix is normally \dot{e} , \check{t} in Y and \check{t} in M.

Thus from stems in consonants. Y yaspe 'horses', kārrake 'yokepegs', ādamē 'men', pūrē 'sons', yaškē 'tears', lade 'teeth', Idyē 'Yidghas', zəmone 'children', lıvdanı (Yp) 'fireplaces'; šılaxe 'naked', Mm âdamı, pūrı, lodı, Yıdəgī, čūrwoyı 'cattle', Mg nāxšī 'songs', Mt mižı 'days'; Mti wīlye, (wīlx) 'kidneys'.

From stems in Y -ė, M -1y, etc: Y stārī 'stars', $r\bar{u}i$ 'bowels', larzī 'sheaf' (pl of larzē 'sheaf-band'), maxše'ī 'mosquitoes', čapīī 'door-frame' M(g) storīī, t storīī, $r\bar{u}$ 'īī 'bowels' (Mm 'r \bar{u} yiy sg) Ysh $w\Delta ri$ 'ān 'lambs' ($w\Delta$ 're) is probably a persianized, incorrect form.

From f stems in Y -o Y ləydė 'daughters', wulė (Ysh wuli avəzde 'brought wives'), čoguli 'hoofs', agmīn-kurmīki 'bees', špūū (?) 'lice' (sg. špūo), niāsti 'sitting' (f pl). M luydi; ašosti 'shrubs'.

From stems in Y -a: Y mare 'men', muško'i 'calves' (muško'ya),

¹ Yr employed nuwoso both for the m. and for the f

šināmii 'girls' (šinamia) Regarding Y miwayë 'fruit-trees'; MZ wiyaki 'willows', etc cf above § 186.

From stems in -i Y čaulii 'stirrups', M Munjiyi 'Munjis' (Munji). From stems in -ai, -oi: Ysh $k^yay\bar{i}$, Yr, Bidd. $ky\bar{e}i$, M kyai, Mg $kyay\bar{i}$ 'houses', ¹ Mg $v^{i}i\bar{o}i$ 'brothers' (sg. $v^{i}r\bar{o}i$).

After numerals we find the sg in certain phrases Thus Y čīr mix, M žirai mix 'four, three days' But M yu čad mīxi 'some days', Y čīr wule 'four wives', loh (xiroi) pūre 'two (three) sons', M lu luydi 'two daughters', Y hazār rupāyī (and rupayo) 'one thousand rupees' The sg. forms cannot have a purely phonetic explanation, as is the case in Prs, but must either be due to influence from Prs, or to general syntactical tendencies common to many languages. LSIy gives mer and ādam 'men' as pl forms.

Note Z marduman stat 'people said' with the collective subject in sg and the verb in pl

198 Tedesco² derives the pl. suffix $-\dot{e}$, etc, from $-\bar{a}h$ and, as far as Y—M is concerned, I believe he is right. It might be argued that if f sg $-\bar{a}$ and f pl $-\bar{a}h$ both resulted in Y -o, the pl of ancient stems in i^3 could be extended to the stems in \bar{a} , in order to establish a clear distinction between sg and pl Thus

Sg. * $vuz\bar{a}$ * $suvd+\bar{a}$ changed into vuzo suvdo Pl * $vuz\bar{a}$ * $suvd\bar{e}$ changed into $vuz\dot{e}$ suvde

It might also be possible to derive the pl of ancient stems in -aka-from *- $ak\bar{a}h$ (> *ayo > $e\bar{\imath}$, $\imath\bar{\imath}$) without assuming a change of $-\bar{a}h$ > $-\bar{e}$.

But it is difficult to see how the type $p\bar{u}r\dot{e}$ can be explained, except as a direct phonetic outcome of $^*pu\partial r\bar{a}h$. There would have been no reason to substitute the pl of the rare masc i-stems for a phonetically developed form $^*p\bar{u}r\bar{a} > Y$ $^*p\bar{u}ro$

If we accept Tedesco's theory we must, however, give up the derivation of Y pado 'road' direct from *pantāh (Av pantā), and we cannot explain warfo 'snow' as an ancient plural.

¹ Cf Voc s v

² ZII, IV, p 127

³ Which were often transferred into the a-group, cf above § 174

Case.

199. The Vocative is expressed by the particle Y \dot{ai} , Z \bar{e} Thus, e g \ddot{ai} $vr\bar{a}i$, ai $p\bar{u}r\varepsilon$, but ai luydeo (?) 'O daughters', $\ddot{a}i$ $Parvardig\bar{a}ra$ 'O Creator' (prob from Prs)

The suffix of the obl sg is Y - ϵn , or, with vowel harmony, -an Thus, eg $v \ni r a y \epsilon n$ 'brother', sifien 'husband', $m \bar{\imath} x \epsilon n$ 'day', $s \bar{a} h a r \epsilon n$ 'desert', $g a l a v \bar{a} n \epsilon n$ 'cowherd'; $k v \bar{\epsilon} n$, $k y \bar{\epsilon} v n$ 'house', $d a r y \bar{a} h a n$ 'river', $p \bar{a} d \bar{s} \bar{a} a n$ 'king', $s \bar{a} h a r a n$ 'town', $l u r a \gamma a n$ 'from a far', $m v \bar{s} t \bar{r} \bar{a} n$ 'prince', $m \bar{a} h a \bar{a} a n \bar{a} n$ 'man' The only f forms noted in Y are: $z \bar{v} v k \bar{v} \bar{k} \bar{i} \ (= \bar{\imath} n^2)$ 'woman', $v u l \epsilon (n)$ 'wife', $C \bar{v} t r a \gamma \bar{i} n$ 'Chitral' They do not suffice to decide whether Y distinguishes between obl. m and f as is the case in $m \bar{a} n \bar{a} n$ according to $m \bar{a} n \bar{a} n$ 'daughter' as nom and obl

Regarding the derivation of the oblique from *-aina cf Tedesco, ZII, IV, p 156.² Konow's objection ³ to a derivation of Khotan Saka -aina (Maral Bashi -ena) < *-aina does not necessarily affect Y—M But the vocalism and the difference between the m. and f forms in M render Tedesco's derivation uncertain in details The m form might go back to *-ana and the f to *- $\bar{\imath}na$, based upon it and belonging originally to the stems in $\bar{\imath}$.

The obl pl suffix is Y -əf (-ef, af), M -af * Eg Y pūrəf 'sons', čīrief 'apricots', žinkəf 'women', Idgef 'Lutkoh', Hartef, Tuyakaf names of villages The derivation < *-abiš 5 seems obvious

An ancient gen. pl has been preserved in Mm $Y_l d_l y \bar{u} n$ 'Lutkoh', cf. also $Y_l d_l g \hat{u} n \partial_l n \partial$

¹ P 126, m -an, f in

 $^{^2}$ A different view is expressed by Z (p 126), who compares the Shgh loc. (or gen abs.) in -and, Sar -an

⁸ Saka Studies, p 41

^{*} Tedesco's -ew, -au (1 c p 156) are miswritings or misprints

⁵ Cf Tedesco, 1 c

Composition.

Y—M possesses a number of ancient nominal compounds Some of these contain ancient prefixes, such as ā, an, us, ham, abi, upa, pati, pari, parā, fra, hada, wi, etc Thus, e.g. årunyo 'light', hənadiy 'out of breath', usxābun 'awake', hadamə 'limb' and åbūya 'moraine'; avlāsto 'sleeve' and awlān 'bridle', vəzaxo 'womb', piščan 'thigh', parzīn 'enclosure' and pargušče 'finger-ring', prasāl 'last year', feryāmə 'he-goat', lomalen 'half-full', wulēyo 'span'.

Other ancient compounds, regarding which see Voc s vv, are e g $ag^{\imath}m\bar{\imath}n$ 'honey', $u\check{s}\check{c}eno$ 'hay-stack', $asp\bar{\imath}lan$ 'stable', $\gamma\bar{u}\dot{a}r\imath k\bar{e}$ 'ear-ring', $\check{s}inamu$ 'girl', $p\bar{\imath}st\dot{a}n$ 'udder', $yurzu\gamma o$ (?) 'crushing-stone', $yursil\imath ko$ 'shoe-string', etc.

Compounds of a more modern type are numerous, and new ones are constantly being formed. The principles of formation are similar to those found in other Ir. languages, and examples will easily be found in the Vocabulary.

Note the adverbs do-kučo 'out' and da-dram 'inside, in'. Also the type foskaf-surv 'nostril', lasten-bot 'wrist' must be considered as a kind of compound

Adjectives

201. Regarding the inflexion of adjectives for gender and number of § 195.

Luro 'far, distant' appears to be inflexible. Yzh yo 'ādam lur'o, yaı 'ādame lu'ro, Mg wə kyaı ləre, wai kyayı lə're But luro is probably derived from the Av abl dūrāt

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms, but the LSI. gives Y kemder 'younger', and M že yexa-ıš sterder 'he is taller than his sister' (Y że wen ıxa blend astet) I heard e.g. Y 'zo że-'yen (žo-'won) u'stur 'I am bigger than he', mən vəraı žə tō vərayen ustūr.¹ Cf also Bidd eyen kugoren man kugor yašē astet ¹ Cf § 217.

'my sword is better than his', zo eyen $t\bar{\imath}z$ $\gamma az \Delta m$ 'I can run faster than he can' (without $\check{z}o$)

The suffix -der is possibly borrowed from Prs. The genuine Y form may have been preserved in mistor 'mehtar, prince'.

Numerals.

The typical forms of the numerals (for details see Voc. s vv.) are

	\mathbf{Yzh}	$\mathbf{M}\mathbf{m}$
1	$yar{u}$.	$yar{u}$
$\overset{-}{2}$	lo^h	lv
3.		$\check{x}^{\imath_1}ro\imath$
4	čšīr	čfūr
5,	$p\bar{a}n\dot{s}$ (Ysh $p\bar{a}n\dot{j}$)	ponž
6	$ux^{\dagger}š0$	ox'šo
7.	'avdo	'ovdo
8.	aščo	'0šk ^y 0
9	nōu	nāu
10	los	da
11		yōzda (Mg)
$\frac{12}{12}$	U	dwōzda (Mg)
	losž ⁱ rāi	sēzda (Mg)
14	losič ³ šīr	côrda (Mg)
15	10816 817	
16		pônzda (Mg)
17		šônzda (Mg) ¹avda
18		ažda (Mg)
19		nūzda (Mg)
20	wis'to	bīst (G wīst)
30.	yūwistolos	$s\bar{i}$ $(s^u\bar{i})$
40	lu'ıvıst	čel
50.	luwisto los (Yr)	
60.	$\check{x}^{u_i}ronwist$ (Yr)	
100	pānžwist (Yr), yušor (Yg)	
200	loswist (Yr) — 1000 a	zōr (Yp), hazār (Yzh)

Apart from the fact that Y has preserved the genuine forms los and wisto, and that it has borrowed from, or been influenced by ¹ Khow in cases where M adopted Prs forms, the differences between the two dialects are only of a phonetic nature

It will be observed that Y and Mm distinguish as regards accentuation between $ux^{\dagger}\check{so}$, $ox^{\dagger}\check{so}$ '6' on the one hand, and 'avdo, 'aščo etc on the other This distinction is no doubt of ancient origin ($ux^{\dagger}\check{so} < x\check{s}va\check{s}$, and 'avdo < 'haftā, with $-\bar{a}$ from $a\check{s}t\bar{a}$), but it has been obliterated in most M dialects Thus e.g. M(sh) has $ox^{\dagger}\check{so}$, $ov^{\dagger}do$, $os^{\dagger}k^{y}o$, with the same accentuation in all three numerals.

Ancient numerals are preserved in *žuruzen* 'three days ago', *žurasāl* 'two years ago' and in *čurmo*, *pčūrma* 'four days ago'. Cf. also s v *čurgyīzen* 'four days ago'. *čoromī* 'fourth' is probably a Prs lw

Other numeral forms to be noted are: $y\bar{u}\gamma o$ 'one of several'; $lohr\bar{\imath}n\check{\jmath}$ 'double', lohsaxo 'a period of two years' (cf yisaxo); $l\bar{u}\imath n\imath$, $luainek\dot{e}$ (pl) 'twins', and, possibly, Y $avel\imath$, Z ' $avel\imath$ yi 'both' < ubaya duye (?)

Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

203

1st Prs Sg.

Y

Nom zo zh, sh, g, p, zo sh, r, u, g. Obl, Gen mon zh, sh, g, u, r, mon sh, u. Predic Gen 'mon-kăn zh, sh.

Acc va 'mən zh, və mən zh, r, vo (wo) mən

sh, vo mun u

Dat. 'nā-mən zh, sh, 'nā-mvn, -man sh. Abl ža 'mvn zh, žō, žā mən sh. Comit. 'lā-mən sh.

 \mathbf{M}

za (zo^{ϱ}) m, zə t, zå, zə Z mun, mun t, (t), mən Z. 'mə-kån, 'mənå Z

və mən m, 'va-mən Z. nö-mən g, 'na-mən Z žu mun m.

¹ The vigesimal system of Y is of Khow origin.

1st Prs. Pl

 \mathbf{Y}

Nom max zh, sh, māx g, r, mōx r Obl. māx g, r, mox r Gen amax zh, sh, max sh (?) Acc va max zh Dat 'nā-max zh, sh, na-, nə-max sh,

Abl

M

mox m, mŏx Z

 ^{1}a - $m\bar{o}x$ Z. ^{1}va - $m\bar{o}x$ Z

 $n\bar{a}$ -moy (!) g, na-mox Z. $\check{z}a$ -mox m.

2nd Prs. Sg

nomāx Bidd

Nom. tu zh, sh, r, g, p, to sh. Obl, Gen. tổ zh, sh, g, r, u, ta zh (?), sh Predic Gen. ta-'kắn zh, sh, u. Acc vo 'to zh, r, g, vuto u, vto zh, u, g, fto sh.

Dat 'nā-to zh, na-tō sh, r. Abl. 'ž-tō sh, (žo-to denied by zh). Comit lə to r Adess də tō sh. tu, tə m, Z. to, tə m, ta^w, tå, tə Z 'tə-kån, tə'wå Z

fto m, fta (t), ftə t, Z na-to m, na-tå Z

2nd Prs. Pl

Nom maf zh, sh, r, g, mof r. Obl. māf g. Gen amaf zh, sh Predic. Gen amaf kan zh, sh. Acc va 'maf zh. Dat. nā-maf zh, sh, na-, no-māf sh Abl mof m, möf Z

'a-mōf Z.
a'mōfå, ża-mōf Z
vaha-mof (') m, 'va-mōf Z.
'na-mōf Z
žā-, żaha-mof m

)4. The inflexion of the sg of the Personal Pronouns is based on the two-case system ¹ Thus $zo < az \partial m$, $m \partial n < mana$, $tu < t v \bar{\partial} m$ ¹ Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, XX, 61 sqq

(or $t\bar{u}$), $t\bar{o}$, $ta^w < tar\check{a}$ (a)max < Old Prs $am\bar{a}xam$, with preservation of the initial vowel in the stressed, genitive form ta, in ta- $k\check{u}n$ (LSIm to- $k\bar{a}n$), is probably a shortened form of $t\bar{o}$ Cf also Yzh zo $v\bar{o}$ ta gap $\gamma\bar{u}$ $l\bar{a}r\bar{o}m$ 'I listen to thy word'.

The frequent phonetic coalescence of *ahmāxam and *(yu)\$māxam in Ir has caused an embarrasment from which the different dialects have extricated themselves in various ways. But in every case it is the 2nd pl. which has had to give way to the more frequently used 1st pl, just as it is the 2nd pl termination of the verb which is changed in case of collision with the 3rd sg². A neighbouring Dardic language, Kalasha, which constantly employs a copula with personal inflexion, tolerates a complete homogenity between the nominatives of the Pers Pron 1st and 2nd pl³. In the Pamir dialects, where the construction without a copula is very widely used, this would not be possible

In Psht and Orm, the distinction between the Pers Pron 1st and 2nd pl has been effected through the introduction of an entirely different, possibly borrowed, stem for the 2nd pl Parachi has utilized a base *ušā which has become $w\hat{a}$, and Wkh has completely remodelled the pl. of the Pers Pronouns In the Shgh and Sgl—Ishk groups the 2nd pl has been differentiated by the prefigation of ta-, $t\hat{o}$ -, etc, taken over from the sg In Ishk, this has been deemed a sufficient distinction (mux tomo/ux), but Sgl has differentiated the vowels, too (amax tomux), and the obl form of the 1st pl is $mo\check{e}$, $mi\check{e} < *ahma\check{e}vya$ -, while the nom, is used also as an obl. in the 2nd pl

In Sar there exists, according to Shaw and the LSI, an unexplained

¹ amaf has got its a- from amax

² Cf. Rep on a lungu miss Afgh, 92

³ Cf Indian Linguistics, V, 361

⁴ tāsū, tus, etc

⁵ This explanation is preferable to that given IIFL, I, 62

⁶ Cf Rep Afgh, p 80.

⁷ Cf IA *tuşma-.

difference of quantity between 1 pl maš (< *ahma'sya-), and 2 pl $tam\bar{a}$, while Shgh. opposes $m\bar{a}$; to $tam\bar{a}$ (< ` $ta+\check{s}m\bar{a}k^2$)

Y—M agrees with W Ir dialects in employing neither the prefix t- in the 2nd pl, nor the adjective base in 4 - $\dot{c}(\iota)ya$ - for the 1st pl. It utilizes the difference between the ancient gen ${}^4m\bar{a}x < {}^4ahm\bar{a}xam$ (and ${}^4(yu) \dot{s}m\bar{a}xam$), and the instr ${}^4m\bar{a}\beta < {}^2ahm\bar{a}bi\dot{s}$, etc, to distinguish the two persons. It is, of course, possible that a form $m\bar{a}x$ (with -x from the 1st pl) has never existed in pre Y—M, but that ${}^4m\bar{a}\beta$ has been substituted for ${}^4m\bar{a}k$

The assignment of the form in $-f < -\beta$ to the 2nd pl was facilitated by the existence of a verbal ending (originally an enclitic pronoun) 2 pl in $-f < -v < -^{\varphi} dw^2$

Enclific Personal Pronouns

205. Regarding the possible employment of the ancient enclitic pronouns as verbal terminations see below § 231

I have only come across a few cases of the use of real pronominal suffixes, and the examples are not all of them quite certain

Thus a dawuy-em tu, môzē-em tū, dalē-em tu Ysh 'thou createst me, thou killest me, thou givest me', agar kōi ke liē-t, γ ase, kōi ke liē-t . 'if anybody gave thee something, it is well, if nobody gave thee anything, . .' In this last example it is possible, but not probable, that liēt is the 3rd pl pret

Other instances are Mt dōam-et = zo fto doam 'I beat thee', dō $p\bar{a}d\dot{s}\bar{a}an$ $k\bar{a}\gamma az$ $k\bar{o}\gamma o$, $\dot{s}k\bar{a}r$ -on 'another king wrote a letter and sent it to us' But $\dot{s}k\bar{a}\gamma on$ might be a nazalized form (cf $n\bar{a}$ -to $\dot{s}k\bar{a}\gamma o$ Ysh)

Mm wo auqût-is g'yask" 'guzarān-i sud' is a Persianism, cf LSIm 2 sg -it and 3 sg. -is from Prs

¹ But Psht. mūnž < *māš < "ahmāšya ?

² Cf § 231

^{9 -} Kulturforskning

Demonstrative Pronouns

206

"HIC" (Proximate)

Sg

 \mathbf{Y}

må m, Z, m; m, g, Z. man Z

 \mathbf{M}

Nom mổ zh, sh, u, mỗi sh Obl môn zh, u. Gen. a'man zh, a'man zh, sh. Predic. Gen a'man kan zh, amän k sh Acc vôm zh, wum sh Dat. nô-man zh, no (no) 'man sh Abl. ài-man zh, à-im sh Locative dêm zh, dom u.

vum m, 'və-m(å) Z 'nv-man m, 'nə-man Z \dot{z}^{n} -man m, 'zə-man Z

Pl

Nom \begin{cases} mind \text{zh, sh} \\ mai \text{zh, mai sh, me g} \end{cases} \]

Obl m\text{of g.} \]

Gen. \alpha'm\text{of zh, a mof sh}} \]

Predic. Gen. \alpha'm\text{of kan zh, sh.}} \]

Acc. \(v\text{o-'maf zh, v\text{\text{im\text{im\text{im}}}} v\text{ Bidd}} \)

Dat \(n\text{Im\text{of zh, n\text{Im\text{of sh.}}} sh.} \)

Abl \(\text{\text{in-'m\text{of sh.}}} \)

myand m, myend g mai m, g, Z. maf Z

vi-maf m

'żi-maf m

207

"ISTE" (Half Proximate)

Sg.

 \mathbf{Y}

 \mathbf{M}

yå m, Z, yə Z

yan Z

Nom yō zh, sh, g, yə sh Obl yān sh Gen a'yen zh, ā'yen sh Predic. Gen. a'yen kan zh, sh Acc vāi zh, vēī sh. Dat nā-yen zh, sh, nā-'yen, ne'en sh Abl że-'yen zh, żēn sh. Adess däi zh

vaī m nə-yan m, 'nə-yan Z 'za-'yan m, 'za-yan Z.

ΡI

Y

Nom. $\begin{cases} nnd \text{ zh, } yand \text{ sh.} \\ yai \text{ zh, } y\bar{e}\iota \text{ sh, } yeh \text{ Bidd} \end{cases}$ Obl a^iyef (?) sh Predic Gen a^iyef $kan \text{ zh, } a^iyef$ k sh Acc. $\iota\dot{a}\cdot^iyef$ $\text{zh, } v\bar{e}f$ sh Dat. $na\cdot^iyef$ $\text{zh, } \text{sh, } ne^i\cdot ef$ sh Abl. $\check{z}\bar{e}f$ sh M

yend m, yend, yend g. yaı m, yaı, daı Z. daf Z.

va-'yaf' m.

àa-1yaf m

208

"ILLE" (Remote)

Sg

 \mathbf{Y}

Nom $w\bar{o}$ zh, sh, u.

Obl $w\partial n$ sh, u

Gen $a'w\partial n$ sh

Predic. Gen awon kan zh, $aw\partial n$ k sh

Acc $v\bar{o}u$ zh, sh, $v\bar{o}u$ sh, r.

Dat na'won zh, $na'w\partial n$, no'won sh, $n\bar{o}n$ u

Abl $\dot{z}o'won$ zh, $\dot{z}o'w\partial n$ sh, u

Adess $d\bar{o}u$ zh

 \mathbf{M}

wā m, Z, wə g, wa Z. wan Z (fem win) 'a-wan Z

võu m, vå-w(an) Z, vâ^w G no-wan m, na-wan Z żo-wan m, 'ža-wan Z. dau LSIm

Pl.

Nom $\begin{cases} w \ni n & \text{zh, } w \ni nd \text{ sh} \\ w \widecheck{o} i & \text{zh, } \text{sh, } weh \text{ Bidd} \end{cases}$ Obl. $u \widecheck{o} f & \text{sh, } wov \text{ u}$ Gen $o \ni f & \text{sh}$ Predic. Gen $o \ni of kan \text{ zh, } o \ni of k \text{ sh.}$ Acc $v o \ni of \text{ zh, } v \widecheck{o} of, w \widecheck{o} f & \text{sh.}$ Dat $n o \vdash v of \text{ zh, } sh, n o \vdash \widecheck{o} f & \text{sh.}$ Abl. $\widecheck{o} o \circ v \text{ Bidd}$ Adess. $d o \vdash \widecheck{o} f$

wend m, wiyend g. wai m, g, Z , waf Z

vo-waf m

žo-waf m, 'ża-waf Z.

The bases are as follows

	\$	Sg			Pl					
Nom	mo	yo	wo		{mai mind	yar yand,ind	wor wond, wiyend			
Acc. Obl.	-m man	-(a)i yan	-(ō)u wən,	wan	məf, maf					

These stems go back to respectively Av $\imath ma$, $a\bar{e}ta$ - 1 and Anc Prs ava- An identical system of demonstratives is found in Sgl, which has am(a), $a\delta(a)$, $\bar{o}(a\bar{u})$, (obl. $\bar{\imath}m$, $\bar{\imath}\delta$, $y\bar{e}$), in Shgh with $y\imath m$, yi d, $y\bar{\imath}$ (obl. me, de, ue, etc.), and in Sogd. with mu, $\gamma y\delta$, $\dot{\imath}$ 'w (nom ' γw), but not in Yaghn (with $\bar{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, obl. $\bar{\imath}t$, au, ax), or Wkh $\dot{\imath}$ The Yazgh system ($yuk < ay\bar{\imath}m$, $duk < a\bar{e}ta$ -, $\bar{u} < ava$ -) is of a similar but not identical structure, the ancient nom surviving in the proximate demonstrative

Mo goes back to ${}^{4}v^{1}m\bar{a}m$, ${}^{4}vmat$ (cf $zo < az\partial m$), and yo, wo are probably also original accusatives. The modern accusatives $v\partial m$, $v\dot{a}u$ are probably ancient formations ${}^{4}upa {}^{4}umam$, ${}^{4}upa {}^{4}umam$. Of the same type are dvm, etc. The derivation of the gen. 'prefix' a- is uncertain.

I have not come across any special fem obl form of wo, or any other trace of distinction of gender But Zar gives obl masc wan, fem win

The nom plurals mai, yai, woi are probably to be analysed as containing mo, etc + the pl. ending -e mind, yand, wind, etc recall Sgl $am\bar{a}nd$, $av\bar{a}nd$, $aw\bar{a}nd$ and also Sogd. wyint, which Benveniste derives from $ava\bar{e}\cdot\dot{s}an\bar{a}m+t$ - But the preservation of nd in this special case remains unexplained. The forms in nd are unknown

¹ Cf. Zar s vv -Nom yo might, of course, be derived from aēša, but this is not probable in view of the Sgl forms

² Cf Gramm Sogd., II, 122, but note $\delta < t$

⁸ Cf Wkh, Pronouns

⁴ Gramm Sogd II, § 81

to Z, G and the LSIm, and Mm first mentioned them, then denied their existence in M, but afterwards employed them, together with Mg, in his speech I was not able to detect any difference of meaning or use between M mar and mind, except in so far as mar seemed to be the more usual form Z gives dai, daf besides yai, yaf. These forms may go back to 'ta-, with early loss of the initial diphthong Cf § 48.

According to Ysh moi, yoi, woi are emphatic forms of mo, etc, and not plurals. Thus e.g., yoi kyai sg = yō kyai, but yēi kyēi, yand kyēy pl Cf also môy-a = 'hamī ast?' moi kōi-kān fərmā?' whose can this one be?'

Note the obl Y mof, M maf, but Pers. Pron. 2nd pl Y maf, M mof

Yo and mo both correspond to Prs. in Thus, e.g. no-man ces yo, mo delum Ysh 'what shall I give this one (ba i)'; mo camin zaga Yu 'what kind of place is this (i stari zā)?'; yo kyei ayēn-kan Ysh 'ī xāna az ist', yo koi ādam Ysh 'ī kī ādam ast'' yo cos-min vira Ysh 'i ci bār ast''

But mo is used especially about quite near objects and persons: mo mind ūdame nazdīk astet Ysh 'these men are near', mo ūdam, mai (mind) ūdame nazdīk Yzh, mə kyai qarīb Mm 'this house is near', myand (mai) yaši, wai līwi Mm 'these are good, those are bad', wum isa Ysh 'bring this one (which I have just given you)', yo mara z̄akū, waī pərsə zo z̄-im kyeyen, mo kyei mən-kān Ysh 'from where is this man, ask him . . . I am from this (very) house, the house is mine', yo mən sīfə mō amaf tāt Ysh 'this is my husband, this (very man is) your father' Cf also G yimsûl 'this year'

Yo, on the other hand, may be used in sentences like yō ādam yo lu ro, yāī ādame lu ro 'this man is (these men are) far away' But usually it is applied to half-proximate objects Cf Zar, p 180 'указат мест для предметов среднего удаления.'

We usually corresponds to Prs \bar{u} ($\bar{u}n$) Thus, e.g. $l\bar{u}m$ $n\bar{o}n$ Yu uo ¹ Zar 707, OII.

'I gave him' (ba ū), n-ou maja kyein Ysh 'ba jā·i-ū maidek', žīo wāf 'he beat them (unhara)', wōu č-pərviayāf 'ūra na yāfta būdīd', būd žo wan Mm 'after that (būd az ū)'. Other examples of wo are: wənd ādame(n) lūro astet Ysh 'these men are far off', wo ādam lv'ro Mm, wə kyai ləˈrɛ Mg; yo mən kyei, wo to kyei Yzh 'this is my house, that is your house'

Wo is also used as a Pers. Pron Eg·wo ruxsat $\dot{s}\bar{u}$ Ysh 'he took leave', $na'w \partial n \ li'\bar{o}$; $l\bar{\iota}'o$ $no'w \partial n$ 'he gave him', $w \partial n \ (wo)$ ' $\dot{s}to$, $w\bar{o}f$ ' $\dot{s}t\bar{o}t$ 'he, they said', $\dot{s}\partial lo$ won Ysh 'ba $p\bar{e}\dot{s}\cdot\dot{\iota}$ \bar{u} ', $w\bar{o}u$ $l\bar{\iota}'bad\bar{\partial}m$ Yr 'I winnowed it', tu $do'\bar{o}f$ xabar $\dot{c}\dot{e}\dot{s}'-a$? 'have you no news about them?' wo xap $k\bar{\partial}r$ Yu' 'he kept silent', but in a following passage. mo xap $\dot{c}\bar{\iota}$ $k\bar{\iota}t$? 'why does this man keep silent'

Regarding the use of wo as a Definite Article, cf § 194

I never heard any Y form corresponding to Biddulph's 'hooroh' 'he, she, it' (remote). It is probably a lw from Khow horo, and does not seem to be in general use.

Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite Pronouns.

210. Koi 'who?' (< kahyā) is used both as a subst. and as an adj kōi-ste Yu 'who art thou?' yo vīra kōi-kān Ysh 'whose burden is this?' na-koi ase tu? Yzh 'whom dost thou come for?' maf na-koi a'sef? But also yo koi ādam? Ysh 'what man is this?'

Koi is also an indefinite pronoun vo koī Yr 'somebody' (kasıra); agar kōi ke liē-t yašē 'if anybody gives thee (anything), it is well'

 $K\partial di$ is used as a substantive $k\partial di$ ayor 'which one came?' $ked\bar{e}\cdot v\hat{a}$ LSIm 'any one' But $ky\partial m$ is an adjective. $ky\partial m$ $\bar{a}dam$ 'which man?' Regarding the phonetic development of these words v §§ 47, 164

Examples of ces 'what' are to ces nām? to ces nām astet? tō nām ces mīn? Ysh 'what is thy name?' ya ces men vera? Ysh 'ē če bār ast?' mun ces gu'nā 'what is my fault?' ces ke nā-mun resī 'whatever I get'; no-man ces delum 'what shall I give him? ces ory ke'në?—

is (in èt ilā) kenem Yu 'what remedy shall I use?') is Prs Regarding ce 'what?', če, čī 'why, what', čē 'something' v Voc s vv.

'How much, how big' is čamīn mo čo žaya 'what kind of place is this $(\bar{\imath} \ \check{s}tar\imath \ (=\check{c}\imath - taur\check{\imath}) \ \check{\jmath}\bar{a})$?' $\check{c}^{n} \ k \ni n \ni m$ Ysh ' $\check{c}\imath k \circ \ (=\check{c}i \ qadr)$ kanam ?'

Regarding and, mind 'so much', ia(n)d 'how much', Y čēi, M ištiva 'something' v Voc s.vv

The relative particle ke, is borrowed from Prs* Regarding the Reflexive Pronoun xoi v. Voc

Use of the Cases and Prepositions

211. The Nom is used as a subject with intr. verbs and with trans. Nominative verbs in the Present Thus: Yzh mə ādam vrī, mai ādamē vrīct 'this man breaks, these men break', mo 'mara (zinkiko) 'yade 'this man (woman) is blind', mo 'adam na'yan xut 'this man eats bread', Yg me žiroi meje hor(y) kenet 'these three men are working' (cf Ysh 'mind 'ādamen 'hory ke'nat), Ysh yo mun vərai astet 'this is my brother', wo žinkiko da čatir šūi 'the woman went into the tent'

Note that the Pers Pronouns are frequently used, even when no special stress is laid upon the subject 1 Thus, e.g. 1 Sg Y 20 wušiaday-əm 'I am hungry', zo sabā oīm 'I shall come to-morrow', Mm 20 org 'yıkenum 'I am working', za ftə 'duham (zə ftə doam t) 'I beat thee' -2 Sg tu wusiaday-ət 'thou art hungry', tu võu de 'beat him', tu ču žuī 'what dost thou say?' tu ces hory kenė 'what work art thou doing?' M tu isti 'yıkuniy 'thou art doing something'-1 Pl. Y: max wusiaday-am, max hory ke'nam sh, max hor kə nem g, mo ax ory kə nem r, M mox ory yıkenam —2 Pl Y māf wušiaday-əf; maf ces hory keinef? M mof isti yıkunef, mof male nixit 'sit down here' In Ysh zo ż-im kyeyen 'I (am) from this house' the pronoun replaces the copula

¹ As is the case e.g. in kū ki tu šūyit zo asəm Ysh 'wherever you go (lit went), I shall go'.

The Nominative is also sometimes used as a subject with transitive preterites.

Thus, eg Yu <code>inkiko</code> (kurmo) 'sto 'the woman (the grashopper) said', galavān wazīr luydo do 'vyuš zīo 'the cow-herd embraced the vizier's daughter', Ysh dukandār yurīb yū alāno 'the shopkeeper took a pome-granate', agai Xədāi cu mašce vīi 'if God had not killed him', LSIm kamder pūr sta, LSIy kemder pūr sto 'the younger son said'.

With pronouns Yzh zo (or mən) vto žīm (žīyəm viō) 'I (had) killed thee', Yr zo na-to 'stom 'I said to thee', Ysh zo muzdurə kup'yum 'I have served', tə na'yɛn xuryet-a 'hast thou eaten the food?' Mm tə və-mən žīet, Yr tā və-mən žīut 'thou didst kill me', Ysh wo alāno yurd 'he took the pome-granate', Ysh, u wo (or uən) 'sto 'he said', Ysh yō və-mən žī-sto 'he was beating me', wo wulo sto 'the wife said', yō ādam nayan xu')o 'this man ate bread', Z wā žīnka va-mən līskigagā 'that woman has seen me'

As an adjective the demonstrative is always put in the nom. in Y· wo maraken isto 'the man said', etc But Z gives both wâ mēran 'this man' and man idakan 'this slave' as agents, cf. wâ and waf lu vorōyaf 'these two brothers', etc

But this construction with nom, and transitive preterite is no doubt of recent origin and due to Prs and Khow, influence 2

Oblique

212. Usually we find the subject of a transitive preterite put in the oblique case Thus, e.g. Ysh pādsān, suwānen, marakā, dukandāre(n), žiņķiķī, akābv'ren išto (etc.) 'the king, youth, man, shopkeeper, woman, old man said' (etc.), sinkiķī tərəft 'the woman stole', zinīef pistet 'the daughters-in-law asked', čes ke Xədāiyen līo 'whatever God gave', Yu vo wulo vət galavānen 'the cowherd brought the wife'

With Pers Pronouns Y mon vo-to cardim 'I threw thee down', mon ory keⁱlom 'I worked', mun xūvon listoyom 'I have seen a dream'; mon 'što (Yg mon štum) 'I said', mon no pūren amūno līom 'I gave

¹ This type of construction seems to be more frequent in LSIm than in LSIv

² Cf Par T 'ân $x\bar{u}_r = mun$ ' $x\bar{u}_r$, $x\bar{u}_l$ um, HFL, I, p 96

my son an apple', mən vto liscum, Mm mun fta liskum 'I saw thee', Mt mun ftə ziim 'I killed thee', Yg tō və-mən zīt 'thou didst kill me', māx və-to ziem-stəm 'we were killing thee', mox wōu mascəm 'we slaughtered him', Yg māf və-mən zīef-stef 'you were killing me' 1

With Demonstrative Pronouns Ysh, u wən $i\dot{s}t(y)o$ 'he said', $v\tilde{o}f$ 'stot 'they said', yan namaf nayen $l\bar{i}\bar{o}$ 'he gave you bread', $\gamma \bar{u}rd$ wo maraken 'the man took it'.

Cf Zar (p 126) Saidan mən luydå γ'rəvd 'Said took iny daughter', wå v'rōyaf ləkkat 'the brothers saw', etc, LSIm men (ze) žiem, waf (wai) žiat 'I, they beat', etc

In a few cases I heard mon instead of zo. Yr mon uzīr lurvo viem 'I was ill yesterday', mon võu dehām 'I beat him' (pres), Ysh mun no-won amūno dàlēm 'I give him an apple'. With attraction to a transitive preterite Y won iopūvd, 'što 'he returned and said' This construction is due to the influence of Prs man, and, together with the use of zo, etc. for the oblique case and the introduction of personal endings in the transitive preterite, demonstrates the gradual dissolution of the ancient middle Ir system.

213. The Attributive Genetive of nouns is usually expressed by the Gentive Oblique

Thus, eg Y pūren pūr 'grandson'; pādšāan pūr 'the king's son', lasten bod 'wrist', yūen surva 'the hole of the ear', Xadāyen bande 'the servant of God', fəskaf surv 'nostril', wo you pūrəf nām 'the names of his sons'

But we also find examples of the nominative used as a genitive Eg · Y mən tāt kyái 'my father's house', sūi n-ou mai a kyēin 'he went into the house of that man', pādšā pūr 'prince', wazīr luydo pādšā pūr pisto 'the vizier's daughter asked the prince', last bot 'wrist' It is not always possible to draw the line between such expressions and nominal compounds

¹ Yr $m\bar{o}x$ (¹) $v\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{o}n$ žief-ištəf and Yzh max(¹) či va-maf(¹) da'haf 'don't kill us' must be mistakes

The *vzāfat* construction occurs in fixed formulas and compounds borrowed from Prs Thus, e.g. Y ba nām e-Xudā, ba hokm-e-Xadānen (with obl.) 'at God's command', čarx-1-falak; dārū-i-bīhusī, sar-1-d1l, dil-i-zigar, etc

Of the pronouns the common gen-obl case, or the special gen form is used:

Y mon pūr rīza 'my son is small', yo mon ida 'this is my slave'. yo mun varar astet 'this is my brother', man tra zil astet 'it is in my heart (= I desire)', men cuwa astet 'I have nothing'; men larza kīt 'I have fever', mun yū wwlo astet 'I have one wife'; wo to kyei 'that is thy house', to $y\bar{a}r$ was $k\bar{u}$ - \bar{o} ? 'where is thy friend now?' to cis nam astet? 'what is thy name?' to cand layde astet? 'how many daughters hast thou?' zo vo ta (1) gap yū lārom 'I listen to thy word', amax tat (pādšā) 'our father (king)', magam max 1 yū pādšā astet 'but we have a king', amaf taten kyei 'your father's house', no a maf tat 'to your father'.

Yzh äyen dawlet 'this man's riches', but, with pronominal adjective wo yüyen nām Z vio 2 'the name of the one is Z', Mm wo hadamen lu luydi viat 'the (that) man had two daughters'

Note the genitive with rīm- 'to please' mon rīmet, mon rīmdo

214. The Predicative Genitive of nouns is expressed by the oblique Predicative case Y yo vira mon sifien čes 'this burden is not my husband's', yo kyer mištərān-ē 'this house is the Mehtar's', 3 galavānen cīr wule šut 'the cowherd had four wives', Z žu'ray vo royaf žú'ray muš'kåvyi viyat 'three brothers had three calves'

Reg żo with genitive function of § 217

The predicative genitive of pronouns is formed by adding -kan to the ordinary genitive (which may also be used alone). Thus, eg: Yzh mo kyer ta-kan-a? mo kyer mən-kān 'is this house thine?'

¹ For *magam amax ?

² Cf above § 211.

Or is mištarānē a possessive adjective?

'this house is mine', mo lāmo a'maf-kan-a? 'is this village yours?', Ysh yo 'vīra ta-'kan 'this burden is thine', Yr kyev ta-'kān 'xāna-vtūst' (inexact transl!). Yzh mo kyev aman-kan-a? 'does this house belong to this one?' mo (wo) lāmo a'məf- (o'of-) kan-a? 'does this (that) village belong to these (those) men?' Ysh yo (mo, wo) kyavā ayēn (amən, awən)- kan; yand (mind, wənd) kyayī ayef (aməf, o'əf)- kan.

This predicative genitive is probably an original possessive adjective 1 as appears from Ysh $y\bar{u}$ wulo, loh $p\bar{u}r\bar{c}$ mon- $k\bar{a}nc$ molo viet 1 had a wife and two sons here

215. The indefinite object is, when a noun, put in the 'nominative' Accusative (or, perhaps better 'casus indefinitus') Thus, e.g. Y you yalbīl kenəm 'I sift grain', zo yawo avāzəm 'I bring a cow', amboh māl avār 'bring much goods', yū ādamen xūben lišc 'a man had a dream', yūr uzıaudum 'I extinguished a fire', no xoı pūrəf wulo iə avazəm-ā? 'should I not bring my own sons a wife?'

But the definite object is expressed by the 'nominative' sg, or the obl. pl preceded by vo (wo^2) 2

Thus, with the object in the sg: Y wan vo piško yurd 'he seized the cat' (which has already been mentioned), vo man yap yurā 'hear my word', vo wulo vat galavānen 'the cowherd brought his wife', zo va yūra uzīawum 'I extinguish the fire', vo parızāto suwār kar 'he put the fairy on horseback', nuvalrum vo 'kēro 'I took out the knife', vo šīr maščet 'they killed the lion', Z waf vũ wan nēna mošk'at 'they killed his mother', etc

With plural object Y vo cirref yard 'the seized the apricots', vo cūrwakəf ūvər 'bring the unripe apricots', vo māləf avī et 'they brought the goods'; wo (=vo?) xoi zəmonəf list 'he saw his own boys'; pisto wo zınīəf 'she asked her daughters-in-law', Mm və luydaf yuruvd (štə) 'he took (he told) his daughters'.

Note especially: Ysh $qissa \gamma urdo\gamma um$ 'I have brought a tale', but afterwards wo = vo $qissa \gamma urd$ ' he brought the tale', $la\check{z}ino deh$ ' make

¹ Cf the Par gen of proper names in -an, HFL, I, p 53

² Cf Par definite acc with ma, IFFL, I, p 51 sq.

a pile of wood', but və lažīno žafaū 'put fire to the wood-pile', Z škura muškåəy čə xūt 'a camel does not eat a calf', but wå ta šk'unn vå mən muškåəy xurə" 'thy camel has eaten my calf'

Y pa kacio $vr\bar{u}t\partial f$ dea 'cut the moustache with a scissor' may have been misheard for $v\partial vr\bar{u}t\partial f$

The personal and demonstrative pronouns are, of course, always used as definite objects. Thus, e.g., Y to it va mon dehe? 'why dost thou beat me?' Ysh to so mon zitt, g to vo mon zitt, r to vo mon zitt, Mm to vo mon zitt 'thou didst beat me', Y 'zo vto pr'sim, zo fto por'som' I ask thee', so to wido vonom' I bring thy wife', vo to xai vrai yurdum' I seized thy own brother', Mm fta wīnom' I see thee', zo fto doam' I beat thee', mun fto zītm (= Ysh fto zītm)' I beat thee' (pret)

Yzh zo vài daham, tu võu de 'I beat this one, beat thou that one', Ysh zo vêi (vēf, võof) dəhām, Mm za 'vaī (vum, võu) 'dvham, Ysh tu wum isa 'bring this one'

As an adjective the inflected form occurs in Yu man wer ory kara 'I have done this work', Ysh zo wum hory kenam, Yu wov loh tunkaf arezdo 'he brought the two women' But also Ysh yo vīra . skāja '(he) sent this burden'

The 'Dative' of nouns is formed with no and the oblique

'Dative

Thus Y min no pūren amūno liom 'I gave my son an apple', wo alāno lio no majaken 'she gave the pomegranate to her husband', na pādšāan līet 'they gave the king', no zomef 'što 'she said to her daughters-in-law', no mon zomanakof del 'give it to my boys', no abeli pūrof 'to both sons' The purely local significance of no remains in e.g. Y šūi no bāzāren 'he went to the bazar'; no kiyen asom 'I come to the house' It denotes the aim in the infinitives. Y no xurān, no āyostān '(food) to eat, (clothes) to put on', na tagbīi en oīm = na tagbīi koiān oīm 'I come to make a plan' Note' no yu māžen 'in (the course of) one day'

Very rarely no is used with a noun in the nom 'Y na to $t\bar{a}t$ 'to thy father', wo no wulo 'sto 'he said to his wife', na $t\bar{a}$ -dum \bar{a} 'to the underworld'.

The dative of personal pronouns occurs frequently, the accentuation (nāmən, etc) indicating that such forms are felt to be one word Examples are Y tu 'nāmən ki'tiū del (da'le) 'give me a book', 'yan 'nāmən na'yen līo 'he gave me bread', nāmən da pīr 'before me', Mm v²rōi 'nōmən '(he is) a brother for me', Y zo 'nā-to èwāb (ki'tiū) dalım 'I give thee an answer', na-to cēi pəḥāmum 'I entrust something to thee', 'spāč na-tō 'after thee', zo na to 'stom 'I said to thee', 'na tə trə 'lās kə'rum 'I put it in thy hand', M na-to isti-va dalum 'I give thee something', Y yan 'nāmax (na-maf) na'yen līō 'he gave us (you) bread', na'max del 'give it to us', Mg wai v²'iōi 'nāmoy astat 'they are brothers for us' (= our brothers), wū və (!) 'nāmoy viōi 'he is our brother', Y na-maf ce zanūr² 'what need is there for you?', zə da'lem no-'māf, mun na-'mof amūno dalem 'I give you an apple'

Examples of the dative of demonstratives are Yzh mon nu won (no man, na yen, no wof, no mof, nayef) naren him 'I gave him (etc) bread', Ysh mun no won (ne en, na mof, ne ef) amūno dalēm 'I give him (etc) an apple', Yu līm non 'dādam ba ū', Mm 'numan yū rūpau lūyum 'I gave this man a rupee', no yan (no wan) lu (ž'roi) rūpayagī lūyum 'I gave this man (him) two (three) rupees'

Note the possessive use of the dative, e.g. in Ysh 'zo na to $t\bar{a}t$, $tu\ mvn\ p\bar{u}r$ 'I am thy father, thou art my son'

217 A kind of ablative is formed with żo and the oblique.

Ablative

From nouns (and adverbs), e.g. Y zi Č'trēyen 'from Chitral', zi im kyayen 'from this house', zo lurayan 'from afar', zi idalen ūyōt 'he came from there', zo zi malen 'I am from this place', sitāhān ze mazān 'below the table', zo aserafīef yū tiroft 'he stole one from (== of) the gold-pieces' With possessive force Y yo amūno ze pūren astet 'this apple belongs to the son', cf Z wā sahōb za muškāvyan 'the owner of the calf', etc, LSIm ze spi yaspan zin (but LSIy spī yaspan palan) 'the saddle of the white horse'

Note Y \dot{i} \bar{a} \bar{a} \bar{a} \bar{a} \bar{a} \bar{a} \bar{a} \bar{a} or \bar{a} \bar{a}

deh)'; cf. LSIm že čāh, že yu saudāgar, but LSIy že čahēn, že yu dokandaren 'from a well', 'from a shopkeeper'.

From pronouns. Y tu ža-mun ustur, zo žuman ustur 'thou art bigger than I, I am bigger than he', 'ž-tō xušiè 'smaller than thou', yō kyɛı žō-mən 'this house is mine', ża-mən yū pūr astet 'I have one son' 1, yō (wō, wōı, yēı) kyēı ž-ēn (žo'wən ž-ēf, żamōf) astet 'this house belongs to this man' (etc.), Mm wo 'lāmo 'żo-wan 'this village belongs to him'

218. I kind of Comitative is formed with lo 'with', solo 'together 'Comitative' with, near' with the oblique

Examples are. Y lo poi taten 'with his own father', lo galarānen dārū vāo 'there was a remedy with the cowherd' (= the c had), la pənəkaf purd 'he seized with his hands', lā-mən iə defa 'don't fight with me' (qat-v-man), wo dāruī la-mən astet 'the medicine is with me'. Note lo malen 'half full' ('with the half').—Y šəlo dukandāren nrāsto 'he stayed with the shopkeeper', šəlo pādšāan, 'əla daryāhan 'pēŝ-v-daryā'. šo (in Ysh so dukandarə) is perhaps only an abbreviated form of səlo

Local relations are expressed by the prepositions do, tro and po 'Locative' which take the nom sg, but the obl pl of nouns

Examples of do 'in', 'into' are. Y na kyēn šūn, da kyen loyon do 'he went to his house and entered it'; do xwon kyēn rəsīn 'he arrived in his own home', sūn də Oryoco 'he went into O'; alāno da lāst kə 'he put the pomegranate into his hand', dəftəd də hōry 'they started work', do xūben kovūyo goščim 'in the dream I turned into a pigeon', da mažit mast 'he sat down in the mosque', da yū mix 'in one day'; da sālə 'in a year', M də kyon təyim 'I enter a house', Z səyat də bōzōr 'they went into the bazar'.—Y wa (= va?) yōu da laxiēf yurdam, drīem da čāro 'I took the grain in the bags, and poured it into the store-room', LSIm de zaxmaf 'in the fields' (but de men tāt kei 'in my father's house', etc)

¹ See § 203, and cf. Psht $\jmath m\bar{a}$ 'my'.

The obl sg was heard in Ysh do Čitrayī rosī 'he arrived at Chitral', but this form may have been influenced by the preceding $\dot{s}\bar{u}i$ na $\dot{C}itiay\tilde{i}$ 'he went to Ch' Y do kyayī $ti\bar{i}m$ 'I enter the house' propably stands for kyän

From pronouns we find. Y zom da to 'I speak with thee', do to apīr 'before thee', do to barābar 'equal to thee', dum suvdo 'on this shoulder', do-of 'about them'

Examples of tro 'into' are Y 'nā to tro lāst korum 'I have put into tro thy hand', drio tra šile 'he threw it on his neck (: back)', tro kiyēf lovoi 'he entered into the houses', zīe tro poškof'he put it into the trays'

Examples of po 'on', 'at', 'with' are. Y po $y\bar{u}$ hory $d\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'on account of some work (barā-i-yak kār)', pə Šəyoyo noyor 'he came out at Shoghor', po fiz zer 'surrounding (lit. around on) his face', Z p³ kuyka z⁴yå 'he killed with a stone', LSIy pe lesef, LSIm pe lâsaf '(he bound) with ropes'.

It seems probable that the difference of construction between 220no, žo, lo, solo (with the noun in the obl) on the one hand and do, tro, po, to (with the noun in 'nom' sg. but obl pl) on the other goes back to a time when the first group of prepositions governed the instrumental (or originally the ablative), while the second group governed the locative or the accusative ana with the acc, but Anc. Prs with the instr., Av. haca with the abl or the instr (rarely with the acc); hada with the instr But antaro, taro, parti and upa with the acc (or the loc)

At a certain time nom, acc and loc, at any rate of stems in -a, would coalesce, pudrah, (upa) pudram and (pati) pudrai resulting In the pl we might perhaps have expected eg po pūrē $< *pati pu \theta raisu$, but this would have resulted in a three-case system unknown in the sg., and accordingly the instr was substituted for the acc and loc as a general obl pl. case.1 Cf the placenames Hartef, Idyef, Tuyakaf2 which had probably originally a locative meaning

¹ Cf Psht pa with nom sg, but obl. pl

² V List of Names, s vv and cf § 199

The oblique case is used also as an adverb Thus, e.g. Y mixen Adverbal 221. 'by day', sāharen 'in the morning', jausaren 'at daybreak', dalen 'below', animof 'half' (adv.)

Adverbs.

- 222. 1) Local 'molo 'here', hu'rō 'there', olo 'there', woko 'there' (?), $k\bar{u}$, $ku\dot{z}\bar{a}$ 'where', $\dot{z}^uk\bar{u}$ 'whence', $l\bar{u}ro$ 'far off', $no\gamma o^i s\bar{u}r$, $dal\epsilon n$, $\dot{s}^i t\bar{u}han$, past 'below', kwlāpo, sāro, fursoro, psaro 'down', pas'mīno, vəl'yo 'above', dram (da-dram, na-dram) 'inside', do-kuio 'out(side)', apīr, skapîr 'before, in front of', cpāc (spāc, ocopoc, wa-cpāc) 'after, back', debāl 'behind', mīr-čoya 'to thus side', vračoya 'to that side', drāi 'hither' (?), hargeno 'on all sides' (?)
 - 2) Temporal wos 'now', kəla 'when', psāt 'immediately', nawaxt 'late', pro 'before, earlier', bād, voro 'afterwards', dur 'to-day', uziko 'yestereve', uuzīr 'yesterday', žuruzen 'day before yesterday', cur mo, cur gyizen 'three days ago', pān)omo, pcurma 'four days ago', sāar, sabā 'to-morrow', yāmo, mozdīra 'the day after to-morrow', sūy-yamo 'three days hence', yūyyāmo, etc 'four days hence', asāl 'this year', prasāl 'last year', žirasāl 'two years ago', iurmasāl 'four years ago', 'jausa'ı en 'at daybreak', mixen, dəmalen 'at noon'
 - 3) Modal, etc: 'raste 'rightly', mal'mīn 'thus', ca'mīn 'how', qu'ya 'just as', magam 'verily', ¿ahānd, boh 'very', anīməf, loma'len 'half', nakor 'why'

For particulars of Voc s vv.--It is not always possible to distinguish adverbs from adjectives or nouns

Verbs.

Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

The nominal sentence without a copula is very common in Y-M 223.Thus, e.g. Ysh $tu \dot{z}^u k \bar{u}^{\varrho}$ 'from where art thou?' yo mara $\dot{z}^u k \bar{u}^{\varrho}$ 'from where is this man?' zo zi malen, zo z-im kyeyen 'I am from

¹ The translations and explanations given of the adverbs denoting days and years were often indefinite or contradictory.

here, I am from this house', mo $ky\bar{\epsilon}\imath$ $m\partial n k\bar{a}n$ 'this house is mine', to ces $n\bar{a}m$? 'what is thy name?' mun $y\bar{u}$ $wv'l\bar{o}$, loh 'p $\bar{u}r\epsilon$ 'I have one wife and two sons', $y\bar{u}$ $M\bar{e}y$ yasp, $y\bar{u}$ $W\bar{u}\iota$ yasp 'one horse was (called) M, another W', M wo $\bar{a}dam$ luro 'that man is far away', mai $\gamma a\dot{s}i$, wai liwi 'these are good, and those are bad' Thus even in the sense of 'exists' the copula may be left out

But very frequently Y employs the original 3rd pl astet (cf Prs. hastand) for the 3rd pl and sg According to Bidd and the LSIy astet is also used for the 1st and 2nd sg and pl., but I never heard zo astet 'I am', etc Examples are Ysh àn-mon yū pūr astet 'I have a son', yo mun vorat astet 'this is my brother', tō cis nām astet? 'what is thy name?' yō kyēt ž-ēn astet 'this house belongs to this one', ža-mon amboh pūre astet 'I have many sons', yēt kyēt àn-mof astet 'these houses belong to these men', mind ādamen nazdīk astet 'these men are near', Yr tō čand loydė astet? 'how many daughters hast thou?' (answer žirōn loyde)

From M I have only noted Mg war v²rōi nā-moγ astat 'these are brothers of ours' Ace to Zar ast is sg and 'astat pl, but he also gives the sentence lu luydi mən ast 'I have two daughters'. The LSIm gives the full inflexion hast-am, -ai, -0, -am, -af, -at, which is probably influenced by Prs, as shown by the h-

225 In Y I have come across a few sentences where $-\bar{o}$ and $-\bar{e}$ are apparently used as a 3rd sg present of the substantive verb: Ysh to yār wos kū- \bar{o}^2 'where is thy friend now?' (answer də to apīr astet 'he is in front of thee'), Yr yaši ādam- \bar{o} 'he is a good man', yo kyei mištərān- \bar{e} 'this house is the Mehtar's' I dare not express any definite opinion on these forms, but they may represent an ancient asti, cf Sgl-Ishk. $-\bar{o}$.

The negative present 'is not' is Y češ Eg, γaŝı ādam češ 'he is not a good man', tu Xədāyen banda češ'-a g 'art thou not the servant of Gcd?'. Cf Voc. s.v

¹ Or is mištarānē an adj ? Cf above § 214.

^{10 -} Kulturforskning

A subjunctive form is preserved in $v\bar{i}i$ (< $buy\bar{a}t$) Eg, woko cos $k\bar{i}mat$ $v\bar{i}i$ (or formo)? 'what may be the price of it?'. Cf § 254

The preterite of the substantive verb is Y viem, viet, vio, viem, vief, viet, cf LSIm viam, via, via, viam, viaf, viat, Mm 3 sg vio, 3 pl viat

Y som, M sīam 'I went', 'I became' is used as an auxiliary A present tense is not formed from this root in Y-M, but note Z zo gib âyəm 'I am lost', etc 2 Cf about the passive § 247

226 kən- 'to do' is used as an auxiliary just as in Prs and other Ir. languages Cf 'Voc s vv awāza, bāwar, rahā, salā, suwār, tagbīr, tayūr, xap, xalās, etc, for examples of compound verbs with kən-kən- is also used with the meaning of 'being able to' Cf eg Y c-kir kəne, vo wulo zo-wən ce vet kəne 'thou art not able to do it, thou canst not take his wife from him (na mētānī, zan-i ūra na mētānī giriftan).

The Present Stem.

The verbal system of Y—M, like that of most other modern Ir. languages, is based upon two stems, the Present and the Past.

The distinction between ancient present stems in -a- and -aya-excepted, the Old Ir present classes are preserved only in relics and are of no importance for the verbal system of modern Y—M Regarding the stems in *-aya- and the causatives in - $\bar{a}w$ -, - $\bar{a}v$ - (and - $\bar{a}n$ -, - $\bar{o}n$), see below § 229

Ancient root-presents are represented only indirectly by $-\partial m$, etc 'I am' as preterite suffix and by ast, astet '1s', 'are' (v above § 224) dal- 'to give' is an ancient reduplicated present as- 'to come', (y) is- 'to bring', $p_{\bar{t}}$ s- 'to ask', yuxs- 'to learn' go back to

¹ Regarding the inflexion see § 245

² With M dyom šāam of Par param čhēm 'to go, to become'

⁸ Cf Shgh δāδ-

present formations in Ir. $s < *s\hat{k}$, while $bax\hat{s}$ 'to divide', $nuv\tilde{o}\hat{s}$ 'to comb', $nu\tilde{s}\tilde{a}\tilde{z}$ 'to show', $wax\tilde{s}$ 'to grow' represent bases in IE *s

mər- 'to die' is an ancient stem in -ya-¹ Stems in -nā- are ken- 'to do', vəzān- 'to know', yān- 'to grind', $x\bar{o}^a n$ - 'to buy', ləmōn- 'to rub', and possibly wien- 'to untie' Infixed or radical noccurs in lib- 'to card' (< dumb-), $\bar{a}yd$ - 'to dress' (< $\bar{a}-gund$ -), xird- 'to shave' (< *xrind-); $xo^a d$ - 'to laugh', xap 'to fell', vad- 'to tie', $\bar{z}ib$ - 'to rise', ccb- 'to pinch', skəd- 'to break', vēzb- 'to tighten', $\bar{c}ad$ - 'to fall, stumble'

A few present stems are formed secondarily from ancient preterites Thus $b\bar{a}r$ - 'to fill', M turd- 'to shave' (cf $t\bar{i}\dot{z}$ -), $\tilde{s}ift$ - 'to plaster'. Zar's $y\bar{o}n'g'$ - 'to grind', $m\bar{o}g'$ - 'to rub' appear to be based on the 3rd sg pres

228 Of great importance for the inflexion of the 3rd sg is the distinction between ancient stems in -a- and -aya-

In the first group of verbs the 3rd sg. in -ati was syncopated at an early date, and the resulting -t, -d was assimilated in various ways to the final consonant of the root

Thus, with t, e.g. Y ist, Z yist 'comes' (*ā·isati), Z pist 'asks' (pərəsaiti), Y, M nižt 'sits down' 2 (*niðati < nišhiðaiti), Y waft, M wēft 'weaves', Z niješt 'shows' ('ni-čašati), yūst 'brings'. With d Y avīzd (avāzi), Z avūzd 'brings' (< *upāzati), Y yurīvd 'takes', Z yīvd 'spins', lūžd 'milks', neyūyd 'hears', Y pərevd, Z pərud 'finds' (*pariāpati), Y šamd, Z šēmt 'drinks', Y awūžd 'hangs', Y nūld 'lays down, goes to sleep' (*ni-padati), Z čēyd 'sows'.

With assimilation of $n + t^3$ Y $k^y\bar{\imath}t$, M $y\iota k\bar{\imath}t$ 'does' (< 'kunatı), Y, Z $\iota v\bar{\imath}t/d$ 'sees' (< $\iota a\bar{\imath}ena\imath t\imath$), Y ked 'digs' (< *kanatı), Z $\iota v\bar{\imath}e\bar{\imath}d$ 'winnows' (< 'divanatı), Z $\iota v\bar{\imath}e\bar{\imath}d$ 'brings' (< *upanatı 4), Y $\iota v\bar{\imath}e\bar{\imath}t$,

¹ Possibly also diš 'to think'

² LSIy niš, m nilv = *niž, *nižt?

³ Cf § 115

⁴ Cf Voc s v van. The asterisked form is simply intended to be a formula

Z $vz\bar{u}d$ 'knows' ($<*upa-z\bar{a}nati$), Y $x\bar{i}t$ 'laughs' (<*xandati), Y $x\bar{i}t$ 'buys' (*xarnati), Z $bix\bar{e}d$ 'reads' ($bux\bar{o}n$ -) and other 3rd singulars from stems in $-\bar{o}n$ -

With assimilation of $r + t^{\perp}$ Y $av\bar{\imath}t$, Z $av\bar{\imath}d$ 'brings' ($<\bar{a}baranti$), Y $k\varepsilon t$, Z $k\bar{\varepsilon}d$ 'ploughs' ($<*k\bar{a}rati$), $x\bar{\imath}t$ 'eats' ($< x^varanti$), Y lat, Z $l\bar{\varepsilon}t$ 'holds, has' ($<^* d\bar{a}rati$), Y $^*st\bar{\imath}t$ (Z $st\bar{\imath}rd$ of secondary origin) 'sweeps' ($<^*starati$), Y $n\varepsilon i\bar{\imath}t$ 'takes out' ($<^*ni\bar{\imath}barati$), Y $f\varepsilon t$ 'seizes' ($<^*farati$), Z ε^*skid 'seeks' ($<^*sk\bar{\imath}arati$), $vu\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}d$ 'regards' ($<^*vv\cdot\bar{\jmath}arati$), $z^*v\bar{\imath}t$ 'pulls over' ($< us\cdot\bar{b}aranti$), $gv\bar{\jmath}t$ 'passes' ($<^*vv\cdot\bar{t}arati$), $gv\bar{\jmath}t$ 'lets pass' ($*vv\cdot\bar{t}arati$)—Z $\bar{\imath}trd$ 'sews', nvd 'enters' ($\bar{\imath}ty\cdot$, $nvy\cdot$) have an unexplained r.

(¿iy-, nıy-) have an unexplained r.

With assimilation of d+t through $\delta d > \delta > l$ Y dsl 'gives' (<*dadati), Y poler, Z $psl\bar{e}i$ 'sells' ($<*por\bar{e}l <*par\bar{a}dati$); Z $l\bar{u}rd$ 'flees' (with secondary $-d < *r\bar{u}l < *raudati$), Z $t\bar{e}l^i$ 'kılls' (<*tardati) But t+t>t Y—M ¿ $\bar{u}t$ 'speaks' (<*jatati).

With assimilation of rn + t > *nt > Y k^y , M $(n')g' \cdot Y$ $yenk^y$, Z $y\bar{e}n'g'$ 'grinds', Z $m\bar{e}g'$ 'rubs'

After j the final dental is dropped in Y, Z trēj 'binds' Cf also Z mg' 'pulls out', and Y wāst 'places' (wāst-)

In some cases M (Z) has 3rd sg s m -d/t where Y has generalized the ending -e. Thus, e g Z nerīzd 'hcks', xišk 'pulls', šuvd 'sucks', drēt 'throws', avūzd 'brings', čižt 'falls'. But Y nerīze, xoše, šuve, drēi, avūze (and avīzd), tiže On the other hand Z has added -i to the apparently suffixless form Y wast 'places'.

229 In most cases, however, Y and M (Z) agree as regards the employment of 3rd sg. forms in -e, -i (< * ayati)

Thus, eg, Y ī 'goes', āyde 'dresses', məre 'dies', nove 'rains', role 'barks', rəse 'arrives', vröfe 'flies', wuzde 'washes', xirde 'shaves', xšī 'weeps' Z yī, ā'yudī, muri, nā'ri, ra'vi, re'si, wurafsī; wūzne, xridi, xšī Cf also, eg Y anuve 'bellows', usune 'neighs', čade-ste 'throws in wrestling', kose 'seeks', ləyne 'hes down', rukuše

¹ Cf § 124

⁹ Cf. §§ 47 and 47

'creeps', wule 'throws', waxše 'grows', žibe 'rises', žuroxe 'shies' Z nəmē 'shows', pīī 'rots', wurvi 'boils', zīī 'is born'

Some of these forms more or less probably go back to ancient forms in -āyatı (or -ĭyati, -ŭyatı), cf eg wuzde, zīī, xšī, pīī, nəmē <*awa-snăyatı, zāyat(a)ı, xšīyatı, pūyatı, nımāyatı

Many others are secondary formations, and, on the other hand, several verbs of the first group originally belong to the aya- class. This is no doubt the case e.g. with lat, $l\bar{e}t$ 'holds' and $v\bar{e}d$ 'brings', which go back to * $d\bar{a}rayati$, *upa-nayati, with secondary transfer into the -ati class. Such transfer may account for the umlaut which appears in many cases. It is also worthy of note that the causatives in $-\bar{a}w$, $-\bar{o}w$ - belong to the first group. This type of causative has been borrowed by various E. Ir dialects under unknown conditions from Indo-Aryan, and we should expect that they should belong to the Y—M verbs with 3rd sg. -e, - ι . The existing type, Z $a\gamma d\bar{u}vd$ 'dresses (somebody else)', etc., may be due to the influence of forms in original *- $\bar{a}pati$, such as $\dot{s}uvd$ and $p\bar{e}r\bar{u}vd$. Note also the early lw Z $g\iota y\bar{e}t$ (from $g\iota y\bar{o}r$ - 'to turn round', trans)

M also possesses another type of causative, borrowed more recently from Prs, in $bv\bar{c}ir\bar{o}n$ - 'to graze', $wurv\bar{o}n$ - (and $wurv\bar{o}v$ -) 'to boil', etc, cf Y $\gamma altan$ - 'to make fall'. Note the double caus in G $d\bar{\sigma}raw$ - $a\bar{v}u$ -

230 Present

'I ask'	Ð	mes ₁ .red	is red	par'sa (?)	(c) ups sed	1	(c) ups.red		'I dress'	ho	äydem	āyde	āyde		$fep\lambda ar{p}$	'
,I do,	Z	un/euex,		kēd		kunaf		Come S	say'	ජ	žá					žâyad
	Mt	ıke'nam				*1	• п		в I,	Λ zh	žam, żəm	żui (żūi sh)	žut	żam	żaf	żet
	Mm	'yıkenum	yıksnıy	ye'kît	yıkenam	yıkunef	'yıkenat		deem I,	m Yzh	xš i i m		$i \times x$	mehisx	fe i $\hat{s}x$	x s $\bar{i}y$ e t
	Yg, u	məney.	kəne	ket	kə'nam	feney	kənet		'I come'	m Yzh	urse	ase	îst	asem	asef	aset
	$ m Y_{r}$	m_{i}	e,ey	kīt	kə nem, -am	feu ₁ 03	ton'est		'I give'	Z	$melap_{i}$	'dalay	dnl	dalam	dalaf	dalat
	Ysh	ke'nəm	keine	kit, kiệt	ke'nam	keinef	ke'net, .at ko'net			Yzh	dalım	dale	dxl	da l ϵm		dalet
	m Yzh	ig. ke'nem	kene	kīt	kenam	feu ₁ 94	ke'net		, og	Yzh	miho	logs	160	oyem	f3ho,	oyet
		ည် က	*	æ	Ы	*	*		Ι,	Γ.	S S	*	*	P	8	*
		-	Ø	ಣ	-	C1	က				-	31	ಣ	П	SI	ಣ

231 The personal endings are in general clear The 1st Sg in -əm is derived from -ami, the 1st Pl -am from -āmah, etc The 2nd Pl has adopted the ancient pronominal suffix, probably in order to avoid phonetic confusion with the 3rd Sg Cf the similar development in Sgl—Ishk Regarding the 3rd Sg see above The forms given by Gauthiot as used by M settlers in Wakhan must be of Ishk, origin

Quite irregular are the Khow. 3rd Sg forms employed by Ysh lapoir 'glitters', ažistai, ažisteste 'bears' (Khow ažuran) I do not know whether such forms are really current among some speakers of Yıdgha—Yg kenalo 'works' is a suspect form

The Present or Aorist is used a) As an indefinite Present.
b) As a Future or Subjunctive

Examples of a) are draxte mūžet 'the trees are shaking', wūi kit 'the wind blows', tu ču žuī 'what do you say?' mo ādam nayen xut (yauyo šamd) 'this man eats bread (drinks water)', nakoi ase tu? 'why dost thou come?' mən larza kit 'I am trembling', tū čopīk kene 'you are lying', mo xap čī kīt? 'why is he silent?'

Examples of b) are in mix did ipai asəm 'I shall come back after four days', agar Xadai iu mašie vii oyım rosım' if God doesn't kill me, I shall go and arrive (here)', no xon pūrəf wulo iə avazəm-a² 'shall I not bring a wife for my own son?' na-men del tā zo ayım 'gıve me, that I may go', wo dāru na max del, max xōnam, na tō hūy dalem 'give us the medicine, we shall buy it and give the price for it', na xāın no xurān ies, no-man ces dalem² 'I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give him?' vo wulo vənem 'I shall bring the wife'

Regarding the use of the Aorist in commands see below § 234

Durative Present

A Durative Present is formed in Y by adding -(0)sto, -(e)ste to the Aorist Examples are zo hōr konem-iste 'I am working', yu mara hōr kit-iste 'this man is working', žinkiko niāsto, tāam kyet-isto

'a woman is sitting and preparing food', xužbi nāyo-ist 'it smells (bū iš mēāya)', če xšīəf-este? 'what are you weeping over?' zə pərsəm-istə, lā-mən če defa 'I am asking him not to fight against me', xoref-este, šāmef-este, āydəf-əste āyen daulet 'you are eating, drinking and wearing his belongings', noyor ke də Šoyor xšiyet-ste 'he came out while they were weeping at Shoghor' (historical present), note also. wos oyīm-əste sāharo 'now I am going (shall go) into the desert'. Cf. užerəm-əste 'I am looking', šəm-este 'I am speaking', oyīm-ste 'I am going', žafum-ste 'I am chewing', xofəm ste 'I am coughing', kōse-ste 'thou art seeking', kenē-este 'thou art digging', tra aucā zyū-stə 'is flying through the air', woxse-este 'is growing', mərī-stə 'is dying'; naxèi-stə 'is dancing', kut-istə (kənəf st) 'is doing'

The derivation of this suffix is uncertain. It is possible to think either of a form of the root $st\bar{a}$, or of asti

Durative Preterite.

233. A Durative Preterite is formed by adding vio 'was' to the Aorist Thus eg, sfo do Drawuso vio, muzduri kyed-vio, wos ruxsat tūliyō 'her husband was in Drosh, he was serving, now he has taken leave', max dāru kwosem-vio, è purviam 'we were searching for the medicine', but we did not find it'. Cf. LSIm ze via dalam, or ze dalam via 'I was beating' But LSIy deham-ste vio 'I was beating' corresponds in form to Y zo xūben winem-este vio 'I have been seeing a dream' Cf. also LSIy dil-vi-este 'he used to give'

Imperative

The Imperative 2nd Sg is usually identical with the Present stem This first type is represented by as 'come', kak' 'cook', užar 'look', žib 'rise'; Mm niž 'sit down', dal 'give', de(h) 'beat'; lār 'hold', Y ken, Z ikən 'do', ləyān 'throw'; ai, oi 'go', škōr 'seek', āvər 'bring', xap 'fell', žafaū 'kindle'

This imperative evidently goes back to the ancient imperative in -a.

But besides de(h) we also find dia(h), dea, and besides $ni\check{x}$ also $ni\check{x}a$. With many verbs this appears to be the regular form Thus, e.g. Y $ni\bar{a}$, Z niya 'enter', Y $\gamma ur(v)\check{a}$, Z ' $\gamma irva$ 'seize'; Y sova (but Z $s\bar{o}w$) 'smear', $\check{z}\check{a}$ 'speak', $z\gamma\bar{u}a$ 'walk', $d\partial fa$ 'fight', $t\partial \partial iw\bar{a}$ 'seek', isa 'bring'; $i\partial iaa$ 'lead', Z $n\bar{i}lva$ 'sleep', $i\partial iaa$ 'ask', $i\partial iaaa$ 'grind', LSIy $i\partial iaaa$ 'die', etc

The distinction between suffixless imperatives and those in -a does not coincide with that between 3rd Sg s in -d/t and -e. And, besides, -aya could not result in -a. If we assume that the form in -a goes back to a subjunctive in $-\bar{a}h$, we should expect $-o^{-1}$ in Y and Mm. Is it possible that ancient -a in the imperative was lengthened in some verbs before the loss of final short vowels, but did not quite coalesce with ancient $-\bar{a}$?

Imperative 2nd Pl ends in Y -e, - ε , probably < -ayata (-ata would coalesce with Pres. 3rd Sg. in -ati) Thus a vr ε , avāze 'bring', pər's ε 'ask', a'səf, nā-mən muzdurə kə ne 'may you come (subj) and take service (imper) with me', xosāne kə'ne 'make merry', mailis kene 'assemble', nižė 'sit down' The alternative imperative forms in - ε given by Z are no doubt really plurals

Once èe defa was translated by Prs. jang na sawid, but the Prs. pl is probably used by politeness. I do not know whether Mm maf male nixit 'sit down here' is a correct and current form

The Aorist is frequently used in (polite?) commands and interdictions. Thus. to či żūi 'don't speak', tu čopīk č-kens 'don't speak a lie (na gu)', ba nām-i-Xədā del, wačārum na-mən da'le 'give in the name of God, may you give me alms'; na-mən čt dale 'don't give me', asəf, nā-mən muzdurə kə'ne 'come and take service with me'. Cf the similar use of the Aorist in Prs and in Par 2

¹ Or, possibly, -e in all dialects Cf § 198

² IIFL, I, p 90

The Past Stem

The Past Stems may be divided into two groups. A) Stems ending in a vowel or -y-. B) Stems ending in a consonant

Class A.

This group consists mainly of weak, regular stems in $-\tilde{\iota}$ (y) (Z also $-\partial y$) and $-\tilde{a}\iota$ (Z $-\tilde{o}y$)

I, a) Ancient, in the modern language irregular, preterites in $-\bar{\imath}(y)$ are $\dot{z}\bar{\imath}$ 'beat' < *)ata-, $l\partial m\bar{\imath}$ - 'rubbed' < *nıma ∂ ıta-, $li\bar{\imath}$, liy 'gave' < $d\bar{a}ta$ -, $x\bar{s}\bar{\imath}(y)$ 'wept' < $x\bar{s}\bar{\imath}ta$ -, $v\bar{\imath}$ 'was' < buta-.

I, b). The majority of preterites in -i(y) goes back to original stems in -ita- or to borrowings from Prs. forms in -id Thus, e.g. Y $ros\bar{\imath}$, Z $res\bar{\imath}y$ 'arrived', Y $xad\bar{\imath}$, Z $xad\bar{\imath}y$ 'laughed' (cf. Prs. $xand\bar{\imath}d$), Y $tul\bar{\imath}$, Z $telw\bar{\imath}y$ 'sought' (Prs. $talb\bar{\imath}d$), Y $baxs\bar{\imath}$ 'divided', Y $tr\bar{e}z\bar{\imath}$ 'tied' (Prs. $taranj\bar{\imath}d$), Y $zab\bar{\imath}$ 'rose' (cf. Prs. $jumb\bar{\imath}d$?)

Other examples are Y čadī (čad·), $d^u r u \bar{\imath}$ ($d^u r u \iota$ -), $f = r x \imath (y)$ -, $f = x \iota (f x o \iota)$, $k a k^y \iota \bar{\imath}$ ($k \bar{a} k^y$ -); $m a g y \bar{\imath}$ (m a g y-), $n \iota \dot{s} a \bar{z} \bar{\imath}$ ($n \iota \dot{s} \bar{a} \dot{z}$ -), $n \iota \iota \bar{o} \dot{s} \bar{\imath}$ ($n \iota \iota \bar{o} \dot{s}$ -), $p = c g \bar{\imath}$ (p = c g g-), $v = z \iota \iota$ ($v = z \iota$ -), $z \iota m e z \bar{\imath}$ ($z \iota m e z \iota$ -), $z \iota \bar{u} y \bar{\imath}$ ($z \iota \bar{u} y$ -), cf $z \iota m e z \iota$ -), $z \iota m$

Note yoži (yoži-) and lerei (leri-)

- 236 II, a) A few past stems in $-\bar{a}i$, $\bar{o}y$ can be traced back to ancient participles in $-\bar{a}ta$. Thus e.g. Y $y\bar{a}i$, Z $y\bar{o}y$ 'brought' $< y\bar{a}ta$ -, $z \partial n\bar{a}i$ 'bathed' ($z \partial nay$ -) $< sn\bar{a}ta$ -, Y $wuzd\bar{a}i$, Z $wuzn\bar{o}y$ 'washed' *awa- $sn\bar{a}ta$ -, Y $ust\bar{a}i$, Z $wust\bar{o}i$ 'placed' ($w\bar{a}st$ -) < *awa- $st\bar{a}ta$ -
 - II, b) But the majority of Y past stems in $-\bar{a}i$ consists of secondary formations Cf e.g. $urz\bar{a}i$ (urzu-), $wurw\bar{o}i$ (urw-), $ustu\bar{s}\bar{c}ai$ ($ustu\bar{s}\bar{c}$ -); $u\bar{s}in\bar{a}i$ ($u\bar{s}un$ -), bidaway, $-\bar{o}y$ (bidaw-), bohay (boh-), $ceb\bar{a}i$ (ceb-), $\gamma \partial nil\bar{a}i$ ($\gamma \partial nil$ -), $kun\bar{a}(i)$, Z $k\bar{u}n\bar{o}y$ (kun-), $ku\bar{s}m\bar{a}i$ ($ku\bar{s}m$ -), $k^yirf\bar{a}i$ (k^yirf -), lowai ($l\bar{o}u$ -), $lib\bar{a}i$ (lib-); $puf\bar{a}i$ (puf-), $tuyd\bar{a}i$ (tuyd-), $xof\bar{a}\bar{i}$ (xof-), $xuzd\bar{a}i$ (xuzd-), $z\bar{o}m\bar{a}i$ ($z\bar{o}m$ -), $z\bar{i}rry\bar{a}i$ ($z\bar{i}r\bar{i}\gamma$ -), cf Z $fris\bar{o}y$ (fris-), $kirax\bar{o}y$ (kirax-), etc

A remarkably great number of the verbs belonging to this group denote some kind of bodily movement or function

237 III). The rest of the past stems in ancient vowel +t are $a\gamma oi$ 'came' < * $\bar{a}gata$ - (as-), loyoi 'entered' < *adi-gata- (?), $\dot{s}\bar{u}i$ 'went' < * $\dot{s}uta$ - (oy-), $Z z\bar{u}i$ 'bore' < * $z\bar{a}ta$ -, $M l \partial v\bar{\epsilon}y$ 'winnowed' < *dwata- (Av bata-) ($l \partial v \bar{o}n$)

Cf. also $v \partial d\bar{\imath}$ 'warmed the hands' $(v \partial d\bar{\wp})$, $dr\bar{\imath}$, $dr\bar{\wp}$ 'poured out' $(dr\bar{\imath})$.

Class B

- 238. Stems ending in a consonant in Y—M They go back to ancient formations with a final consonant t
 - I) Stems in r Y imur 'counted' (imar); $\bar{a}v \bar{r}$ 'brought' $(\bar{a}v \bar{r}r)$, mur (M mur) 'died' $(m\bar{r}r)$, $n\bar{r}v \bar{r}r$ (M $n\bar{r}v \bar{r}r$) 'took out' $(n\bar{r}v \bar{r}r)$, $s\bar{t}\bar{a}r$ (M $s\bar{t}\bar{r}r$) 'swept' (' $s\bar{t}\bar{r}r$), $s\bar{k}\bar{a}r$ (M $s\bar{k}ar$) 'sent' ($s\bar{k}\bar{r}r$), xur (M xur) 'ate' $(x^{o}ar)$, noyor (Z $n\bar{r}r$) 'went out' $(n\bar{r}r)$, $u\bar{r}r$ (M $w\bar{u}\bar{r}r$) 'saw' ($u\bar{r}r$), $k\bar{r}r$ (M $k\bar{r}r$) 'did' ($k\bar{r}r$), $y\bar{r}r$ (M $y\bar{u}r$) 'ground' ($y\bar{u}r$); Z $zv\bar{r}r$ 'poured' ($z^{o}v\bar{r}r$). Note that Z's $av\bar{r}r$, mur, and $n\bar{r}r$ are at the same time preterite and present stems.

From $l\bar{a}r$ - 'to hold', $f\bar{a}r$ - 'to seize', $w\bar{a}r$ - 'to separate', xar-, $x\bar{o}^a n$ - 'to buy', Z gry $\bar{o}r$ - 'to let pass', and brsp $\bar{o}r$ - 'to entrust' the past stems are formed in -t, not in -r, r Thus e.g. lat, fat, $gry\bar{e}t$ -, etc. With lat cf Psht $l\bar{a}r\bar{o}$, f $l\bar{a}r\bar{o}la < *darrt\bar{a}$ - Some of the forms may be recent formations with t < r + t, cf § 124

In $b\bar{a}r$ - 'to fill' the past stem has been introduced into the present Quite irregular are Y $f \partial c ir$ 'cleft' ($f \partial c i$ -) and vrir 'broke' (vri-), cf Mm vrir-: $vrisk^y$, Z v^prir -: v^prir - Original *braisa-: *braisa-: *braisa-should regularly result in 'vri M $vrisk^y$, Y *vrisk From $vrisk^y$, etc was formed a new present vrir- after the analogy of M $giy\bar{e}r$ - $giyask^y$, etc, and then again a new preterite Y *vrir, M vrir Finally the two dialects made a different selection among the available forms (but Bidd. has 'vristcha' = *vrisča):

Y vri(y)- Mm $vrišk^y$ Mm, Z vrir Y, Z vrir/r

¹ Transferred secondarily into this group

² Cf. Gr Ir Ph. I. 2, 212.

- 239 II) Stems in $l \ll \delta$, $d \ll nd$ and h have preterites in st. Thus
 - a) $z\gamma ast$ 'fled' $(z\gamma al-)$, wust 'threw' (wul-), rust 'fled' $(lur- < *r\bar{u}l-)$, $pr\bar{s}t$ 'sold' $(pl\bar{a}r- < *pr\bar{a}l-)$, M $nuv\bar{o}st$ 'went to sleep' $(n\partial lv- < *n\partial vl-)$
 - b) vāst 'bound' (vad-), čast 'threw over' (čad-), skəst 'cut' (skəd-); xrıst 'shaved' (xırd-, xred), āyəst 'dressed' (āyd-)
 - c) māst 'sat down' (mix-), čast 'fell down' (Y tix-, M cix-).
 - d) $x\bar{a}st$ 'threshed' ($x\bar{a}$ < xwah-).
 - e) pist 'asked' (prs-) and kist 'searched for' (kos-) are secondary formations 1 Note (')sto, sta 'said' < *jasta-.2
- 240 III) Past stems in Y šč, M šk^y are formed from roots in š, τ (< rt), l (< rd), rz, rd, etc. With the exception of mašč, mōšk^y 'killed' (māž-)' all roots in z have given up their phonetically regular preterites in favour of forms in zd, e.g. urīzd 'spread', dīzd 'buried', γazd 'ran', mīzd 'urinated', nerīzd 'licked', avazd 'brought', Z nuyēzd 'swallowed'. Evidently the phonetic difference between z and šč has become to great to permit the morphonologic relation to be kept up Note also the recent formations of the type Y nišāžī, M ni)ašt 'showed', nuvōšī 'combed', etc
 - a) nuvišč 'combed' $(nuv\bar{o}\bar{s})$, xišc, $xišk^y$ 'pulled' $(xo\bar{s})$, pašc 'dug' $(pa\bar{s})$, dišc 'knew' $(di\bar{s})$, M $nuvišk^y$ (Y $nu\bar{u}xt$, Z $nev\bar{u}xt$) 'wrote' $(nuvi\bar{s})$ From roots in ancient \dot{s} $n\partial\gamma u\check{s}\check{c}$, $n\partial\gamma u\check{s}k^y$ 'heard' $(n\partial\gamma \check{u}y)$, $f\partial\gamma mi\check{s}\check{c}$, $f\partial\gamma mi\check{s}k^y$ 'forgot' $(f\partial\gamma mou)$
 - b) wušč, wušk 'knitted' (wor-); pišč, pišk^y 'farted' (pil-), polišč 'folded up' (polarz-), gosč, gašk' 'passed' (gord-, lw.), polišč 'broke' (from a lost present 'polil-).
 - c) From roots in r, after the analogy of Prs $g^y\bar{e}\check{s}\check{c}$, $g^iya\check{s}k^y$ 'passed' $(g^y\bar{e}r_-, lw.)$, $k\imath\check{s}\check{c}$, $k\imath\check{s}k^y$ 'ploughed' $(k\bar{a}r_-, lw.)$; $u\check{s}tu\check{s}\check{c}$ 'jumped' $(u\check{s}tur_-, from Khow)$.

Note lišč 'saw' < dərəšta-

As may be seen above, roots in l may form their preterite either in st, or in $\tilde{s}\tilde{c}$, $\tilde{s}k^{y}$.

 $^{^{1}}$ *pišč < *pišta- would have coalesced with the preterite of pil-, of below

² Cf NTS, VII, 119

241 IV) Roots in -v and -b have past stems in vd from ft Thus, e.g.. nīvd 'rained' (nov-), rīvd 'barked' (rov-), šuvd 'sucked' (šuv-), drīvd 'danced' (drūv-), M γ²rīvd, γ²rīvd 'seized' (γūrv-), ¹ γīvd 'spūn' (γīw-), Z cəvd 'picked' (cəb-), Z wəzīvd (Y vēzbī) 'tightened' (wəzīb-, vezb-), etc

This type of preterites is also formed from causatives in $-\bar{a}(w)$ -, $-\bar{o}w$ and some other verbs in $w < v + \mathrm{E}\,\mathrm{g} \cdot \mathrm{Y}$ and $\mathrm{A}\,\mathrm{Z}$ and $\mathrm{Z}\,\mathrm{Z}$ and $\mathrm{Z}\,$

We find xavd 'descended' (xafs-), but roots in f have secondary past stems in ft Thus, e.g. waft 'wove' ($w\bar{a}f$ -), $d\partial ft$ 'fought', xift 'coughed', etc. Note the introduction of the past stem into the present of $\tilde{s}ift$ - 'to plaster'.

In some cases roots in labials have weak preterites Thus, e.g. $xof\bar{a}i$ 'coughed'; $k^yirf\bar{a}i$ 'sneezed', $pif\bar{a}i$ 'blowed', $lib\bar{a}i$ 'carded', $\dot{z}ib\bar{i}$ 'rose', $c\partial b\bar{a}i$ 'picked', vezbi 'tightened' (but cf above)

V) Roots in \dot{z} , $x\check{s}$ and γ have past stems in $\gamma d < xt$. Thus. awayd 'hung up' $(aw\bar{a}\check{z}\cdot)$, Y $tra\gamma d$, M $t^2ro\gamma d$ (Y also $tr\bar{e}\check{z}\bar{\imath}$) 'tied' $(tr\bar{u}\dot{z}\cdot)$, $t\partial\gamma d^2$ 'cut' $(t\bar{\imath}\check{z}\cdot)$, $lu\gamma d$ 'milked' $(l\bar{u}\check{z}\cdot)$, $mu\gamma d$ 'moved' $(m\bar{u}\check{z}\cdot)$, Z $uu\gamma d$ 'found place' $(wu\check{\jmath}\cdot)$, $ba\gamma d$ (and $bax\check{s}\bar{\imath}$) 'divided' $(bax\check{s}\cdot)$, $v\partial da\gamma d$ 'mixed' $(v\partial da\gamma\cdot)$, $zu\gamma d$ 'took' $(zu\gamma\cdot)$

From roots in x(s) we find new formations in xt yuxt 'heard' (yuxs-); $\check{x}^u roxt$ 'shied' ($\check{x}^u rox$ -) Note waxč (?) 'grew' and vrexč 'fried' from waxŝ-, vroč-, possibly with $x\check{c} < *x\dot{s}\check{c} < *x\dot{s}\check{t}$?

VI) Among the numerous roots in nasals only l∂mōn- 'to rub', l⁰vōn- 'to winnow' and Z firšōn- 'to shake' have retained their preterites in original -ata-· l∂mī, M l⁰vεy, but Y l∂bad, and firš∂y

All other verbs in nasals have had their past stems re-formed with n+t > (n)d 'Examples of forms in -(n)d are Y ləbad 'winnowed' (ləbān-), ləyad (M ləyēnd) 'threw away' (ləyan-), vəzad (Mm also vəzēnd 'recognized' (vəzān-), uṣād 'churned' (uṣān-), yuwat

¹ But Y yur- yurd (Yzh also yu'rīvd).

² From which a secondary pres tuyd- 'to shave'.

³ Possibly ked 'dug' < *kanıta-, cf above § 238 reg *darıta-

'loosened' (yuwan-), wret 'loosened' (wren-), $x\delta't$, xat 'bought' ($x\delta^{\alpha}n$ -, xar-), loyod 'fell asleep' ($l\partial yn$ -)

The causatives in -ān-, -ōn have preterites of a recent formation in -nd, e.g yaltand 'rolled', bicirēnd 'grazed', cf vəzēnd, ləyēnd above.

Verbs in -m have past stems in nd, or still more recent ones in md Thus vrīnd 'stood' (vrēm-), piżānd 'entrusted' (piżām-), samd 'drunk' (sam-), rīmd 'pleased' (rīm-), ptromd 'seized' Z frakēvd 'gargled' (frakōn-) is irregular. Reg Y yagyī, Z yēn'g' 'ground' (but Yr yīr, Mt yūr) from yān-, cf above § 327.

Preterite

While M has preserved the distinction between the inflexion of transitive and intransitive preterites, Y has generalized the transitive endings. The result is that Y has established a system with two sets of personal suffixes, one for the present and one for the past tenses. But even in M the purely passive construction of the transitive preterite has been given up through the introduction of the accusative as the case of the object in such sentences, and through the partial adjustment between transitive and intransitive endings. Note also the incipient use of the nominative instead of the agent as a subject of a transitive preterite. The tendency towards the dissolution of the ancient system has probably spread from Prs to M and from Khow to Y

The intr suffixes of the preterite in M are identical with those of the present except in the 3rd sg. In the trans the 2nd sg., and, acc to Zar. p 118, also the 1st sg have special forms ²

In the 1st sg. the ancient pronominal suffix and the auxiliary have been amalgamated, and this fusion has led to the introduction of -m also in the 1st pl pret of trans verbs instead of -n, which is preserved in Sgl—Ishk, Wkh and Sar

The 2nd sg pret. trans (Y also intrans.) in -t contains the

¹ Cf § 211

² Pres and Trans Pret 1st sg -u/2m, Intrans. Pret -am.

pronominal suffix in a form which points to its preservation as a separate word till a comparatively recent date. In the 2nd pl. the trans. suffix in -f has been generalized not only in the pret of intrans verbs but also in the present Regarding the development of the pronominal suffix 2 pl, Av ιō, into Y—M f, Sgl f, -v, Wkh, Sar -v, Sogd -β cf Gauthiot, Gramm Sogd., I, p 121

Finally, as a result of this partial fusion of trans and intrans. suffixes, the intrans. 3rd pl in -et, -at was introduced also into the transitives

In the 3rd sg. we find, besides the expected suffixless form, also one ending in o, -a Thus, e.g. Y lišč 'he saw', yurd 'he seized', kər 'he did', vrōft 'he flew', avər 'he brought', vət 'he brought', loyor 'he entered', xavd 'he descended', etc But: līo 'he gave', pisto 'he asked', 'sto 'he said', fāto 'he seized'; zīyo 'he beat', nīvdo 'it rained', resīo 'he arrived', drīo 'he poured', mavdo 'he measured', etc Note māst and māsto 'sat down', lat and lāto 'held', Y mər and M muro 'died'.

I have not been able to detect any difference in the use of these forms, nor any phonetic factors conditioning the presence or absence of -o In one or two cases, however, Y niāst seems to mean 'sat down' and niāsto 'was seated' But no such distinction can be traced in other verbs, nor is it possible always to take the forms in -o to be perfects.

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf, on the other hand, Sgl $-\delta$

² Cf. above § 230 sq [In the present f < v is probably derived from the 2nd pl medium $-\delta wam$. Cf Par $-\delta r$, $-\bar{\epsilon}r$, and Khwarizmi (acc to Henning) $-\beta r$ — Corr note }

Intransitives
口
•
ж
-11
245

246 Transitives

		I beat,		'I brought'	7,	'I gave'	'L dıd'	was I,
		Y	Γ SIm	×		Mm	Y	M
		żim zh, g, żiim sh	żrem	mep _i ea	līnn	เกิรมูขา	rues, ey	lišėm
62) 😞	żuit sh, żit g, żiit r		tap,en			təi.cy	leščut
ന	ø	$\tilde{z}\tilde{\imath}(y)$ 0		tea	lio	līo	kar	lıšč
		žiem						
C3	*	žief			_			
က		žiet sh. žit g		tap ea	li°		tavet	

The preterite is not infrequently used as a futurum exactum Thus, e.g. Ysh $w\bar{o}s$ ke $s\bar{u}\bar{\imath}t$, tro $ky\bar{\epsilon}\imath$ kəlo $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{o}\bar{\imath}t$ 'when thou now hast gone and have entered into the house, . .'

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Imperfect

'I was beating'

٠	$\mathbf{Y}\mathbf{g}$	$\operatorname{Biddulph}$
1 Sg.	žīm-stəm	žīerm-stem
2 »	žīt-stət	žīt-stet
3 ,	žī-što	žier-sto
1 Pl	žīem-štəm	$\check{z}ar{\imath}er{\cdot}st$ a m
2 »	žief-štef	`zīef-stef
3 »	žīt stet	žīet-stet

Cf also Yr 1 sg žiem-ištəm and 2 pl. žief-ištəf Examples of the use of these forms are zo vətō žiem-ištəm 'mā tāna zadam', mōx vəmən žief-ištəf 'šumā māna zadīn'; mən vto žīm stəm, tō vəmən žīt-stət, māf vəmən žīef-ištef, etc

Unfortunately I did not succeed in securing a complete and wholly certain paradigm of this tense. It is scarcely probable that forms in st and in st are parts of the same paradigm, as asserted by Yg, and apparently we have to do with two different tenses, although the material does not permit us to distinguish between them

In Biddulph's paradigm "er" probably represents \bar{a} , and m has been dropped in the 1st pl

The forms in st are probably connected with those of the Durative Present mentioned above § 232.1 st can hardly be compared with Sogd 'stn, Yaghn -ist,2 as ancient st should regularly result in Y st.

None of these forms are known from M

¹ E g žīt-stet for *žīt-st < jata + tai + asti?

² Cf Gramm. Sogd, II, 39.

^{11 -} Kulturforskning

Perfect

Just as is the case in most other Ir languages the Perfect in Y is based upon the Past Participle enlarged by -ka-

Intransitives

Larray (T. barra barray)

, Т	have sat	'I have become	'I have become	'I have become
	down '	\mathbf{tired}	\mathbf{hungry} '	•
(== 'I	am sitting')	(= 'I am tared')	(='I am hungry')	
	\mathbf{Yzh}	\mathbf{Yr}	\mathbf{Yzh}	\mathbf{Yzh}
1 Sg	nıastəyəm	u zēayam	ıvušiadaγ-əm	šuγυm
2 »		иzāeyet	<i>—</i> -∂t	
3 »	nıästo	•		$\dot{s}ar{u}\imath$
1 Pl.			am	
2 »			— -∂f	$\check{s}u\gamma\partial f$
3 »	$mar{a}sti$			

Transitives

'I have done' 'I have seized'

		Y	${f Y}$	Y	${\bf Biddulph}$
	Sg »	kəryum	γurdoγum	<pre>żiyəm 'I have beaten' xuryet 'thou hast eaten'</pre>	žig∆m žiget
3	>	kəro	$\gamma urdo$		$\dot{z}ar{\imath}$
1	\mathbf{Pl}				žıg∧m
2	»			pər vī aγāf 'you have found'	žιgΔf
3	>>				žīē

Other examples are, eg: Ysh xusovōyi mīx zo muzdurə kuryum 'I have worked night and day', mən xis'mat č-kəjyəm 'mā xismat na karda-im', mən vto žiyəm 'I have beaten thee', 'štəyəm 'gufta am', liščəyəm 'I have seen', ayoī 'he has come', pistəyəm 'I have asked', āvreyəm 'I have brought', xristəyəm 'I have shaved', sxīyəm 'I have slipped', šuyəm 'I have become', baryəm 'I have filled', fsaiyom 'I have risen', a'vre 'he has (?) brought'; škārə 'he has (?) sent', pəciyyo, pəzgyō 'has broken (burrīda šud)'.

Note Ysh žinkiko (yū akābur) māsto 'a woman (an old man) is sitting', but loh šināmiī niāsti (not "māstet) 'two girls were sitting' Apparently māsto is construed as an adjective, not as a finite verb Cf Biddulph 3 pl. (trans!) žīē 1

The only corresponding form heard in M was linyum 'I have given', and acc. to LSI 'the Perfect tense is not used in M' But acc to Zar the Perf in M is formed with -iyam, -byəm, e.g. muriyam 'I have died', nerišk'əyəm 'I have heard'.

Pluperfect

The Pluperfect is formed from the Perfect through the addition of vio 'was' Thus, e.g. žiyəm vio, švyvm vio = Prs. *zada-am būd, *šuda-am būd instead of the existing Prs form zada, suda būdam The Y paradigm is based upon the 3rd sg šūi vio 'šuda būd', where the personal suffix was zero, and could be interpreted as belonging either to šūi or vio

The following examples have been noted Yg $\check{z}\bar{u}\gamma um\ vio$ 'I had sewn', $zo\ (m\partial n)\ v(\partial)to\ \check{z}i\gamma\partial m$ 'I had beaten thee', Yr $dr\partial vi\gamma\partial m\ vio$ 'I had feared', Ysh $l\bar{\iota}\ vio$ 'he had given', $yau\gamma o\ urw\bar{a}\imath\ vio$ 'the water had been boiling', $ku\ \check{s}u\gamma\partial f\ vio\ 'ku\check{\jmath}a\ rafta\ b\bar{u}d\bar{\iota}d\ ''$ mo $\check{z}\imath\eta kiko\ a\gamma oy\imath\ vio$ 'this woman had come $(\bar{a}mada\ b\bar{u}d)$ '

Note Mm liyum vī ô 'dāda būdam'.

Various Modal Forms of the Verb

A number of finite verbal forms have been noted, but so sporadically that it is only possible to label them quite provisionally. With all reserve they may be called respectively First Conditional, Second Conditional, Subjunctive, Potential and Concessive

¹ But Ysh 'wuli a'vəzde 'he brought wives' (sg 'wulo a'v $\bar{a}zdo$) can hardly be a Perf

First Conditional.

This form is based upon the Perfect, to which has been added the particle va ($<*bawāt^2$).\(^1\) Examples are: Ysh $wos\ a^i\gamma \ilde{o}i$, $wo\ m\theta n$ dau'let lišči-va 'if he should come now, he would see my wealth', $yar{o}\ var{v}ra\ m\theta n\ sifien\ k\theta\ var{v}-va$, $xoyo\ a\gamma \ilde{o}i$ -va 'if this burden were my husband's, he would have come himself', $wos\ ke\ m\theta n\ sif\theta\ a\gamma oar{o}i$ -va, lišče-va $wo\ mind\ ar{a}bar{a}dief$ 'if (or 'that') my husband should come now and should see these cultivated fields, . '.

Cf LSIy keryem-va 'I would have done', baryum-va 'I would have been satisfied', LSIm yıkerıam-wa 'we would have made', xūrıem-wa 'we should have eaten'

Second Conditional.

253. This form is also based upon the Perfect, but the particle added is $v\bar{\imath}i$ (cf. Anc. Prs $b\imath y\bar{a}$?) Cf Par $k\imath \eta\bar{o}$ $b\bar{e}$, etc , IIFL, I, p 101 Thus, eg, Ysh agar $Xad\bar{a}\imath$ čv $ma\dot{s}\dot{c}e$ $v\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}i$, $oy\imath m$ 'If God should not kill me ($k\imath\dot{s}ta$ $b\bar{a}\dot{s}ad$), I shall come', amax tad $z\imath ndo$ $v\bar{\imath}\imath$, ču $m\imath ro$ $v\bar{\imath}\imath$ 'our father may be alive, he may not be dead, .', $s\bar{\imath}u$ $v\bar{\imath}$, \dot{z}^a dalsn è $p\bar{a}\dot{c}$ $\bar{a}\gamma^w\bar{o}\imath$ he might have gone away, etc 3

Subjunctive

We also find $v\bar{\imath}$ ' $b\bar{a}\bar{s}ad$ ' alone as an equivalent of $f \ni rm\bar{\epsilon}$ in Ysh agar ' $\bar{s}tyot$ $k\bar{\imath}$ $k\bar{\imath}mat$ $v\bar{\imath}i$ (or $f \ni rm\bar{\epsilon}$), $\bar{c}\cdot p \ni rv\bar{\imath}am$ 'even if—they said—the price might be (with us), we have not got it' (?). Regarding $f \ni rm\bar{\epsilon}$ (< Prs $f arm\bar{a}y$) v. Voc. s.v. It appears to form a kind of Subjunctive in LSIm ze f erme $k\bar{\imath}$ duhum 'I may beat'; cf. Ysh woko $c \ni s$ $k\bar{\imath}mat$ $f \ni rm\bar{\imath}$? 'what may be the price (here?)?' $mo\bar{\imath}$ $ko\bar{\imath}\cdot k\bar{a}n$ $f \ni rm\bar{\imath}$, $k\bar{\imath}$ v v r do $f \ni r m\bar{\imath}$ 'az $k\bar{\imath}$ $b\bar{a}\check{s}ad$, $k\bar{\imath}$ v v r t a $b\bar{a}\check{s}ad$?'

¹ Cf the use of this particle in forming indefinite pronouns

² Reg the use of the Past as a Futurum Exactum, see § 246

³ Cf Texts, 39

Concessive

This label may provisorily be put upon the forms in -γuz Ysh lī-γuz Parvardıgār, mašču-γus Parvardıgār, tu raste xısmat ken 'may God give (thee wealth), or may he kill (thee, in any case) thou shallst serve him rightly' It is possible that we ought to analyze līγ-uz, līγ being the Perfect, but -uz remains unexplained.

Potential

256 Finally we may mention the forms in baš, e.g Yu yasp γazevda baš 'the horse could be made to run' (?); Ysh vrūtə žie baš 'the moustache could be cut (?)', žūya baš 'it could be sewn', cf LSIy men žia baš 'I should (?) beat', rīsīa-baš 'may come', šuya baš 'I should be' This form, which is not found in M, is of Khow origin Cf Khow žībīko baš nekī 'it is not to be eaten', aželī korīko baš 'she is going to bear a child', etc It can have nothing to do with Sgl būš.

Passive

The Passive is formed with š- (Prs šudan) and the Perfect Ptc. Cf. Zar. p 123, and LSIm ze žia šiam, LSIy zo žia baš šom 'I am beaten'

Interrogative Particle

258. In accordance with other Pamir and Dardic dialects Y—M employs an interrogative particle -ā Thus, e.g. tu Xədāyɛn bande češy-a 'art thou not the slave of God?' wo mara ko dāru avyɛ, mōy-a 'is this the man who brought the wealth?' Cf. Voc s.v -ā. The origin of this particle is unknown.

¹ And also Burushaski, cf Lorimer, Grammar §§ 147, 340

Nominal Forms of the Verb

Participles 1

The Perfect Participle is formed from the Past Base by adding Y -o (yurdo 'seized'), M (Z) -1gå, f -igagå ¹ I have not come across any Present Participle.²

Infinitive

The most usual form of the Infinitive is formed by adding $-\bar{a}n$ to the Past Base It may be derived from an ancient infinitive in -tanai, but more probably it is simply an oblique case of a verbal noun in -tai-ta- or -tai-ta-

Examples are Ysh $\dot{s}\bar{u}i$ no $t\bar{u}lv'y\bar{u}n$ 'he went to seek (talabistan)', no $xu'r\bar{u}n$ na'yen čes, no $\bar{u}ya'st\bar{u}n$ $p\bar{u}'\dot{s}\bar{u}k$ čes 'there is no bread to eat and no clothes to put on', yurd $xu'r\bar{u}k$ no $xu'r\bar{u}n$, yurd $pu'\dot{s}\bar{u}k$ no $\bar{u}ya'st\bar{u}n$ 'he took food to eat and clothes to wear', no $no'\bar{o}f$ no $xur\bar{u}n$ èe astet 'they have nothing to eat', $nu\bar{u}st$ so dukandara $muzduraka'r\bar{u}$ ($=ka'r\bar{u}n'^2$) 'he stayed with the shopkeeper in order to serve him', Yu no $tagb\bar{u}r$ $kar\bar{u}n$ $s\bar{u}n$ 'he went to make a plan', cf LSIm $wa\bar{u}na$ neyer 'he went out (for) hunting'

More dubious forms are Ysh loyoda waxt 'sleeping time (xuftan)', wōs àibe tar ōyem 'now I rise and go (· I go after rising?)', ef LSIy, m àia 'to beat' Probably -a < -aka-

Conjunctions

ke 'that', etc

- 261 Like Prs ki (from which it is borrowed) and Par če 3 Y—M ke is used in manifold ways
 - a) In Substantive Clauses Y isto ke 'he said that', $t = \check{c} = \check{z}\bar{u}\bar{\imath}$ ke 'don't say that . ', $u\check{z}\bar{u}r$ ke $y\bar{u}\imath$ k^yei huro astet 'he saw that

¹ Cf Zar, p 123

² Cf, however, Voc s.v wuši(y)aday

³ IIFL, I, p 104

- his brother-in-law's house was there', Mm wužir də kyoi kə jəhōn rūpayo 'he saw that there was much money in the house' But Ysh woz užen em-este, moi kyeyin dīr šūi 'now I see (that).
- b) In Causal Clauses Y wos ālo kon, ke zo na-to tāt 'now listen, because I I am thy father', mailis kene ke zo oīm 'make an assembly, because I shall come'
- c) In Final Clauses Mm $k\bar{\epsilon}do$ $v\bar{\nu}$ $z\bar{\nu}m\bar{\nu}n$ $k\bar{\nu}$ $y\bar{\nu}$ $v\bar{\nu}r$ $no\gamma or$ 'he dug in the earth, so that a door appeared'
- d) In Temporal Clauses Ysh kə $\tilde{a}\gamma^w \tilde{o}m$ 'when I came'.
- e) In Conditional Clauses Ysh ko. čpāč asom 'if I come back', xismat ko koret da sālo 'if thou servest for a year'
- f) ke as a Relative Particle. Mm jâi ke yû wîya vĩo 'a place where there was a willow', Y cis ke nă mun resî 'whatever comes to me', etc

¹ Or. "as if I were"?

Or "in order that I may come"?

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

I.

(Ysh)

- 1 Žū'wān 'vīo, yū 'wulo 'vīo, loh 'pūre vī'et 2 Žū'wān 'šūi no tūli'yān, šūi tro 'šāhar, tro ki'yēf lo'yōi
- 3 Lo'γδi də 'kyεi, yū a'kābur ni'āsto, lo'γδi də 'kyεi, sa'lām kər 4 "Wā'lēkam wəsa'lām, ai žu'wān! Na 'koi ā'γδit?" 5 "Gadā'ī təla'ūm, ba 'nām-e Xa'dā Wa'čārum 'nā mən 'dɛl!" 6 Wa'čārum na 'wən lī'o, na'γən na 'wən lī'o. 7. "Ai žu'wān" 'što Žu'wānɛn 'što ke ''Ai 'tāt, ai a'kābur, gab 'diah!'
- 8 Akābu'ren ''što kə ' ''Ai žu'wān, 'Yūi 'lār, vo mən gap Yu'rā' Wos 'ālə ken, ke 'zo na 'to 'tāt, 'tu mun 'pūr, 'zo ftō nasiāt ke'nəm 9 Wōs ke šū'īt, tro 'kyēi kə loyō'īt' 'ba 'nām-e Xə'dā 'del, wa'čārum

I.

(Ysh).

- 1. There was a young man, who had a wife and two sons. 2. The young man went begging, he went through the town and entered the houses
- 3. He entered a house, (where) an old man was sitting He entered the house and salaamed. 4 (The old man answered:) "And peace be with you, young man What did you come for?" 5. "I am begging for alms in the name of God. Give me alms." 6. He gave him alms, and he gave him bread. 7. "Young man," he said. The young man said: "Father, grey-beard, please speak."
- 8 The grey-beard said "Young man, listen and grasp my words. Now behave as if I were your father, and you were my son; I shall give you advice. 9. Now when you have gone (from here) and have

¹ Written kallo-oyo

na 'mən da'le'. 10 Agar 'kōi ke li'ēt, ya'šen, 'kōi ke 'či li'ēt, na 'xāyi ki'ō 'kīt, 'wos 'ale 'ken muz'durə ken, gadā'ī lə'yān, 'či tələ'wā gadā'ī, muz'durə ken 11. Wos ke šū'īt, no 'yū kua'tinen muz'durə ken 12 Dukan'dār fər'mē, kua'tin fər'mē, š°'lo 'won ai, muz'dur ken, ha'lāl muz'durə ken 13. Žə xon'īn xušči'en xis'mat ken, agar 'rīza 'vīo ''pūr' žā, 'agar də tō ba'rābar kə 'vīo ''vrai' žā, 'agar iž 'tō 'xušče 'vīo ''tād' žā. 14. Ha'lāl 'xismat ken, no xšo'vū xšo'vo 'če žā, xšə'vō tā 'mīx xis'mat ken 15 Xis'mat kə kə'ret da 'sālo, tə če 'žūi kə 'Mən 'min xismat kə'rum'. 16. 'Čes kə Xədā'iyen 'līo, do 'yū mix ha'zār rupa'yo na 'to rə'se 17 Tə 'čə žūi 'Mən xis'mat 'č-kəryəm, ha'zār rupa'yī na 'mən 'či da'le Da 'yū mix ha'zār rupa'yī ro'sī' 18. Agar da ha'zār 'mix yū 'surx 'paisō rə'sī, tə 'či žūi. ''Ài Parvardi'gāra a'žawuy-em 'tū, 'mōzē-em 'tū, da'lē-em 'tū' 19 Wos ha'lāl xis'mat ken, 'līyuz Parvardi'gār, maščuyuz Parvardi'gār, tu 'raste xis'mat ken, xis'mat kə'ret''

entered a house, (then say) 'Give in the name of God, may you give me alms.' 10 If somebody gives you anything, it is well. If nobody gives you anything, (but) labours for himself, then you must act thus: Take service (with him) and give up begging, do not ask for alms. but take service. 11. Now when you have gone, take service with a rich man. 12. Let him be a shopkeeper, (or) let him be a rich man, go to him, and take service with him, lawful service. 13 Serve one older than yourself, if he is younger, call him 'son', if he is of equal (age) with you, call him 'brother', if he is elder than you, call him 'father' 14. Do lawful service. Do not call the night 'night', but work by night and day. 15 When you have worked for a year, do not say 'I have done so much work' 16 If God gives anything, a thousand rupees will come to you in one day. 17. Do not say: 'I have done no work, please do not give me a thousand rupees, I have got a thousand rupees in one day' 18. If you get one copper penny in a thousand days, do not say: 'O Creator, thou lettest me be born, thou killest me, and thou givest me (my reward?) 19 Do now lawful service (Whether) the Creator give (you a reward), (or) the Creator kill (you), you must serve righteously, (and) you (will have) served (trulv).2

¹ Cf. § 205 ² Cf. § 255.

- 20. Wo rux'sat šūi, do xwoi kyēi rə'sīy, wo xoi zə'monəf 'līšč, wo xoi 'wulo 'lišč 21 Wo no 'wulo 'ištō "'Ai 'wulo, zo a'īm no muzdu'rīen''. 22. Lo naha'rī no 'won 'kər, γurd, ra'hī 'šūi. 'Šūi 'sahro, šūi na Či'trayi, da Či'trayi rə'sī
- 24 Ni'āst šo dukan'darə muz'durə kə'rā Yū 'sālə ni'āst, šə'lo dukan'darən muz'durə kər 26 X''šo'vō tā 'mix nə 'pəč 'što, no 'yox 'što, no pə'xuftəm 'što, no uši'yādəm 'što. 27 Wos 'što ke "Ai dukan'dār, 'wo mən rux'sat ken, 'mun yū wu'lo a'stet, loh 'pūré a'stet, no noōf no xu'rān 'če a'stet, 'no n' āγə'stān če a'stet, 'hāč 'kuči 'češ 28. Wo 'mən rux'sat ken, wa 'mən 'muzdurə 'na mən 'dɛl, 'tā zo a'yim, kə mun zəmo'nak-k-əu (?) 'nını 'wulo šilo'xo šūi 'vīo Wos wa šūi nə 'tat kyēyin-ā, da kyēi žī fərmi-'ā'?''.
- 30 Dukan'dāre(n) 'štyō ke "Ni'yā də kuči'o" 31 Nə'γος do kuči'o 32. Woz dukan'dār 'γurd yū a'lāno, nə'vuç do kuči'o lī'e (lī'o?) nə žu'wānen 33 Žu'wānen 'γūrd, dukan'dār 'čpāč šūi na du'kānen 34. Žu'wānen wa a'lāno da 'lāst kər 'fsāyo hu'ro

^{20.} He took leave and came to his own house, he saw his sons and his wife. 21. He said to his wife: "O my wife, I am going away to (seek) service. 22. (She) made two loaves for him; he took them and started off 23. He went into the desert, he went to Chitral and arrived there

^{24.} He stayed with a shopkeeper in order to serve him 25. He stayed one year with the shopkeeper and served him. 26 Night and day he did not say that it was hot, nor that it was cold, he did not say that he vas tired or hungry. 27. Then (at last) he said: "O shopkeeper, give me leave, I have a wife and two sons, they have nothing to eat, nor anything to wear, they have nothing (at all) 28. Give me leave and give me my wages, that I may go, because my children and my wife have become destitute 29. Now has she gone to her father's house? Or may it be that she is still (?) in (my) house?"

^{30.} The shopkeeper said: "Go out into the street" 31. He went out into the street 32. Then the shopkeeper took a pomegranate, brought it out into the street and gave it to the young man. 33. The young man took it, and the shopkeeper went back into the shop. 34. The young man put the pomegranate in his hand and stood up there.

 $^{^{1}}$ Prob = u

- 35 I'što kə "'Ai Xa'dāi, xušo'vōyi mīx zo muz'durə kur'γum, yū 'sālə 'šūi, ča'min ke'nəm? 'Nā mun yū a'lāno ro'sɛ! 36 'Ai Parvardi'gar, mun 'cɛs gu'nā, cɛs xatā'ī, cɛs 'aīb' Wo 'mun mal'mīn če ke'nē-este?"
- 37 Wos 'γurd wa a'lāno, 'žīo da av'γuš, ra'hē šūi 38 'Sāhara šūi, šūi də Orγo'čo. 39 Yū 'mara ži da'lɛn ā·γōi, 'guya da Dra'wuso 'vīo 'Šūi vī, ž' da'lɛn čpāč āγ^wōi 40. 'Wōi ā'bɛli žōī 'lāmə vī'et 41. Wən čo'γūvd, 'što kə· "Ai žu'wān, tə na'γɛn xurγet-ā, 'yāxio xurγet-ā, kə to wos zəmo'nɛ, wu'lo mal'mīn šilaxe šū'ī?
- 42. No xu'rān na'γεn 'češ, no āγə'stān pū'šāk češ 'Tu ča'min wo xōi nəfs ke nɛ? Də až'γāl 'xabar 'čes-a. 43. Yā pū'šak škōr, yā na'γən škōr. Tu Xa'dāyen 'bande 'češ'-a'? Tu Pai'γumbaren 'ūmed 'češ'-a'? Tu do'ōf 'xabar 'češ'-ā'? 44 Agar 'što kə 'Ai vrāi, wos 'gūya ken', o'yīm-əstε 'sāharen, wo 'mən xuz'dāī, po yū 'horγ dīδ, kə wa-čpāč 'čīr miž 'čpāč asəm. 45 'Čīr miž 'dīδ 'čpāč asəm

^{35.} He said "O God, I have worked night and day, a year has gone. What shall I do? I receive a pomegranate (for wages)! 36. O Creator, what is my sin, what is my fault, what is my error? Why dost thou treat me thus?"

³⁷ Then he took the pomegranate, put it into his lap, and went off 38. He went into the desert, he went to Orguch 39. A man came from below, as if he was [had beeu] in Drosh He might have gone away, (and now) he came back from below 40. They were both from one village. 41. He (who) returned, said "Young man, have you eaten bread or ashes, since your children and your wife have now become so destitute? 42. They have neither food to eat, nor clothes to wear How do you treat your own family? Have you no news about your family? 43. Send them either clothes or food Are you not the slave of God? Have you no hope in the Prophet? Have you no news about them? 44. If you say 'O brother, do now thus,' (you must know) that I am going into the desert, (somebody) has sent me on a certain errand, from which (?) I shall come back after four days. 45. After

 $^{^1}$ I e to a place as far from his home as O is from Chitral where the tale was told (some 5 miles)

² Litterally Your own soul.

⁸ Prs ālī amī kārī bukən

⁴ Prs mara rawån karda ast

Kə ā'γwōm ži 'mol və'ro, u'xšo 'mix zə nə k^yi'yɛn asəm 46 'Cis ke 'nā mun re'sī, wo 'xoi (mən) 'muzdurɛ γū'rum, a'səm nə kyē'yɛn Wos o'yīm-əste 'sāharo.''

47 Wo a'lāno 'līo no 'maraken. I'što ke "Tu wum i'sa no mən 'k'zēyen, no mən 'zəmana'kəf 'del 48 Mun zumanaken (da k'zēi) že[t] kə. 'A'max 'tad 'zındo vīı, ču 'muro vīi', xu'šāne ke'net 49 'Zo əm o'yīm, ro'səm, agar Xa'dāi ču 'mašče vīi, o'yım, ro'sım''

50 Wo a'lāno γurd, šōi sāaro, na Dra'uso šōi. 51 Wo 'yū 'mara ā'γōi wel'γōo 'Šūi, pə Šəγo'yo no'γor. No'γor ke də Šoγoyo xši'yet-ste. 52 I'što ke· "'Ai 'vrāi, če 'xšīəf-este?". 53. "Agar nə max 'lštet ki'o za'rūr 'šūi, 'xšīyem-esto no xoi zarūrien, ki tu ni'xā malo "54. "Na maf 'ce za'rūr?". 55. 'Što kə· "Ai vrāi, na max za'rūr šūi, kə 'magam max yū pād'šā astet, pād'šā lur'vū šūi 56 'Dīr 'pādšāan žo lura'γan 'kāγəz kəro, 'škāṛ-ən 56 'Ai ādame', agar

four days I shall come back. And when I have come ² I shall come to (our) home six days later 46. Whatever I get I shall take as my wages, and come to (our) home Now I am going out into the desert."

47. He ³ gave the pomegranate to the man and said "Take it to my house and give it to my boys. 48. My boys (in the house) will say "Our father must be alive and not dead;" and they will rejoice. 49. I shall also go and arrive there, if God does not kill (me), I shall go and arrive there"

50. He took the pomegranate and went out into the desert. He went to Drosh. 51. And the other man came up He went and appeared at Shoghor ⁴ He appeared there when they were lamenting at Shoghor. 52 He said "O brethren, why are you weeping?" 53. "If it is necessary for us to speak, 5 we are weeping at our distress, 6 so that you must now stay here" 54. "What is your distress?" 55. They ⁷ said: "O brother, our distress is that we have a king, and he has fallen ill 56. Another king has written a letter from afar and has sent it to us 56. (Its contents are as follows) 'O men, if

¹ Prob oke (pl)

² Lit When I have come from here

⁸ The man who had served with the shopkeeper

⁴ Name of a village in Lutkoh

⁵ Prs Agar ba må gap zadan zarūr šuda ast

e zarūri

⁷ He (?).

pādšā i'zīko mu'ro, i'zīko va məlk γ u'ram, agar sa'har mu'ro, sa'har γ u'ram,' 57. Wos a'max 'pādšā lər'wū šūi "

58 Wos yaspe γa'zəvdet, və'dεt 'sāro A'nīməf su'wār šut val'γō, a'nīməf šət 'sāro 59 Yū dəm šūit, a'γōt čpāč, rə'sīet hu'ro.

Marakâ 'št'o '''Ku 'šuγəf vī'o?'' 'Št'o. '''Max dā'ru kwo'sɛm vīo 'Drust məlk 'nāse'n nəvu'ram, č-pur'viam ''

62. "'Wokə cəs dā'ru vī'o, 'woko 'cəs 'kīmat vīi,' kə 'wōu č-pərvīa'γāf?" 63 Agar 'št'ot ke "'Kīmat 'vīi, č-pər'vīam." 64 'Št'o kə" "Wo dārū'ī la mən astet" 65 'Wōf 'štot· "Wō dā'ru na max del, 'max xō'nam, na'to 'hūγ da'lem. 'Čan ke 'tū ke'ne 'hūγ da'lem, 'čand kī'mat ke ke'ne, 'max wo 'γuram'' 66. 'Štyo kə "Zə da'lem no 'māf Tārā'zū a'vre, 'mām də tāra'zū''

⁽your) king dies to-night (?), I shall seize the country to-night, if he dies to-morrow morning, I shall seize it then.' 57. Now our king has fallen ill'

⁵⁸ Then they let their horses gallop,³ and brought them down Half the horsemen rode upwards and half of them rode downwards. 59. They suddenly went off, returned and arrived there

^{60.} The man said: "Where have you been?" 4 61 They said. "We have been searching for some medicine. We have travelled all over the country, 5 but we have not found it."

^{62 (}The man said) "What was the medicine there, and what might the price be, that you didn't get it?" 63 [If] they said: "(Although) we may have the money to pay for it, we have not got it."

^{64.} He said "I have got that medicine." 65. They said "Give us the medicine, we shall buy it and give you money (for it). We shall give as much money as you demand, we shall take it for the price you fix." 66. He answered "I shall give it to you. Bring some scales and let us weigh it."

¹ Or forma

² The construction is not clear

⁸ Prs aspara davåndan

⁴ Kuja iafta būdid 'where had you gone'

⁵ Lit We have pulled it out completely (Prs paraphrase sar-ba-sar gastum), ⁶ woko, Bad Prs uko

⁷ Agar seems superfluous. But cf sentence 44

⁸ Translation uncertain Cf § 254

- 67 A'vret, drī'et, mav'det. 68. Mara'kan da tāra'zū drī'o, mav'do, ba'rābar či 'noγwor 69. Wən 'št'yo kā' "Yə to hūγ kəb no γor, zo wo xoi dāruī či 'dalam 70. Wos oih, am'boh 'māl a'vāļ, zo wo xoi dā'rūi u'gah da'lam"
- 71 Wos šut, wo māləf a'vret, ri'sə(v)det Wo 'dāru lī'o Yāt, wo dāru yāt, na pād'šāan lī'et.
- 73 Pādšā 'tāza šūi ba hokm-e Xa'dāyen Ādame xo'šān šut "Wo mara drāi a'vāze" Wo mara və'det šəlo pādšāen 75 Pād'šāen pi'stō "Wo mara 'ko dā'ru a'vre, 'mōy-a?" 76 'Zōpə, bū'ţə lī'o, woro lī'o, pīra'hān li'o, kuṭ li'o, čā'dur li'o, dō yū bō'žēi ašera'fī lī'et
- 77. Tūrd wo 'maraken, vī'revdo, ra'he šūi 78 A'γōi, rə'sēi, nə xoi 'kyēin 'čūi, šūi n'ou 'mara 'kyēin 'Šūi, lo'γoi da 'kyēt 79 Wo 'vira la'γadə da 'kyēi "Žiŋki'kou, wo 'vīra γu'rah.'' 80 'Žiŋkiko 'štyo kə "Ya 'cəs mın 'vīra? Yo 'vīra 'kōi-kān?''
- 67 They brought (the scales), put (the money into them), and weighed it. 68 (Then) the man put (the medicine) into the scales, weighed it, but the weight did not come out as equal. 69 Then he said "This money of yours has come out (appeared) to be too little, I will not give you my medicine" 70 Go now, bring much money, then I shall give you my medicine at once."
- 71. Then they went, fetched the money 2 and brought it there 72 He gave them the medicine They took it, they took the medicine and gave it to the king
- 73. By the command of God the king recovered, and the people rejoiced. 74. (The king said:) "Bring that man here." They brought him before the king 75 The king asked: "Is this the very man who brought the medicine?" 76 He gave him clothes, boots, trousers, shirt, coat and turban, and they gave him gold-coins in a bag
- 77 The man took it (all), loaded it (on his horse), and departed 78. He came and arrived (at his village), he did not go to his own house, but he went to that man's house. He went there and entered into the house 79 He threw down his burden in the house (and said): "Woman, take the burden." 80 The woman said "What burden is this? Whose is this burden?"

¹ Sg for pl

² Or goods

- 81 Wo maraken 'štə kə "Yo 'vīra ta-'kan'' 82 "Yo 'vīra nā-mən 'kōi škār?" "Ta 'šifien 'škār'" 83. "Wo mən 'šifien 'vīra škār, 'xoyo 'kū šūi? Yo 'vīra mən 'šifien 'češ, tu čo'pīk kene'' 84. Ču 'fxatiyo "Yo 'vīra mən 'šifien ke vī-va, 'xoyo aγō'ī-va, tu čo'pīk č-ke'ne'' 85. O vīra lə'γədo, 'šūi, štə kə 86 "Yo 'vīra ta 'šifien 'nā to škarə Yū a'lāno 'lī vio, mən wo 'prēstəm, 'γurdum ašəra'fī, wos a'vrum na 'to 87 'Na tə trə 'lās kə'rum, zo 'oyim no xoi 'kyēin'' Šūi no xoi kyēin
- 88 'Žinkiko u'žur 'yū miž, 'loh miž, 'maraken də'rak 'č-šūi 89. 'Žinkikī (y)u'gah žə aš³ra'fləf yu t³rəft, 'yaī no ba'zāren, 'līo da ba'zār, 'γurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, 'γurd pu'šak no āγə'stān, 'avər no xoi 'kyēln 90 'Sko yū aš³ra'fen 'mind dau'lat šūi
- 91. "Wos na xa'īn le'zo ke'nīum." 92. Wos 'xabar ker no āda'mef "A'sef 'nā men muz'dure ke'nē, no yu 'mīxen 'pānj ru'paya da'lem." 93. 'Ādame ā'yot, per 'šet, 'amboh ā'yot def'ted de 'hōry 94 Do

⁸¹ The man said. "This burden is yours." 81. "Who has sent me this burden?" "Your husband has sent it." 83. "Has my husband sent that bundle? Where has he gone himself? This bundle is not my husband's, you are lying" 84. She did not take it, (but said.) "If this burden had been my husband's, he would have come himself; do not tell lies." 85 The man threw down the bundle, went away and said: 86. "This bundle your husband has sent to you He had given me a pomegranate, I sold it, got gold-coins (for it), and now I have brought them to you. 87. I have put them in your hand, and now I go home." And he went home.

^{88.} The woman kept watch, one day, two days, but she did not catch sight of her husband 89. Once the woman stole one of the pieces of gold, took it to the bazaar, sold it there and brought food to eat and clothes to wear, and brought it all to her house. 90. Such riches came from one piece of gold.

^{91 (}Then she thought) "Now let me build a castle for myself." 92 Then she made known among the men "Come and work for me, I shall give five rupees a day in wages." 93. The men went, they went in great numbers, many came and started working. 94 They

¹ Litt. gave it

'yū məx xalās kə'ret, li'zo kə'ret, ta'yār šūi 95 'Bāγa kə'ret, 'hargeno 'haulɛn pəzgi'et Miwa'γe žī'et, gu'le kšči'et.

96 'Sailə šūi, 'žinkikī, 'štə kə· "Ai da'rīγ', a'žəp 'sailə kəṛ'γυm 97 'Wos kə mən 'šıfə aγο'ī-va, 'lıšče-va wo 'mind ābā'dīəf 98 Wos 'pāže ta'yār šūi, no 'xoi 'pūrəf 'wulo 'čə avazəm-'ā?''

99. 'Wulo a'vāzdo, no a'beli 'pūrəf 'wuli a'vəzde, ni'āst sko dau'let, dau'let, pu'šāk, na'yen bi'nās šūi 100 Wōs xa'lās šūi, 'štyo kə "'Ai Xə'dāī, wo mən 'šīfɛ 'č-avazi-ā? Wos a'yōi, wo mən dau'let lišči-va''

101 Šfə də Dra'wusə vī'ō, muzdu'rī k'yed vī'o, wos rux'sat tūli'yo. 102 "Wo mən 'muzdurə del," išto, "tā zo o'īm"

103 Yū piš'kō no 'won lī'ō, 'γurd, ži'e de av'γuš 104 Ra'hɛ šūi, da 'pādo a'γōi, žiyo či'gāli, nə'vur mē'dī ' 105 'Štyo kə: "Āi Xədāi, na xāin no xu'rān češ, no 'man 'ces dɛlum?'' 106 Γurd, lə'γado da laxči'o, 'drīo tra šīlɛ, ra'hɛ šūi

finished it in one month, they built the castle, and it was ready (for use). 95. They laid out a garden and they made 2 a wall on all sides. They planted fruit-trees and sowed flowers.

96 It became a wonderful sight, and the woman said "What a pity, I have prepared a wonderful sight 97. Oh that my husband came, oh that he saw these cultivated fields! 98. Now it is all ready, should I not bring wives for my sons?"

99. She brought wives,⁸ she brought wives for both her sons, and she settled down with her wealth. Her wealth, her clothes and her food were copious. 100 Then it was finished and she said: "O God, why dost thou not bring my husband here? If he came now he would see my wealth."

101 (Meanwhile) her husband was in Drosh, he was working, and he asked for leave 102. "Give me my wages," he said, "that I may go."

103 (His master) gave him a cat, he took it and put it in his lap 104. He left, came out into the road, it scratched him with its claws, and he took it out 105 He said "Oh God, I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give it?" 106. He took it, put it into a skinbag, placed it on his shoulder, and went on.

¹ Or mēļī?

² Cf Voc. s v. hargeno

Litt a wife (for each of them).
 Prs. az baγal ba-dar (ūsū) kad

- 107 A'γōı da 'pādo, wu'šīo kər U žūr kə yū' k'sı 'huro asıtet 'Šūi, lo γoi do k'sīi 108 U ' 'žinkiko mı'āsto, 'tāam 'k'yet-ısto 109 'Kər, nə'vur da ra'ža, 'baγd wo žīe tro poš'kəf, ta'yār kər, a'vər, us'tāi no 'marakɛn da a'pīr.
- 110 Wos pārγe noγο'ṛɛt, ā'γot no poš'kε 111 'Žīo wōf, wos van šūi da lax'čīo 'nīgio Wo poško la-'kəi, 'fāto wo 'parγəf
- 112 'Žinkiko xa'lās šūi, na'γεn xu'ṛɛt 113 '''Šābaš,'' 'žinkiki 'štyō, '''šābaš, wo 'mən xa'lās kə'ret! 114 Yo 'cəs mɪn žān'dār wo mən xa'lās kəṛet? 115 Wos wa'ī 'nā mun 'dɛl, 'nā to 'hūγ da'lem''
- 116 Lī'o no 'wən, 'yūrd, fəči nəvdo 117 \bar{A} 'yōı, yū bō'žēı aš'ra'fī a'vər, lī o no 'maraken
- 118 Maraken γūrd, vī rəvdo, ra'he šūı. 119 Ā'γõi, rə'sī də xoı k'εi Lo'γoi də k'ε̄i, u žur kə yū 'žinkiko, loh ši'nāmīī nı'āstı 120 'Žinkiko ''Čāi šəm,'' 'pisto wo zinī'ef ''Āī zə'nī, yo 'mara
- 107. When he came on the road, he became hungry and he saw that there was a house there. He went and entered the house. 108 A woman was sitting there, she was cooking food. 109. She prepared it, took it out on the platform, divided it and put it into the dishes, made it ready, brought it, and placed it before the man.
- 110. Then the mice came out and came to the dish 111 He struck them; then he stretched out and opened the skin bag. He let out the cat, and it caught the mice.
- 112. The woman got rid of them, and they ate the food. 113 "Well done," said the woman, "well done. You have rid me of them. 114 What kind of animal is this? You have rid me (of the mice).2 115. Now give it to me, and I shall pay you for it."
- 116. He gave it to her, and she took it and hid it. 117 Then she came with a bag of gold-coins which she gave to the man.
- 118 The man took it, loaded it (on his horse), and went off. 119 He came (home), arrived at his own house, entered it, and saw one woman and two girls sitting there 120 The woman (said to him) "Drink tea," and she asked her daughters-in-law "My daughters-in-

¹ In sandhı $k^y \tilde{\epsilon} \iota (y) \bar{u}$.

² One would expect har act has?

^{12 -} Kulturforskning

ž^ukū wa'ī pər'sə ' 121 Zı'nīef pıs'tɛt. "'Ź 'tāt, tu ž^ukū^ŋ?" 122 "'Ai 'luydeo, 'zo ž-im 'k'ɛyen Mo 'k'ɛi mən-'kān 123. 'Zo šu'yum vī'o no muzdu'rīen, ža'hānḍ 'sāl šūı, wo ā'ywom 124 Yū wu'lo, loh 'pūre mən-'kān-e 'molo 'vīet, wos a'yōm no 'xoi kyēyen. 125 Wos užerɛm-əstɛ, moi kyeyin dīr šūi, wos 'bayakɛ šūi. 126. Zo na'žan 'wīnum kə' 'Moi 'kōi-kān fər'ma, 'kōi 'yurdo fər'ma?' 127 Zə pər'səm-istə, 'lā-mən če de'fɛ, zo 'xabar yu'rum''

128. 'Žinkikī na zənī'ef 'što: "'Ài zə'nī, wai pər'se Tu ž''kū šūi?''
129 Zənief pis'tet "Zə ži 'malen, ž-im k''e'yen 'Mun yū wu'lo, loh 'pūre''

130 Wos 'žinkikī 'što "A' 'mara, to 'cəs nām?'' 131 Wo 'yoi 'nām lī'o, wo 'yoi 'pūrəf nām lī'o, wo yoi 'wule nām lī'o 132. 'Žinkikī 'štyo kə "Ai zə'nī, yo mun 'šifə O'īh, wo mun 'pūrəf u'šāwa'' 133. Wo 'pūrəf u'šavdet, ā'yot. 134 "Ai 'pūre, 'mō a'maf tāt. 135. Mō dau'let kə as'tet, a'maf ta'ten 136 Xoref-este,

law, ask this man wherefrom he is." 121. The daughters-in-law asked: "O father, from where are you?" 122. (He answered) "My daughters. I am from this house. This house is mine. 123. I had gone away to seek service, many years passed, and I came back 124. I had a wife and two sons here, now I have come (back) to my own house. 125 Now I am looking about There has been a change in this house, it has become a garden. 126. Being unknown I see it (thinking:) 'Whose can this (house) be? Who can have bought it?' 127. I am asking, don't quarrel with me, may I be informed"

128. The woman said to her daughters-in-law. "O daughters-in-law, ask him from where he has come" 129 The daughters-in-law asked him. (He answered) "I am from here, from this house. I have a wife and two sons."

130. Then the woman said "O man, what is your name?" 131 He told his name and told his sons' names, and his wife's name. 132. The woman said "O daughters-iu-law, this is my husband Go and call my sons" 133 They called the sons, and they came. 134 (She said:) "My sons, this is your father. 135. This wealth which we have got, belongs to your father. 136 You are eating, drinking

¹ Translation uncertain Litt something) other has come to (?) this house

² Litt With my wish

šāmef-este, āydəf-este ā'yen dau'let. 137. Wos lo yoi 'taten xo'šāne kə'ne!''

138. Xo'šāne k^θ'ṛɛt, bo' ṭi'pɛ dau'lɛt, an'jām, sarfərā'že, də γoi k^yēi ni'āstɛt. 139. Zo ā'γōm.

II. (Yu)

Tu bı'land-a küh bi'land Sul'tān ba'rāmad rü-i 'band

Güvd. "Dar baiyal či 'dārī?"

"Ki'tāb-i 'pər ya'zal."

"Barār tā buxānim"

"Nə 'dārad 'sar u 'bar."

Qūm'qūm-i-fūxta,

har'dū ja'māliš 'bāfta

'Qissa-i mā dūr-i¹ di'rāz

'sūfijāra dar najmāz 2

and wearing his wealth 137 Make now merry with your own father."

138. They made merry. There was great plenty of riches, clothes and ornaments. They settled down in their own house 139. And I came here.

II (Yu).

You are high, and the hill is high. The king came out onto the dyke³

He said. "What do you have in your lap?"

"A book full of songs"

"Bring them that I may read them"

"It has neither head nor tail."

(It is like) a ringdove's throat, both its curls 4 are plaited.

My tale is far and long, for sufis in prayer (?)

¹ Probably for dūr u

² This introductory verse is in Prs.

³ band for bām?

⁴ jamāl-iš was explained by mūi 'han'.

- 1 'Yū 'ādamen 'xūben lišč Imo'yō do 'urjug' suv'dō, mīra-'čām do 'čəp suv'dō 2. Wo 'qissa 'yurd, nə 'šāharen šūi, nə tag'bīr kə'rān šūi. 3 'Šahar bar 'šahar, 'kūh bar 'kūh, bi'āban bar bi'āban, xi'āban bar xi'āban, 'pādšā-i bar'bād, 'xirman-i bī'bāt
- 4. "Assa'lām a'lēkum" "Wa 'āliku sa'lām." "Qissa yurdogum,² na tag'bīren o'īm" 5 Yū gala'vān vi'ō, gāla'vānen vo naql 'yurd, šūi. 6 Šūi, da yū 'šāher 'xavd, da yū ma'žit šūī 7 Da ma'žit ni'āst 8 I'što ke "'Hai da'rīx! 'Wos či ı'lāj kenem? Ze da seri'et mu'xālišəm ⁸ Vo 'māl hāl līm non'"
- 9 Yū 'pādšā 'pūr da ma'žit lo'γοι, u⁴ wa'zīr 'luγdo da ma'žīt lo'γοi 10. 'Pādšān 'pūr '''Ās, tā lu'rōum'' 11. Yū 'Mēγ yasp, yū 'Wūi yasp 12. "Zə vto lu'rōum."
- 13 Vo 'yaspə pa'lān ži'ō 14. (Skō) 'yū yasp 'pādšā pūr su'wār šūi, yū yasp wa'zīr lu γ 'do su'wār šūi 14 Šət nə šaha'rɛn. Wa'zīr
- 1. A man had a dream (He saw) the moon on his right shoulder and the sun on his left 2. He took the tale with him, went to town to get an explanation. 3 He went through town after town, hill after hill, desert after desert, flower-garden after flower-garden, to the overthrown king, to the windless threshing floor 5
- 4. (Then he met a cowherd and said) "Peace be with you" "And peace be with you" "I have brought a tale, and I go to find an explanation of it" 5 There was a cowherd, he took the tale and went off 6. He went and descended into a town, he went into a mosque 7. He sat down in the mosque 8 Then he said "Alas! What remedy shall I find? I am . . (?) 6 in the law of Islam. I have given him my possessions."
- 9. Then a prince, and a vizier's daughter entered the mosque 10. The prince (said to her): "Come, I will carry you off." 11. (He had) one horse (called) Cloud, and one horse (called) Wind. 12 "I will carry you off"
- 13 Then he saddled his horses. 14. The prince rode one horse and the vizier's daughter the other. 14. They went into the town The

¹ Or urjuy?

² Or yurdoyum?

⁸ Read šəm 9

 $⁼y\bar{u}^{\varrho}$

⁵ Prs formula

⁶ The meaning of muxāli(š) is unknown to me

⁷ Cf Parachi A'ir and Taphone, Tapiki Abr and Bod V IIFL, I, 165

luγdo pādšā pūr pisto: "Mọ ča'mīn 'žaγa? 15 Yasp γa'zevda baš?" 16 Wo 'xap kər 17. Wa'zīr 'luγdo što "Mo xap 'čī kīt?"

18 Šut da u šahər 'xavdet. 19 Nə 'pādšān nə sa'lāmat šut, sa'lām k^o'ret 20. Pādšāan 'pūr vi'ō 21. A'γoi wo pisto· "Ku ōī?" 22. Wən 'što ke "Wu'lo a'vezdəm." 23 Mən 'išto ke "Vu'to xai vrai 'γurdum" 24 'Pādšā 'pūren no xoi 'kyēyen a'vezdo.

25 Wo 'yūγen nām Zanyu'lām vi'ō. 26 "No šīren 'škūr ke'nam" 27. Wən 'što ke "'Γaše" 28 No žanga'len šut, no 'šīren škūr šut, vo šīr māščet 29. 'Pādšāan 'pūren 'što ke "Vo wulo və'nem" 30 'Pādšān 'što ke "Č-'kir kəne, vo wulo žo wən če 'vɛt kəne"

31. Wo 'wulo što ' 'Da Kunji'kāf oi! 32. Žə 'čīrien və čūrwakəf āvər, žə a'mun vo 'gəl 'āvər. Də 'bāy da-'dram 'č-oi " 33 Wo 'što ke: "Bī'aql žinkiko! Də 'bāy 'čī č-o'īm?" 34. Də 'bāya šūi, lə'yot.

vizier's daughter asked the prince "What kind of place is this? 15. Can the horse be galloped?" 16. He kept silent. 17. Then the vizier's daughter said "Why does he keep silent?".

18 They went and alighted in a town 19. They went to salute the king, and they saluted him 20. The king had a son. 21. He came and asked "From where have you come?" 22. He said. "I have brought my wife." 23. The other said "I have taken you as my brother." 24. The prince took them to his own house.

25 One of them was called Zang-Ghulam. 26. (He said to his host:) "Let us hunt the lion" 27. The (second prince) said: "Very well" 28. They went to the forest and hunted the lion, and killed it. The (second) prince said (to his father) "Let me take his wife" The king said. "You cannot do it, you are not able to take his wife from him."

31 The wife said "Go to Kunjikaf 32. Bring the unripe fruits from the approof-trees and the flowers from the apple-tree But don't enter the garden." 33 He answered: "Stupid woman! Why shouldn't I enter the garden?" 34. He went to the garden (of Kunjikaf) and entered it.

¹ Prs. paraphrase: $j\bar{a}i$ $x\bar{u}b$ ast davāndan 'is the place fit for making the horse run?'

² The first-mentioned prince

³ The second prince

⁴ The first-mentioned prince?

⁵ A corruption of Köhikaf, the Fairy-Mountain.

35. Hu'rō də baya bar zənge nə'yor, vo bar'zange mašč 36 Vo 'čīrief la 'pənekaf, la 'voryen 'yurd, ra'hā kər, 'šūi 37 Parī'zāt nə'yor 'Što "Vo mun və'na" 38. Vo pari'zāte su'wār kər, 'yurd, 'šūi.

39. Šūi, do xoi kyei reisīo 40 Pādšā pūren što "Və to wulo 'vonem." 41 Vo 1 taten što ke: "Am'boh pežo 'xap, la žīno 'deh, 'rūγun da burž deh, və la žīno žafa ū.' 42 Vo la žīno dəft 43 Pādišān išto "Da āxeirat žə mun itaten ixabar γuira" 44 Wo što ke "To tat ta zo 2 təndurust as tet" 45. Pādšā guvd, xa lās šūi 46 Žə pād'šāan vo wu'lo 'vət gala'vānen 47 Gala'vānen 'čīr wule šut.

48 Galajvān waizīr luydo do 'viyuš žio, lojyot 49 Waizīr luydo köviyo gošč, na asimine š šūi 50 Da asimino čaitir vio, de čaitir loh ši nāmi viet 51 Wo žinkiko da ča tīr šūi. 52 Išto ke "Mai'lıs kene, ke zə o'īm, ke 'banda-i xākī an'gāhi." 53. Lo gala'vānen

48. The shepherd took the vizier's daughter in his embrace and entered. 49. The vizier's daughter turned into a dove and rose to heaven. 50. There was a tent in heaven, and in the tent were two girls. 51. The woman went into the tent 52. She said: "Make a feast, because I am coming, so as to awaken the slave of the earth "7

^{35.} There, in the garden, an ogre appeared, but he killed it. He picked apricots together with leaves and fruits,4 started and left 37 Then a fairy appeared and said "Take me." 38. He made the fairy mount (his horse), seized her, and went off

³⁹ He went, and arrived home 40 The prince said "I shall bring your wife' 41. His father said: "Fell much timber, build a woodpile, pour clarified butter over the tower, and set fire to the wood-pile" 42. The wood-pile took fire. 43 The king said "Get news about my father in the next world." 6 44 He said "Your father is sound and healthy." 45 The king caught fire, and was finished. 46. The cowherd took the king's wife. 47. The cowherd got four wives.

¹ Read wo?

 $^{^{2} =} taz\bar{a} u$

⁸ For asmino with palatalization before 5°

⁴ Or 'foliage'?

⁵ Uncertain translation

⁶ Or in the end, at last ⁷ I e 'human being'?

dā'rū-i bīhu'šī vi'ō 54 Wo a'γoi, də k^yei rə'sīo 55. Gala'vānen išto ke "Zə 'xūben 'wīnem-este vio Do 'xūben ko'vīyo goščim'' 56. Wo žiņkiko vispač šūi 57 Wov loh žiņkəf avezdo. 58 Šut, gala'vānen 'pānj 'wule a'vezdo 59 "Wo 'xūben ku liščut?" 60. Wən 'što. "Imo'γō 'dum suvdo, mīra-'čam 'dum suvdo, 'stāri po fiz žer šut''

III. (Yu)

1 'Skandar pādšā nā 'tā-duni'ā šūι 2 Da 'žaγa šūi, šəla dar'yāhan lo'γot 3 Yū kur'mo 'ptrəmdo 4 'Skandar pādšā vo kur'mo pis'to '''Čen-este?'' 5 Kur'mo što '''Nā-mən yū až'der nər, va mun xut'' (Unfortunately the narrator was interrupted, and he left me without continuing the tale)

53. The cowherd had a narcotic drug 54. He came and arrived in the house 55. The cowherd said "I have been seeing a dream. In the dream I turned into a dove" 56 The woman went back. 57. He brought those two women 1 58 They went; the cowherd (now) brought five wives 59. (He asked) "Where did you see the dream?" 60. He answered "I saw the moon on this shoulder, and the sun on that one, and stars surrounded my breast."

III. (Yu)

1. King Alexander went to the Lower World. 2 He went to a place, and in the neighbourhood of a river he entered (the Lower World).
3. Then he caught a tortoise. 4. King Alexander asked the tortoise. "What are you doing?" 5 The tortoise answered: "A dragon to me.., ti will eat me.

¹ Or the two.

Litt. 'on this one'

³ Prs. čika měkini

⁴ nor? Meaning unknown

IV (Yr)

You yal'bil kenəm, 'xosto lyadəm da xu'rum, 'yau vastəm, polmo šūi, yau lo kərəm, wōu lə'badəm, 'xosto žə yo'wən wōdyo šūi lal'bīl 'yūrdam, 'wōu yal'bīn ' žīəm, paz'yō šūi. Və yōu rāš kerəm, wo yōu da laxčief yurdam, drīem da 'čāro

V. (Yp)

'Māmə ² 'šešo ⁸ do 'Warto da pe žō nuvə'rum vo 'kēro, 'tālum vo pə'žō. 'Kū ki tu šūyıt, zo asəm, ıspač na 'dūlen zo ro'sum

> IV. (Yr)

I sift the barley; I put the straw on the threshing floor, I harnessed the ox, (the grain) became crushed, I let the ox loose, I winnowed the corn, the straw was separated from the barley(-corn), I took the sieve, I sifted the barley, it became clean. I heaped up the barley, I took it in baskets and poured it into the store-room

V (Yp).

The old woman . is at the log in Wart I pulled out my knife, I whittle the log. Wherever thou hast gone, I shall come, I shall arrive behind the mill-hopper

² Expl kampīr 'old woman'

4 Litt "soft"

¹ wou = vo you? yalbin for yalbil

^{*} Expl nām na dārad, hamtarī yak qap ast mā ba tū āšeq šudam "it has no name (meaning?), a word is like that I fell in love with you" I can make nothing out of this explanation

VI

Šal'xān zəx'mo Ov'xizo, 'Mastiko 'palef 'dizo Šal'xān šūi di'āre 'Mastiko šūi xi'āle

VII (Mm).

1 Vio yū â'dam. Wo 'hâdamen lu 'luγdi vī'at 2. J̄ə'hōn â'jīz âdam 'vīo, bī'čâra. 3 Yu čad 'mixı 'gyašk'at, guza'rān 'či šūi 4 Və 'luγdaf γu'ruvd, ba'dār šūi, jo'hōn 'jâi šūi, ke yū 'wīya vī'o. 5 'Ūra ni'âst, və 'luγdaf 'šta kə ''' 'Maf 'male 'nixit,¹ za da 'sāharo ayum, 'bada hasum.'' 6. Mə šūi, šūy-u 'či a'γoi 7 Mai 'luγdi ni āstat 'wuro, 'woxrōgī, 'uč ku 'či vīo 8 Bad žo 'wan wo yuk'e'gin

VI

Shälkhan is wounded in Ovkhizo, Mastiko is squatting Shalkhan is looking about, Mastiko is thinking.

VII (Mm)

1. There was a man who had two daughters. 2. The man was very poor and destitute. 3. Some days passed, and he had nothing to live on. 4. Then he took his daughters and went away, he went to a very (far off?)⁴ place where there was a willow 5. He sat down there and said to his daughters "Sit you down here, I shall go out into the desert and then come back." 6. He went away, went and did not come (back) 7. The daughters sat down there, they were hungry and had nothing. 8. After that one of them dug in the earth, (with

¹ Cf § 234

² Sher Khān?

⁸ His wife

⁴ Or to many places, in one of which there .

'k'ēdo və zə'mīn, ki yū lə'vər no' γ or 9 šūi da'rūn də kə 10. Wu'žir də kə jə'hōn rūpa'yo 11 Bad nı'âst 'wuro, wo au'qâtiš giyaškə.

Variants of Grammophone Text

1 'ādamen, vī'āt 4 ba'dār 'šū, k'yū. 5. 'šta, ni'žit, 'sāh're aγayum (?), 'bāda 7 uni'āta (?) woxrōgī. 8. bād žo, 'yukye'gīn 'kēdo, k'yu le'vor'. 10. rūpa'yō 11 'bād

the result) that a door became visible. 9. She went into a house. 10 She saw in the house that there were many rupees. 11. Afterwards she settled down there and found a livelihood

VOCABULARY

The words are arranged in order of their consonants, the vowels coming into consideration only as a secondary factor n and n are put after n s has not been distinguished from s, nor q from k. For words in *st- etc see st. Note - $\tilde{\alpha}i$, - $\tilde{n}i$, not (with i) - $\tilde{\alpha}i$, etc.

Y(1dgha) forms are placed before M(unji) forms. Within Y preference is given to Yzh, in the second instance to Ysh, in M to Mm.—"Y" after a word means that it was noted in identical form from Yzh, sh (v § 4) and two other informants

Forms from Z(arubin) and G(authiot) are given for the sake of facilitating comparison, more rarely I quote B(iddulph) and M(ullah) F(aiz) B(akhsh) (= Shaw).— The Khowar translations given by my Y informants have in many cases been added, sometimes these Khow words are dubious, or at any rate unknown from other sources.—"*Prs" denotes that I do not know the word in question in the form or with the meaning given here.

The etymology of genuine Y—M words has been briefly indicated, even when known before, or obvious. Cognate words from Sgl.—Ishk, Wkh. and the Pamir dialects in general have been quoted more fully than such as belong to other Ir languages. To a large extent I have, however, mentioned forms of interest from recently published material, and in some cases I have ventured upon etymological digressions at greater length. I believe in the usefulness of suggesting possibilities of derivation in a work of this kind, if only to stimulate other workers in the field to propose something better.

Vowels

-ă interrog particle —no xoi pūrəf wulo cə avazəm-ā? Ysh shall I not bring my sons a wife? tə na'yen xviyet-ā? have you eaten bread? yāxio xviyet-a? have you eaten ashes? wos wa šūi nə tat kuēin-ā, da kuēi žī fərmī-ā? has she now gone to her father's house, or is she in (my) house? wo $m \partial u^{-1} \delta v f \epsilon^{-1} \dot{c} - avaz \bar{i} - \bar{a}^{\circ} \theta$ don't you bring my husband? $tu \ h \bar{o} r(\gamma) \ k \partial n e \ a$? $\bar{c} - k \partial n e - a^{\circ} \ Yg$ do you work, or not? $tu \ do^{\dagger} \bar{o} f^{-1} x a b a r \ \dot{c} e \delta \dot{v} - a^{\circ} \ don't \ you$

know about them? Cf. Wkh, Khow, Burushaski a, (Sgl $-\bar{i}$) The origin of this particle is unknown, v § 258

ai, ai Ysh, hai u, ē Z "O".—ai žuwān, aı parvardıgāra, ai Xədāi Ysh, hai darix u Prs

e Ysh, u ızāfat.—ba nām-e Xadā, banda-e $x\bar{a}k\bar{i}$ 'slave of the soil, human being' Prs V § 213

u, au Ysh and — man zamo nakk au man wulo my son and my wife a'īb Ysh fault. — mon ces a'īb? Ar Prs. ābā'dī Ysh, âbâd G cultivated field, cultivation —lišco-va wo mind ābā'dīef if he saw these fields. Prs

d'bruo cog qo Ysh a kind of wild pear < *hamrautā-, Z amrūt from Prs. amrūd Cf also Brahui ann ōt, Shgh marod, etc

d'būya Yzh, o būa p, ābiy M(g) moraine, aboy m Z rock—Cf Ishk ambol moraine, Sar amūl hill (LSI). Poss < *ham-paisaka. cf. Skr. sampesa- pounding, crushing

acar dine Yzh, oni sh wedge for fastening the ploughshare to the plough Khow achārdīni —V yuvazgo

idā m Yzh, sh, ida, p, ida, idak Z, ıda'ka G slave, īda LSIm, yuda LSIv boy -yo man 'ida this is my slave, 'īda ažīstai a boy is born V idiko, hade.

ī dou m Yzh, g, 10 sh, y10 Mm, g, ī daw i uigah Ysh instantly, hamī sāt, yak sāt — Z, yi'ddu, ya'ddw G fever — Cf Khow lw andau, Wkh andav < *han tapah-, cf Av ham tapta- bot, tafnu- fever

idiko f Yzh, sh, yudike LSI slave girl Cf Psht, Inga female who accompanies a bride < *aindg + \bar{a} < *han takī? V ida

a'damə, v ha'damə

'ādəm Yzh, r, ā'dəm sh, ādəmə g, 'âdam Mm, \bar{o}^0 g, $\hat{a}^{\dagger}dam$ G, \bar{o}^0 Z man, homo — Ysh yo '(h)adam, yēi adame this man, these men, adame xo'san šut the men became happy, ar ādamen O men, no $\bar{a}da^{\dagger}m\partial f$ to the men, ye adame ory konet Yr these men are working, yū ādamen xūben lišč Yu a man saw a dream, vīo yū â'dam, wo 'hâdamen lu 'luydı vī'at Mm there was a man, the man had two daughters mo âdəm, myend âdame Mm, mə â'dəm, myend âdamı Mg — Ar Prs 'afseno Yzh, u, 'yufseuno Mm, 'fsēune g,(g), ti whetstone — $\langle *abi \cdot s\bar{a}n(y)\bar{a} \cdot$, cf. Prs. afsān, Wkh. pisūn, Sgl vasīn, Khow. lw u'sanu

 $af^{1}sinyo$ Yzh, $af^{1}sinyo$ Mti ladder — < *afsıšngā < *afšıšn<math>ga = *upaor *abi-srišnakā? Cf. W. Oss. 'asina, v EVP p 78 sv šəl Note also Tokh klis stair.

af'sirne Yzh, afsəri'ne sh, oərnə r, oənə g summer-wheat - < *upa· (or abi-?) sı dnaka-? V. §§ 127, 165

af toto Yr, af tovaga Mm bucket. Prs 'agidro Yzh, 'agoo sh, r, g, 'aglero Mm, 'agelera t, aglo g, 'aglira (g), oere ti, aglaha G grape.—Cf Shgh, Prs (as spoken by a Yarkand Turk) angūrδ, Prs angurda a single grape Cf § 127

zo uo xoi dārii uo dalem I shall give my medicine at once, žinkiki uo že ašerafīef yu tereft the woman instantly stole one of the gold coins. —Prs $*\bar{u}\cdot g\bar{a}h = \bar{a}n g\bar{a}h$

agi'mīn Yzh, agmīn sh, r, agi'min g, ag'mīn Mm, G, 'agmın Mg, agıbīn B honey (Mm also 'bee' ') -Cf. Phl

angpēn (Frah i Phl angəmēn), Brahui hangumēn, Psht gabīna, Wanechi angin, etc. Not necessarily lw, as supposed by G and Horn svv -Pis *ang bee (v Horn), is supported by Kurd, hang, of Talish bizang (b1z goat) — Transsylv. Gypsy yabjin honev may be an Ir. lw V śāt ag'mīn kur'mīki pl Ysh, agi'men kurmiko g bee V agimin, kurmīko agimin'yex Yzh bee hive V. yexio d'gungy Mm, ə'gunj (g) dough — < *hangaršana-? Cf Psht. ayažel to mix, knead (and Prs yuršnāk a herb used in washing?) V. lavaza, gūyagar Ysh if.—agar kor ke liet, raše if somebody gives you, it is well, agar rīzo vio if he is small, agar da hazār mix yū surx paiso 1981 if you get one copper coin in a thousand days, agar išto (ištvot) ki when he (they) said that Prs o guščo Y, aguškyo Mm, oguškya t, 'əguśkya g, əgiškya (g), o'guśkya tı, dgušk'a Z, $a_yuš'k^ya$ (?) G uguške LSIm finger -- Prs. angušt, etc. Cf. čoromi oguščiko, malane oguščigo. $\bar{a}_{\gamma}d$ - Yzh, r, sh, g, $\bar{a}_{\gamma} \ni st$ zh, r, $\bar{a}_{\gamma} ust$ sh, g, 'ayud 'ayust Mm, 'ao t, ăo Z to put on clothes, to dress oneself $-\bar{a}_{\gamma}dem$ 1 sg , $\bar{a}_{\gamma}de$ 2, 3 sg. Yzh , $\bar{a}_{\gamma}dzf$ estc 2 pl sh, no $\bar{a}_{\gamma} \partial s t \bar{a} n$ inf sh, $z \bar{o} p \partial s t \bar{a} n$ āydəm r, 'āyudem Mm, ayudam, a'vustəm Mt - Cf. Psht āvustəl to dress, E. Oss $a_{\gamma}\bar{u}d$ cover, shell, PhI Turf agust bound, Skr gudh- to conceal, bind (cf Charpentier Act. Or VII, 181) $a_{\gamma}d\bar{a}(w)$ - Yzh, sh, r a_{γ} ·d $\bar{a}vd$ sh. $o\bar{a}ud$ r, avdēvd Z, avdav- LSIy to

dress (caus) $-a_{\gamma}'d\bar{a}um$, $a_{\gamma}'d\bar{a}vd$ am

 $a^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{a}m$ Yp stubble—Khow $A\gamma\bar{a}m$ (Lor) land specially kept for self-sown lucerne grass d'yury Yzh, oo sh, r, g, ən'yūy Mg, (g), ειο t, δ'yurx (sh), ar yūg m, Z, oūk G, orgūh B egg - *ā-gaura-, ef Rosh (Lentz) yur egg, Skr. gola(ka)- ball, glans penis? Cf. the following word d'yurya Yzb, oyake pl sh, o'yūryaka r, a'yōro g, 'yarkyo Mm, okye g serqtum -Cf Sgl yor, Wkh yūr, Shgh. yarīn o'yuzo Yzh, sh, 'oo r, o'yūzo g, 'dyuzo Mm, 'ayuza g, 'oyüza (g), 'ayūzå f Z walnut — * ăgauzā-, cf Prs qūz, Psht yūz, ūyz, ywoz, Talish viz, Maz ayuz, Hebr lw. *ěgöz, etc â'jīz Mm poor — jo hōn â'jīz 'âdam 'vio, bī¹čâra Ar.-Prs u'kâb Mm engle (?) Ar Prs. V. karyəz. a'kābur Ysh old man, a'kâbur Mm rich —yū akābur nīāsto 'yak mū-safīd . ∴, a'kāburen išto the old man said.— Ar Prs akābir pl rich, powerful Also Khow akābir old man a'kade Yzh, sh, or r, or pl g, a'kodry Mm, 'akondı tı, āk'öndı (g) thorn, bramble. -Cf Sgl kandāk. Connection with Skr. kanta- improb V vury-ak'ondi a'kak M(g' groan $au^{\dagger}q\hat{a}t$ Mm, existence, condition – uoao iš giyašky 'quzarān-iš šud' Ar.-Prs. alə Ysh so much (?), əmtarıkār (?) wos ale ken, ke zo na to tat 'now do it in this way, because I am your father (?)', was ale 'ken, muz'dura ken 'ālū Yzh, 'âlū Mm plum Prs olo Yzlı there. — olo da kyei 'd'amū xâna' — Ay avada.

v'lâj Yu remedy, medicine — wos ci

ılāj kenem? Ar -Prs

ālq Mt throat (interior), alqa Z Ar-Prs V. kâyəko, stūya.

a'läno Yzh, sh pomegranate — dukan'dār yurd $y\bar{u}$ a^{o} the shopkeeper took a p, wo ao lio no maraken he gave the man the p $-< \tilde{a}-d\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}$, or *ha-dānā, cf Psht anang (ouolink de Morgan), Afr Psht nangronsa ('p tree'), Waz Psht. wolang, id, habānaē-patā-(v Tavadia, Šāyast-nē Šāyast, p 133) Prs anār, rānā can scarcely be a dialect form < *ăôān Cf Chin tan-žo, acc. to Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 283 fr Ir. *danak i'līr Y, 'Alin Mt, 'āo (g), yi'lar m, oer LSIm belly (exterior) < Av *udara-Cf Sak, ūra-, Psht loras, etc (v KZ, 61, 32 sqq)

ilira Ysh, 'əlero Mg, ti, 'əliro (g) calf of the leg, ilīra B muscle — Cf Wkh iškamba-i-pā, Par s v iškambek-i pāi, and also the Romance forms of Lat ventriculus mentioned by Goldbergei, Glotta, 18, 37

a'larsine Yzh, oent p, larsine sh, o r, g,
'alarsin Mm, 'aliro' t, ti, 'alarsin' (g)
threshold, Yp also footboard of
spinning-wheel. — 'siri, ta'he ao zh
upper, lower th — <*aôara-sayanakalying below? Resemblance with Khow.
Ambircirēnt accidental V yūvirsin
aļ'vān Ysh, in yūr ao žiēm I extinguished
the fire

alvēsta v avlāsto.

alīxa MFB ribs If correct, cf. Sgl wolox ribs.

-m encl pron 1 sg V § 205 m Ysh, Z also — zo m oyīm Prs am'bōγ Yr cowife Prs ambāγ, cf Khow. ΔmbōxčΔn < *ham-bāgā-? Cf NTS, V, 47 am'boh Ysh, r, g, u, oox zh much, many. — yauyo ao the water is deep, ao pūre many sons, ao ayot many came, 'mind ao kya'yī these many houses, ao pežə xap fell much timber, amboh-əni (?) hor kətet they did much work — Khow. amboh fr Prs. ambūh ambu'ro Y, ambu'ro g pincers Prs am'brōz čog'gō Ysh a kind of pear — Khow ambrōz fr Prs. *am(b)rōð, cf "Prs" ambarūd, arbū, xarmul, etc V. dbrūo

'ūmed Yzh, sh, umēd G hope Prs umīd'vāro Yzh, umīd'vār sh, imīd'võr r pregnant Prs V vəzexo

imo'yō Yzh, umo sh, 'yımayâ Mt, (g) linseed, transl zayīr (prob. brassıca campestris, cf Vavilov, Agricult Afghanistan, p. 114)

imo'ro Y, i'mōro u, 'yumago Mm, imaye' ka t, i'maraka (g), yu'marika g, yimayeka ti, yu'magā f Z, yuma'ga G, oega LSIm moon — Cf. Wkh žə'mak, Sgl wulmēk, Psht uūngiē, gumakai, etc, Kurd hīw(*ušm-) — < *uxš-māh·(kā)-(not *uxšya-, v Benveniste, JA, 1930, cf Moigenstierne NTS, III, 298). Psht wažmai, Sogd wxšym'x < *waxš(y)a-

d'muno Yzh, sh, r, ono g, a'mun u, 'amıng'vo Mm, oa g, 'āmıng'va (g), amın'ıg'a Z, amın'ga G, MFB apple, (Yu apple-tree?) — žə a'mun vo gəl āvər Yu 'bring the flower from the apple tree' Cf Sgl mier, Wkh mur, and v EVP s.v mana

i'mär- imur Yzh, sh, yumar- Mm, t, yūmra B to count — i'mārem Yzh, ima'rem sh, 'yumarem Mm, yu'maram t — Av pres. hišmar- (mar-)

u'mār (l) Ysh number. V u'mar-

am'sāyo Yr, oyaqa Mm neighhour — Prs V gram'bεšu

a'maxno Yzh, 2 sh, 'amaxna M(g) sloe.

— *ămarnaxā demm of â'muno?

Cf Psht mānū V, § 96

âl'no Mm, oa G mirror Prs V šišoyo
'īno Y. B, '(y)īna Mt, 'yīno m, ot g,
oa (g), oe ti, oa Z, o'a G blood —
Cf Sgl wēn, Wkh wuxen, Psht
wīne, etc V Henning, ZII, 9, 226 sq
(*vohún-> *vhūn-> vīn- etc??)

ind Yzh, r so much, ikada — mox ind orγ ker im Yr we have done so much work. — Cf mind V § 210

an'diša M(g) thought. — Prs V diš. an'jām Ysh dress — Khow (from Ir, of Prs jāma)

a'nīmef Ysh half (adv) — αο suwār šut vəl'yō, aο šut 'sāro one half of the horsemen rode upwards, the other half rode downwards From nīm

anâr Mm, anār LSIm pomegranate. — Prs V a'lano

anuv-Yzh, sh to bellow — yavo a'nuve zh, yawo a'nuvo sh — Cf Skr. ā-nu to roar towards?

a'naxno Yzh, °ə sh, °xənə r, °xən g nail.

— Prs nāxun, etc, but why a-?

V § 96 Cf nâxun

an'ga(h) Yzh, r, g awake — ao šom zh, an'gāhi u, yon awaken (them), žo 'xōvən anga šuyəm r — Khow angah, angā, from Ir, cf Wkh, Sar (Sh) agah, agâh fr Prs Cf bivāre angahu— angahavd— Yzh, angāh— u to

awaken (trans) — an'gāhi r 3 sg, anga'hum, angahavdum zh — Khow angahaw.

ingut Yzh halter, headstall of a horse — Khow.

a'pîr Yzh, sh, Mm, 'apĭı Z before, ın

front of — ' $n\bar{a}$ -mən da' $p\bar{v}r$ Yzh 1n front of me, $d\bar{s}$ $t\bar{v}$ a^o astet sh, ustār no maraken da a^o sh he rose in front of the man, $p\bar{e}\bar{s}$ -i \bar{u} . — Doubtful whether with Z < Av. pairi (not pairi- or para-), or < paoriya- in a local sense. V $skap\bar{v}r$

ar¹bāb Yzh headman of a village —
Ar Prs arbāb lords, used as a sg.
also in Taj (Semenov, Mater II,
44). V. čārwəl

'ârico Mm, t shrub with eatable berries, strawberries(?) — Scarcely < *ārincā, (cf Brahui ārcin 'wild almond', Prs arjan, etc)

'ārda Yzh floor — Khow. (Lor) Arda middle part of a room (But Kurd ard floor < Ar.)

Irγo¹yo Yzh, sh, uo r, yuo g, yır¹yaγa Mm, ogo m, ιτ¹γaga Z lucerne, riška — *uγarahā- (?), ef Sgl. yurūk, Shgh γοτǯ, etc (v Z s v)

a'raq Mg, m, Z, G perspiration. — Ar-Prs Cf, xul

a'raq Yzh a kınd of wine, made in Shoghor, a'rak sh fruit-juice — Ar -Prs

d'runyo Yzh, sh, o'runyo r, g light, brightness, Arungo B light, Arūnwo B lightning — *ā rauxšnakā- Cf. ru'šān

ar'ra Mm, Z saw. — Prs Cf. ḡr
ara'rōγ Yzh, 'yōruγa M(g) eructation —
ao kenem = Khow. āra'rōγ koman
The Khow word with redupl. from
Ir, cf Prs ārōγ, Sgl arək, Sar rēγ
V. EVP s,v arža;

ârusō Mm, d'rūs Z bride — Ar.-Prs Cf šābuk

aršə¹mın Yzh, sh barley bread V.
arzəmın, köskən, yadmın, maymun
and yeršıo

urw- urwai Yzh, sh, wurw- r, wurw wur'uōi M(g), wurv- Z, ūrv- G to be hoiling (Z caus wurvōn, wurvōv-)— yduyo ur'wai Yzh, yauyo wurwāi r, ur'uo sh, yduyo urwai vīo (pluperf), wos axleno šūi zh — Cf Sgl wāiv-, Sar wāiau-, Shgh wūrv (v N Shgh s v), Par yarw- < *warb- < *baiw- u'rīz u'rīzd Yzh, r to spread manure, pārura parišān mēkinam — u'rīzem, ozdem zh, oam r — < *awa- (or wi-) iazaya-, ef Av raz-

ur'zu- ur'zā- Yzh, wurzeyevd M(g) to stretch the arm — ur'zum, ur'zām Yzh, wurzeyevdum M(g) V urzuy 'urzŭy Yzh, hurzŭy sh, g, ur'zūy r, 'uryug (!) u, 'urzug Mm, oəy g, uurzəy (g), o'zəg G, wurzug Z, hūrzūh B right, straight, true — wurzəx herem M(g) I straightened, do 'urjug (ēəp) suv'dō Yu on the right (left; shoulder — < Av ərəzu-, not with G < *wj z- Cf Khow horsk id fr. Ir *urz(u)k. Not with Benveniste (JA, 223, 227) (w)urzug < *vi-răzaram — Sogd wrzrw

arzəmin Yzh, sh millet bread Cf. Prs arzanin V arsəmin and yürzon. arziz Yzh, r, g lead — Prs

are yevde Yzh wood carving — Proh from the past ptc of a caus verb. —

From Khow ??

as- Y, M, Z, G āyōn Y, M, ayəy Z, a'yây G to come — 'asem, as, a'yom Yzh, asəm, as, a'səf, ă'yōm, ăy(w)ōn, kəla ayoyıt? when did you come? na kōy āyōnt? whom did you come for? ă'yōt čpāc they came back Ysh, as, ă'yōm r, ā'ywōm g, etc, hasum ā'yēyam, ayoı, āyōīt Mm, asam, 'āyoyam t, aywaı LSIy — *ā-is-

* \bar{a} -gata-, cf Sgl. 18- $\bar{a}\gamma ad$ — Cf Tedesco, BSL, 25, 53

s yān Yzh, sh, yis yây Mm, yīs yây G, (y)īs yōy Z to carry (an inanimate thing) — i'sim Yzh, isəm sh, 'yisam Mm, i'sa imper 2 sg Ysh, 'yāim Yzh, sh, yāi sh, 'yâyam Mm — 'tu wum i sa no'mən 'kyēyin Ysh take this to my house, wo dārū yāt Ysh they took away the medicine. — Cf Yazgh ayasayed, Shgh yâs yâd, Ishk usswud, ctc to take away, Psht yōs to cariy, Av yāsa (Meillet, BSL, 24, 116)

as'kān Yzh, sh, B easy Khow as'qān, fr Ar-Prs. isqān giving repose, cf Kurd askān ease Cf â'sûn

a'sāl Yzh, sh, a'sâl Mm, t, yım'sâl G
this year. — Cf Sgl. a'sāl, Shgh
asīld, Par âsur, Orm asul etc. <
ā-s(a)rda- yımsâl < *ıma-

as'mīno Yzh, r, u, ono sh, g, 'asmuno Mm, as'mūna f. Z, asmā'na G (lw) sky, heaven—na as'mīne, da asmīno Prob ancient lw — V pasmīno

a san Mm easy. — Pra V as kān

'aspəlan Yzh, sh, r stable — < *aspadāna, cf Av aspastāna. V axta'xâna

ast- vī Y, M to be — Y in all persons

as'tet (v. § 224' mən yū kətyū astet

l have a hook, mun yū wulo astet,
kõi ste who are you? (?)

as'tīo Yzh, 'ástiah' B abuse — ao kə'nem I abuse (Khow, diš lū koman)

ustāda Yzh, sh, uo g spider — Prs ustād is not used in this sense, hut cf. Par Voc s vv dīwu'iūk, jo'lāk, ya'fak, Skold, Materialien, s v džalo k Cf ustāt V dorzkuiyūz, zarīškyo as'tano Yzh, sh vestibule — Prs āsītān(a) ne tuše ustušeai Yzh, sh. ustušėah B
to jump — us'tušėam us'tušėam zh. ustušėam ustušėam sh — uštušė. is .
prob originally the past stem of *ustur-, from which Khow uštur'to flee, run'

us tāt Ysh, ustâd G carpenter -- Pis. Cf. ustada

us xūbon Yzh awake. — ¹us + uūbon V angah, bidār

-vš encl pron 3 sg. V § 205

āš M(g) porridge. — Prs. āš

aščo Yzh, 'ā p, čš čč sh, r, g, oš kuo Mm, g, a sh, °a (sh), °ē t, 'ūškva g, aš'kva G, d° Z, āškie LSIm eight.— Av ašta

18 diy Y, os'kiy Mth. 95° t, g, yeskig m. yes'kig G, °ik Z roof. — da 1867y Y2h under the roof — < *uséa-kataka-, of Sgl kiskut, Wkh 18kakut, Yazgh s²kād</p>

aščo-miž Yzh week. - Cf Bajni wař měð (Skold), but Shgh ūv'mēð. Sogd '\$tmy\delta V miž.

K'cīn Yzh, °in(2) r, ·m² eh, ščīna g, yiškyuna Mm, 'iškyīn g, yi ti, skyīno (g), eshvīn t, līš'hyūn G female breast — Av fštāna-, Kurd. fstān, ef. Meillet, BSL, 23, 106, Benveniste, MSL, 23, 405. V. pīstan

uš čeno Yzh, wuškyeno Mm place for keeping hay and straw (jāi ki kā mendāzī) — Cf. Sgl uštīn hayrack, Or wūž tūn < *wastra dānă-

ušk Yzh, g, wušk sh, r, Mm, G, Z, wu Mg dry. — Av. huška-

ušk-mažiko Yzh ankle-bone — Numerous Ir and IA names of hard and pro truding parts of the body are compounded with a word denoting 'dry' 'thirsty', 'tinder', etc Thus, eg

Bal uišk hadd, Badakhshi kåk-i-på, Khow. cuçu'dēki, Lhd. sukrand 'shin bone', M šâxek-i sar temples; Prs xušk nāy throat, windpipe, etc, etc V viuškiostia

ušk'sāl Yzh year of drought, sāl ki baif na kard — Prs xušk sāl

u šun- uši'nāi Yzh to neigh — yasp u'šunc.

ašera fī Ysh gold com — sko yū ašīra fεn, žə ašerafīəf. — Ar -Prs

a šasto Yzh, 'ašosti pl M(g) small shrub with red berries resembling grapes uštum B voice. — Ace to Tomaschek p. 200' < Av. staoman, but pioli misunderstood for ištum I said

'uštu Yzh, "ū B brick. — Khow
ušt'(y)ār Yzh, hu° sh, ušyâr Mm wise
— Prs

u'šāv u'šavd Yzh, u čăw u'šavd sh, 1.
u'šav u'šavd Mm, wu'šōw (g), ūšāwG. uŭšōw 'wūšēvd Z to call, shout— u'šāum, u'šavdum Yzh, u'šawam, u šaudam r 'faryād mēkunım'; wo mən 'pūrəf u'šāwa sh call my sons, uo pūrəf u avdet sh they called the son— < Av *us sıavaya, cf. Orosh žōy to rend, Yazgh. ažaw, Psht zōwul (q v.) to tench, show (cf. Kashm. hāwun 1d.', Prs surūdan to sing, etc Cf. Wkh širaw.

u šān-əm u šad-əm Yzh to churn — Cf firšūn- to shake

etr le Yzh, 'ele sh porndge, āš. —
Evidently an IA lw, but no direct
corresponding form in Khow or else
where Is Prs atāla 'a kind of
porridge' also of IA origin'

'avda Mg, (g, ab'da (sh) seventeen —
Prs

ovd, oud Mg, g ford - *ā-bda- place

where one can place the foot? Cf Wkh. vədeh 'path' < *ābda-? Mekr Bal badūk 'beach impassable at high tide', Av abda- (v. s v)

'avdo, 'ā° p, av'dō sh, r, ā° g, ov'dŏ Mm, g,
°a sh, G, °a M, (sh), °ā t, 'ōvdэ (g),
°a Z, seven — Av hapta, etc

av'yuš Yzh, sh, u, 'yırguš Z embrace, lap — žīo da avyuš, do 'v'yuš he put in his lap — Cf Sogd 'pkšy 'flane' (Benveniste), Shgh bežuž armpit < 'upa-kaša-, or *upa qauša- (cf EVP s v. ¬ēž, etc)?

a'veli Yzh, ă'belī sh, abcli B, 'aveliyi, etc, Z both — uvī ā° žvī lāmo viet Ysh they were both from one village, no a° pūrif to both sons — Av uvaya- (avaya-) + dva- (duye?)

av'lānd Yg hem of a cloak — *upadāmanta-? Cf lömadā.

av'lăsto Yzh, sh, 'alvosto Mm, 'ös'ta f Z sleeve — *upa dastā, cf Or (Lentz) abdöst leather glove

āver- āver Yzh, sh, g, 'āver- 'āver Mm, $\bar{a}var = Z_1 \quad \bar{a}^{\dagger}var - G$ to bring (manimate obj.). — āvə rum Yzh, ošti-va avoram Mt I bring something, avit Yzh, sh he brings, va curwakaf avar Yu bring the apricots, amboh māl arāl Ysh bring much goods, tārazū a'vre Ysh bing the scales, avium Ysh, a'vər no xoi kyēin Ysh she brought it to her own house, wo māləf a'vret (a'vret) Ysh they brought the goods, avreyom Yr I have brought, a'vre Ysh he has brought - Av ā-bar-, ef Sgl āwīr-, Shgh vār- (a)vūd, Sogd "βr-, Orm uar-. a'vaz- a'vazd Yzh, sh, a'vezd u, ā'vāzum Mm, avoz- avezd Z to bring (animate obj), to fetch - zo 'yanco a'vāzəm, a'razdım Yzh, yau-a'razəm sh, niaske a'razən sh I yawn, 'uulo avazəm, a'rāzdo sh, wo mən 'šife 'c'arazī ā? why don't you fetch my husband? arīzd zh he brings, a'rāz imper 2 sg, a'vāze 2 pl., wu'lo a'vezdəm u, gala'vānen pānj 'uule a'vezdo sh — Av upa-az-, but Psht. bōz- (bōtləl) to lead away, Shgh. bâz-, Or abōz- to send (away) < *apa-az-av'zano Yzh, sh, 'ano p, 'yıvzano Mm

v'zano Yzh, sh, oāno p, 'yıvzano Mr wooden ladle < *upa zāwanā?

avizaniko Yzh small wooden ladle

av'zıno Yzh, sh first watering of the fields, xākāva — Av *upa-zayanā-following the winter (cf. Av upa-naxtar-), cf Yazgh. zīn winter (Skold) V 'livde, 'xōkova

aw'lān Yzh, sh, r, av'lānd g (? et avlānd),
avlān B single bridle — Cf Psht mlūna, wlīna, Wan aulūn, Sar. viðān,
Yazgh avðēn, Kurd zwāna (Soane),
Sak vyāna-, Sogd βδ"nh (Benv JA,
233, p. 241), Oss uido'n, Av. °aiwiðāna- Cf. Wackernagel KZ, 43,
p. 282 V. lo'jōm, qiza'gē

a'warxo Yzh flame -- With dissim fi *anuărxo, cf Av wivāxra-(*irāxra-) heat?

d'uusp Yzh, sh, a° Mm, a'ūsp Yg, vuus'to (?) r, a'uusp Mm ploughbenm — Cf Sgl āwusp, Wkh. uəšp — Cf. Av (upairi-) spā- to place at the top of?

a'uusto Yzh, đw° sh, ŏ° r, g, 'awusto Mm, °a t, °a (g) dark-leaved willow — With wu < vu, fr *ā-paustā- having bark °99

a'wāz Yzh noise — yaugo ha'uāz kīt the stream is roaring, awāza kīt (the trees) are soughing — Prs oue zōn Mg hanging — o° kerim — Prs. a'ivāž-im a'ivajd-əm Yzh to hang up — a'ivīžd 3 sg — Prob < *awa-hanj, ef Old Prs. fra-hang- (v. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ årsskrift, 1934, 2, p 50 and Henning, ZII, 9, p 198), Prs. āwang(ān) hanging, etc The relation to Prs. āwēz-, āwēxtan is uncertain, but this form may be a cross between *ā-waič- and *awa-hanj-tiō Yzh, r. 'ixoo sh, 'yixa M, t, ti,

*Yzh, r, ''xoo sh, 'yxxa M, t, ti, 'o m, 'a (g), 'yexa g, LSIm, 'vxa Z, yy'xa G, yxxo B, yaxva MFB (*sy* - *yvxoh*) sister (I cannot trace the source of G's Y form yxxwâh) — Poss < *yaxwā (cf Sgl yz'xōai, Shgh yax) < *(h)ahwā < *hwahā xxoo Yzh 'xzōoo sh 'yēo g hushand's trace Yzh 'zzōoo Yzh 'zzōoo sh 'yēo g hushand's

ixčogo Yzh, 'ixčago sh, 'yē° g husband's brother's wife, g also co wife — Fr *xwahiči + o and secondary suffix -yo² V. yana, yū·wulo

iuko Yzh, yiwigo g sister (demin '''''''''

ar len Yzh, 'on r, eno (f') g, yax lon sh, 'len Mm, 'yrxolen g cold — yduyo urwar vio, uos axleno sūr Yzh the water had been boiling, now it became cold — *arva dāna, ef Prs yax, etc'

a'rrio Y. 'i pl p, ārria Mg, 'arrigo t, axrikyo m wild lose, briar, Khow gilgitok — Cf Or a'xar, Shgh Skold xar id (but note x'), Khow xu'rī (lw.) wild rose, Prs xār thorn, Skr. khai a rough, thorny plant V axrī-gula

 $a \times \bar{u}i$ Yzh, sh, r, ui g, $\hat{a} \times \bar{u}i$ Mm, \bar{o}° ti l manger — P15

a xrī-gula Yzh wild iose (flower, axrīku'luxa finit of the briar, hip — V axrīo, kroa

oue zon Mg hanging - o° kerim - Prs. ; axe'rat Yu in the end, finally - da a° a'inazon a'inazon Ar-Prs

" ux'\$ δ Y, °\$ δ p, ox'\$ δ Mm, g, °a sh, °a (sh), ux'\$ δ (g), ox'\$ δ t, δ X'\$a Z, δ X\$a LSIm six. — ux\$a mix Ysh — Av x\$a\$a\$a\$ Cf §§ 94, 168

ax'sın Yzh, °en sh, r, °ən g, āksın B blue. — Av axsaēna. V kabūt ax'sen sı're m. Yzh, ax'sõ sere sh a kınd

of large duck.

axšēw axšēvd Z to chew — Z compares Ishk šāu. Wkh šuw. cf. also Prs xasāidan to chew, xašānīdan to bite

axta'xâna Mm stable — Prs (also m
 Wkh. and Shgh), from ăxta gelded,
 bnll, horse — V aspolan

iya B perhaps — Originally an optative 3 sg of the verb substantive?

oy-, šūi, š- Y, dy · šūi, šī- Mm, t, dyšvy Z, ây- G to go, to become, Z also to come - 'oyım, oyıım, o'im Yzh, sh, oi(h), oih Y imper, som, šūi Y, dyom, hdi, šīam, šui Mm, t, uos do sūv oyəm Yr 'ālī da kūča mērim', zo sa'bā o'īm g I shall go to morrow, $ku \ \tilde{v}\bar{\iota}$ u where do you go də kyor ayum, za da sāharo dyum Mm Cf §§ 85, 229 sq — oy- from *ayaya- or $\tilde{a} + ayaya$ -), a secondary aya- present of the root ar- to go, cf. Pai žē to come. Scarcely fr *ā-hat- (cf Yazgh, bad to go < *upahat-), and not, with G, borrowed from Prs V šūi

ize Yzh, i'ze sh. 'yiya Mm, 'iyyo g,
'yizio ti, 'iyiya Z goatskin bag used
for earrying sour milk in, mašk —
*iziyaka-. ef Orm iz 'mussuck', (Bal
hiz leather churn) V EVP s v žai,
and ef Psht, Bal zih skin for ghee

âzâda pə'lang Mm a kind of leopard —
*Prs.

viziko Ysh, zh yester eve, bêgā — Cf Samn izi, Wkh yez, etc., cf Iforn, s v. dī

12'mă Yzh, sh, g, 12'ma r, 'yızma Mm, 'yazmo tı, yīz'ma G, 'Izo Z (m) firewood. — Cf. Av. aēsma-, Prs hēzum, etc.

ziāne, v ziāne

a zör, v. hazār.

a'zīto Y, 'a° Mm, 'āzīta (g) Berberis chitria Prs zaryūl, zarang, zārij, Khow čowež (cōwinj jungle plant with red, useless finit, Lor) — *ā-zarītā, v zīt

a'zuzγo Yzh, sh, o° g, o'j° r, 'njizγa Mt,
'nu° (sh), g, wu'jīzγa (g', 'wujuzgo m,
'wuγzəga f Z, °ē'ga G frog —
wuγzəga < "wuzγago < Av vazaγa+ kā- Cf. eg Gılakı (de Morgan
"γuzγā ("rhouz·nhā", but Mazand
(Barfrush) 'vāk" < Old Prs "waδaγaka-

iž m, Y, Mt, Z, B, yiž Mm, g, (g), yiš (?) (sh) snake. — Av. aži·, cf Maz ažik 'ver de terre' (de Morgan)

'ažda Mg, (g), °'da (sh) eighteen. — Prs. až'dei Yu dragon — Prs (similar forms in Khow, Bur and Shina)

až'γāl Y, zh, sh, a'zga'l B family də a° 'xabar češ ε' Ysh have you no news about your family? — Khow. až'γāl

a'zəp Ysh wonderful, ağıb — Ar-Prs u zer. uzur Yzh, sh, uzar- uzu r, uzar- M(g), uzyān (w)u'zın m, wuzar- unzın Z, ūzar- G, u uzer LSIm to perceive, to look. — uzer em este Ysh I am looking, uzu'ram, u zar r, imper 2 sg, uzūr hə yū kyei 'huro astet Ysh

he saw that there was a house there, žinkiko wižių 'yū mix, loh mix sh the woman looked out for him for one day, for two days, wuižir do kyoi ko joihon rūpa'yo Mm he saw that there was much gold in the house—*ui-(*awa-?)&ar-(cf. Prs nigarīdan ctc) or *-jar- (cf. Yaghn yār to regard, look)? Psht gōrol may go back either to *han-kāi- or to *han-gāi-

d'žuryo Yzh, o'j' r, džurž'yo sh, ož'yurya M(g) burning coal, ember, quitb ? murda ki šud - Apparently fr *ă-zgaur., *ă-gžaur., cf Wkh žagung 'ažistai Yzh, p äžis'tai sh is born, a'jīsta B to be born - azīst-este is being born, Khow ažuran, olo dat kvei ida ažistai Yzh there, in that house a boy is being born - Khow; note the remarkable retention of the Khow inflexional form, Cf § 231 a'žawuy (?) Ysh to bear a child a'žawuye-m tū you are bearing me, tu mara paidā mēkunī — Khow lūžut Yzh, ūlžut sh, ūjut B, wajud LSIy belly (interior) - Khow 'ujjut, 'vjut the privates

B

ba Ysh in — In the Prs formulas ba nām-e Xadā, ba hokm e Xadāyen. — Prs

bai Yzh, g, B, LSly, bōi Mm, (g), bāi LSIm uncle, tara — Cf Shgh bâb, Wkh bɔō, ete

bār Yzh rich — Turk

bū Yzh, sh, r, g, 'bīu Mm, g, būm Z owl — Pis būm, būf; also Khow bū. būi Y, Z, G smell — Prs būr'qən Mm stinking — Prs *būy-i gand bu'buha Yzh, cūh g, 'babūa a hlack and white bird, Khow bu'buk — Cf.
Prs bōbak hoopoo, pewit, Wkh. bībuk cuckoo

 $bi^{\dagger}\bar{a}ban$ Yu desert. — In the Prs formula b° bar b° — Prs

bo'bure Yzh, '2 sh, r, o g wasp, 'babar M (sh), 'bao' g, 'be ber (g), 'bambur m humhle-hee. — Prob. fr. Khow b'ūmbur V surx-bobure

bi bāt Yu windless (in Pis formula, bī câra Mm helpless, destitute. — Prs. bici rön- bici rēnd M(g, to graze. — Prs, ef Sgl becarān- and Z bipēcon- to twist, bispor- to entiust and other lws with generalization of Prs. bi- V badaway-

bu'çayı, °u'i Yzh, a'i sh bud, flower. — Khow bučü blossom 'O'Brien), bučhušik to flower.

båd Mm afterwards, after — b° žo wan 'båd az ū, bāda hasum 'bād mēāyam', bād māst. — A1 Prs

bod Ysh, bot g, B closed — Early lw.
fr. Prs. But cf Khow botik to bind
bo'da Yzh dyke, dam, ankle-bone, bond
Mg ankle-bone, banda m knuckle —
Prs band. Cf bot, troboda

bā'dām Yzh, ba sh, bō'dōm r, bā'dâm
 Mm almond — Prs

bod'rm Yzh, rı g, bad'rūī r ugly, bad.
— Prs.

ba'dar Mm off, away - b° šui he went off - Prs. ba dai

bi dâr Mm awake. — Prs. V bivāre bə daway-am Mm, bidaw- bidawōy Z to rnn — Prs. V yāz-

bē'gāna Yzh foreign, strange. — Prs 'baya Yzh, bāya sh, u, B, bây Mm, G garden — $d \rightarrow b\bar{a}\gamma a$ sũ, hư rõ da bãya Yu, 'bã γa kə' γet sh they made a garden, $d \rightarrow b\tilde{a}\gamma$ da dram e-oi Yu don't enter the garden — Prs

'bayake (pl ?) Ysh a small garden. bayake šūi (sg.) there had grown up a garden (gardens?)

ba'yale Yzh walnut-shell

buy'moz Yzh, bo° sh grape-juice, bōymaz B wine — Cf Prs bigmāz wine, ba° drinking glass.

bayaz Yr bellowing, bleating — yawo, vəzo b° kāt-əste. — Cf. Z bey- to bellow, Ishk bay- etc, Khow. blay-, Sgl ba'yas Cf § 193.

boh Ysh much, very. — boh ti'pī dau'let very great riches — Khow.

boh-um Yzh bohay-em r, bōy- bōy Z,
bahāi LSIm to kıss — Cf Sgl boh,
Khow bā, bah, Bur ba, Wkh. bā,
etc

bo'hor Mg, m, ba'hōr Z spring (season')
— Prs — V fsidro.

bīhu'šī Yu fainting — dā'rū-i b° a remedy against f — Prs

'bâja Mm wife's sister's husband, je g brother's wife '?) — Cf Sgl. bō'jā Kab. Prs. < Turk.?)</p>

bǐ'aqəl Yzh, sh, ʻql u, bēaql Z stupid — bo žiykiko u — Ar-Prs

bakın'ıla Yzh, °ənda g, °ēnd 1, narba'kend sh male calf, 1—2 y old.— IA; Cf Sgl. baken'dī, Gawar Batı bākenda etc Not known from Khow.

— V ju'âna

 $b\tilde{\imath}l$ Yzh, sh, $b\bar{\imath}l$ g spade — Prs.

'bol Ysh the Pleiades — Khow (orig "The Host, Army", cf eg Hind Kacpaciyā kacpac 'erowd', etc).

bilčo Yzh, p small spade, especially one used for roasting upon — Prs.

bailbydo Yr female cousin - V bai, luydo ballyam Yah mucus from the month, phlegm — Ar ·Prs, cf Sgl ballyām V nez'vo

baliko Yzh olko sh, bolika r, boliko Mm hammer — Cf Khow baloka, balka, Sgl bala kā, Par bâlukā, fr Turki bolga

ballulo Mm the mouthpiece of a blacksmith's bellows (9), kūra (cf Prs kūr a smith s forge?).

briland Yzh, oand sh, r, g, Mm, (g), bolland Z, G high, tall - johand bo as'tet Yr he is very tall - Prs

bilâr. G to love -?

billəxša Yzh, blax° sh n of a wild vegetable, growing in the hills, sauza - Cf Bad. Pis (Lor) bilaxša thin? blaca-um Yzh to collect — Khow blaceiman, imper blacawe

bam'boli Yp beard of the maize-cob -Said to be a Khow word Acc to Lor $bambe\delta i$ $(\delta = 1)$ is of uncertain , meaning, but possibly refers to crop-Cf Psht bambal 'heard of ' bulrin' Mm, boo G, bro Z husked rice plants corn' from Lhd

bām-se zio Ysh u of a shrub V se ziyo bande Y slave. — banda-ı xākī buman being; tu Xadāyen bo češy-a? art thou not God's slave? - Prs

banda'wā banda'wŏvd-Yzh, r, banda'vā ovovd sh to command. - Khow bandērman

ba'nafšo Yzh, sh violet (flower) - Prs banj Yzh, Mm, bānj M(g), bānš Yg holly oak - Khow bānj

bi nās Ysh copious, complete — dau'let, pu'sāk, na'yen bo šūr 'pur šud'

ban'dux Yzh, p, ban'dux sh hollow in a large stone used as a hand-mill (for pounding rice in, 2h) - IA?

bandux-'čuro Yp wooden apparatus for pounding gun powder

bai pur Yzli, sh male cousin. V bai Cf vrai(min)

In Prs formula šahar bar bar Yu on šahar, etc - Pis

bar!bād Yu desolate waste — Prs ba'rābar Ysh equal, similar — də tō bo like you, $y\bar{u}$ b° alike, b° δi $n\rho_{\gamma}^{n}$ or it was not equal (in weight) -Pis

ba'rābai všovo Ysh, kšowo bo B midnight Cf Shgh, baråbar 'xāb (Skold' barg Mm, ti, Z, G leaf - Prs V, ponik braziko Yzh, g, brao sh. i, Mm, brāzika g, $b^{3'}$ a° f Z sparrow - < mray <*mrg. (v BSOS, VI 440) Cf Sgl mอา _วอิg

bary Mm, g lightning - Ai -Prs \velmo

'bārik Yzh, bâ'rīk G, bō° Z thin. — Ar -Prs

bâ rân Mm, g, G, bō rōn Mti, Z rain — Prs V warryo, nove

Pis V garānj

brût M(g) moustache - Prs V verut braka um Yzh to knock braxē ıman

bar'zenge Yn demon, dew - hu'rō do baya bar'zənge no'yor an ogre enterged there into the garden - Cf Or (Lentz) barzaniga

burž Yu tower (?), zh coincr of a house, čār buiš B four-cornered — rūyun da burž deh Yu pour ghee over the tower - Prs burj tower, ef Shgh burj wall (Skold)

boriko Yp small, round basket made of thick twigs (v Fig) - Of Khow beļu, būļu reed (pipe) (Lor)?

bār. bary Yzh. bar- g. bar- bary- r. bâr- Mm, bary LSIy to be satisfied, barav- LSIm to fill, satisfy -- Cf Av ham par-, Sak. hambada filled, Prs. ambārīdan to fil! r from past stem, cf § 227 brok Yzh. sh. g knuckle, hipbone, brōk sh

brok Yzh, sh, g knuckle, hipbone, brök sh bud — da piščan b° g — Khow blöy, blök bud

bos kan- Yzh to weep (??)

bist Mm, t, ti, (sh), bist g twenty — Prs
V wisto

bastiko Yzh shearers — *ham-basta-, cf. Skr sambaddha- joined, bound together (Prs ambast(a) bound, stiff, etc)?

baš Ysh, u, LSIy a particle giving the verb a subjunctive force Khow V § 256.

'bāša Yg, bā'šo Mm falcon. — Prs
bu'šā·um bu šavd o Yzh to win, to be
victorious — Khow bə'šēiman
bū'ţo Ysh boots — bū'ţə (pl?) lī o —
Engl (through Hind, Khow)
bi'vāre Yg awake — b° šom — Prs,
but older borrowing than bi'dār, q v

Cf. angah, usxūbun buwo Yr, °aya Mg, °o'yo m widow — Prs V wā'sərwo

bāwar Yzh belief, trust — b° kenem — Prs

bu'xōn- bıxēd Z to read. — Prs boxš Yzh dividing, distribution -Prs ? Cf

baxš-im 'bayd-em and bax'šī m Yzh to distribute food at a feast, baxš-əm bayd-əm sh, 'boxš-am loyd-əm Mm, t, bayd LSIy to divide, distribute. — tāam bayd sh he distributed the food — Prs, or genuine < *ham-baxš-baxšiyo Yzh, in yduyo b° a stream di-

vided into many rivulets — Perf of $bax\bar{s}$ - Cf. Khow $b\bar{a}^{\bar{s}}$, $ba\bar{s}\bar{\sigma}_{\gamma}$ minor channel of a river < Ir

būz Mm female markhor — Prs. Cf Wkh buz f ibex

 $ba^{i}z\bar{a}r$ Ysh, $b\bar{o}^{i}z\bar{o}r$ Z bazar. — $do\ b^{\circ}$ in the b; $ya\bar{\imath}$ no $b\sigma z\bar{a}r\varepsilon n$ he brought it to the b — Prs

 $b0^{i}\bar{z}a\bar{i}$ Yzh, $b\bar{v}^{i}\bar{z}\bar{e}i$ sh bag, sack — do $y\bar{u}$ b° , $y\bar{u}$ b° $a\bar{s}\bar{r}af\bar{\imath}$ sh one bag full of gold coms — Cf Psht $b\bar{v}\bar{j}a\bar{\imath}$ from IA (cf. Hind bojh load?)

C

ce Yzh, sh, ci u B what? - na maf ce zarūr sh what need is there for you? wos ci ilāj kenem u what remedy shall I use now? — Cf. Psht co. Sgl ce what, Wkh co-waxt, Shgh ca-waxte when < Av čit (used as an indefinite particle) Cf cə'mīn. ccb-um cebāi-m Yzh, cəb um cəlbai r, cob-um covd am Mm, Z, c'eb-um Mt to pinch (eg with the fingers), gazīdan — Ir *čimb/p- (cf Wkh cip- to pick?), or fr. IA, of Nep cepnu to press, squeeze, cimtanu to pinch (v Nep Dict s.v v), Kshm cipin pinching? V cipio

cı'gyere Yzh mushroom, Khow brangālu — V xarpušt

c³kən Ysh, r, ckən g, shən Mg, skın (g), shun m, s³kən Z puppy — Cf. Wkh seken, skən, Sgl ³skənok and v Z s v. and Tomaschek, p 761, who compares Slav *šteno (Russ ščenok, etc) < *sk° (of Asiatic origin?) Y c appears to be secondary Cf. the foll word

c³ke¹na Yzh, ck³¹na g, ck³¹nake (pl?) sh puppy.

calan'dus c Yzh window — From Khow | calax'dus i id , crossed with caren'das u | door frame

ce min Yzh what? — c trīk astet? 'ci čīz aste' c° žūi? what do you say' -- Cf ce and min

cepto Yzh, ce sh pincers foi pulling out hair — Cf ceb v müi-čino

c) pō-um Yzh to wink — camaf c².
c') a'ū Yzh, 'ō'ū sh. r, g, c''roug Mm
c''rou; g, 'Əu; (g) male markhor,
''trowoo' B wild gont — Prob borr
troin Kafiri, of Waigeli cōu <*crōw(?),
Kati šu'iu, etc

v²roug v³zo Mm female markhor – V 'mažo₂o and būz

co'rox Yzh, cu'roydo (perf ptc', g spark
— Common Hindukush word, ef
Khow co'rox, Wkh, Wershik ce'rax,
lshk ceraxah, Sgl čeryazok, but also
Oss ca war

cato'yo Yzh, sa t' r bustard ? (kabūtar rang, kā mēaura, halāl ast) Pis čarda — čarda not in Pis. lexx, but v Burhān ud-Dīn, Каттаган н Бадахшан р 122 عردة pheasant, and ef Prs čarz, čāl bustard, partridge 'čarda a bay horse, etc., čarad bay colour < *gel-to-? Cf. Walde—Pok. I, 440 sq) Cf Psht cārai 'bustard' ces Ysh what? — V. § 210

Č

căi Yzh tea. — c səm drink tea — Prs. cai-m caid-əm Yzh, coi-m M(g) to sprinkle, coy- cey- Z to sow, scatter — < *haca-hāy-?

i, ie, ie, i Yzh, etc, i Mm, G, Z not, nothing, don't — iu muro vii he may not have died; mon xismat

i-kapyam I have not done any service, hone-a i-honi a do you do it, or not? yašı ādam či-ō Yr he is not a good man, $\ell \tilde{u}i = \tilde{\iota} - \tilde{s}\tilde{u}i$ 'na raft', vo mun malmin če kenë-este Ysh are you not making me like this? pulf novora čii sh (the river) cannot be forded, it ayor Mm he did not come, uč kū čī vīo Mm 'hēč čīzī na būt', no no-of no xw' i an ce astet there is nothing for them) to eat, to ee žūi subj), če žyā (imper don't say, č-kene don't do, say (na qu), na waxt čas don t arrive late, či dale don't give, či tələwā gadāi Ysh don't beg - G s v compares Prs (h)ēć Is či, etc. an early lw from Prs, or has a parallel semantic development of *ava-čit taken place in Prs and Y-M' Cf Gypsy (i anything > nothing V češ

ce, ci Yzh, sh, u, LSIy what' why' ci B why' — ce xšisf-este? why are you weeping' də bāy cī com Yu why shall I not go into the gaiden? ba ci na mēraum? mo xap cī kīt' u 'xap ba ci mēhina? tu ci va-mən de'hē? zh, tu va-mən ci dehe' g why do you beat me' tu cī hory c'kene' zh why don't you work? tu cu žuī' maf ci žaf? ci(=comn) žūī' Yzh what (') do you say' — Prs — It is often only the context which permits us to distinguish between ce 'not' and ce 'what'

dēr Yr something, cizī — na to dēr prēāmum I entrust something to you — Cf Madaglashti Prs či(z) thing

čū- čūvd- Yzh, sh, r, čū- čud g, jūv juvd Mm, jū- t, (g), juv juvd- Z to pick, čuvda B to choose — Cf Wkh, čip., čup čovd to gather, Sar cev., Khow, capiman to pick, collect čačk Yzh a kind of beetle, čač 1, g a long and slender, black and white wasp — Khow čač grashopper, malax (unknown to Lor, who has got čačk buzzing). Scarcely orig Ir, cf Orm čanč 'bee, flea''

cad čast Yzh to fall, stumble —

čast(əm 'raltīd(am)', čadem 'mēraltam' — Cf. the following words. —

Scarcely connected with Phl. Psalter
čiid- 'to shake', Bal. čandag Cf

Bailey, BSOS, VI, 822. But note
čandag < Sindhi chandh-

cinique Simmi chanancad-om ca'dī-m Yzh to throw in wrestling — zo vto cadem, dur pre3 sg cadeste, mon voto ca'dīm, mo
ādam roman cadī'ō — Possibly <
*haca-hand- to make to sit down of Cf
cād-om cā dī-om Yzh, sh to pour out —

yduyo 'cadem zh, sh I let water into an irrigation channel ca'dur Yzh, sh, r, g, 'sh also ca' duy'

turban, čö'dər Z veil — Khow ča dür turban fr Pıs (ädar veil

čof Yzh ceiling made of reeds čogoō, v kyogo

čolgulo Ysh, °ə r, / pl ?) zh, čərguli g hoof — Cf čigāli V. sumb

de gāle Yzh, sh, de r, de galā g, dan göle M (sh), dan göle g, dong m, dang Z claw — žiyo do Ysh 'zad ba dang'. — Cf Sgl. din 'gāl, Or. dingāl fr. Pis dang(āl).

čugu're Yzh, čik³'rī M(g) rhubarb, cugu're
Ysh sorrel (čigirī), čigi'rī r a plant
with an acid taste. — Cf. Prs čukrī
sorrel, Khow čuku'rī small, sour
cherries, Orm čuk'rī rhubarb

cayul Z pit, ravine, gully — From Pis cayal plant, fold, wrinkle, and not āyil, nayil sheep-fold as suggested by Z.

čhalpr'š Yzh, g golden oriole, Khon mayön

čkyūgo f Mm, skuya Z utine — < ~čašky° < *čaštākā-, ef Sgl čīš° V mizyo

čalo Yzh, 'čāc sh mane — Khow čāl čel Mm, čil g forty — Pis.

čauli i Yzh, sh, 'li g stirrup, B horseshoe — yū čauili zh. — Cf Prs čaul crooked

'čula Yzh, sh, čūl Mg, m glans penis, sar-t-kīr čŭl Z. G penis — Prs cul, čūl penis, cf. G s v

cul'yanc Yp apricot kernel — V žir'malc cul'hyō Yzh, 1, g, cilki'o sh weeping willow — Khow ciliki

cal-kirmo Mg n. of an insect, kirmuk
— Cf Prs čalāk black beetle

rčilim Yzh waterpipe — Prs čāliya, v kaliyo

čam Yzh, g, p, LSIy, čām Ysh, 1, LSIm, čâm Mm, G, čōm Mg, t1, Z, čo°m Mt, chōm (g) eye. — Av čašman, etc Note Chr. Sogd. čm-, cf Oss casm. cans window, mask

ca'mō Yzh, sh, cámo B round brooch worn at the breast — Khow cama (also in Kalasha, Bur and Shina) cam'dīrio Yzh, cum'dērio sh, cum' p, frying pan — Khow čimdori, čūndori, čūndori, čūndori (čumur iron + dorī ladle) čūlmīn Y how? how much? čemin B how, because — č° kenom? sh 'čiqadiī, istāri (= či-ṭaurī) bukunam? čihō hənəm? tu č° vo xūi nəfs kenē? sh how do you deal with your own family? mo čalmīn 'žaya? u what kind of place is this? 'ī štari žā?' č° žūi zh how do you speak? what do you say? če min lūro B how far? — če + min

čumur'sā Yzh spit. — Khow čumitkeryo B maid — Khow čumut'kēr ču'max Yzh, čəx'mox Z firestone, flint

- Turk ·Prs

čan Ysh, r ča'na m, zh, g, 'ča' Mm, 'čano g newborn kid — IA, ef Khow čhāni, Kati či, Pashai čhanīk f, etc V nar'čan, čānoyo

cen Yu'' — cenc-ste (= *č-kene-ste ?) 'čika měkinī'

čīne Yzh, °nī g. čīnīno Mm cup — Prs

čua'no Yzh, sh, Mm, čūo'nō Yp threshing fork Cf Sgl. apčūn?

cand Yzh, sh, B, cad Mm, ced G, ced LSIm how many? how much? some.

— cand paisa yurdet Yzh how much mouey did you take? cand ādame? cand ki'mat ke ke'ns max wo 'yuram sh we shall buy it for the price you fix — can ke tu kenī, hūy dalem sh, tō cand pūne (leyde) astet? I how many sons (daughters) have you? yū cad mīx Mm a few days. — The Y form is prob infl by Prs

čānoyo m, M(g) male kid, one year old.
 V ča'na.

či nār Y, °âr Mm oriental plane, chenar.
 — Prs

či nu yo Yzh, sh, oryo r, g, cənu go (r?)

Mm, cındərya g starlıng, maina (acc
to zh = bi uyiko spariow). Cf § 44

ču'na Yzh lime — IA.

činto B whip — Prs. čanda (lex)?

cop Y, cop u, cap Mm, g, Z, G lett (hand), Yzh. sh also untiue. he. do cop suv'do Yu on the left shoulder — Prs. cap.

čő'pī Yzh, sh, B, čopīk sh, g lie — tu čo'pīk kene Ysh, tu čo'pīk č·ke'ns don't lie, čo'pīk kṛt va-mən Yg you lied to me — V. čop

'čapc Yzh, sh, ča'při pl p dooi-frame

-- Cf Prs čamba a large bar, spar,
čăm curved, čafta curved, a vaulted
roof

¿pāč Ysh, očopoč Mm, ačpōč Z after, back (adv) — dukan'dār č° šūi the shopkeeper went back, ko wa-ć° čīi miž č° asom if I come back after four days, ži dalen č° āpiēti — Cf Wkh sibas, Sar. zabō, zabūd, Prs sipas < *hača-pasčā (not with Z < *hača-paršta!), cf Tedesco. Dialektologie, p 212 — V špāč, wa-čpāč Cf Ishk čpōšt</p>

 $\check{c}u'p\hat{a}n$ Mm, $\check{c}\check{u}'p\bar{o}n$ Z, LSIm shepherd — Prs. ($\check{c}\cdot < f\check{s}\cdot$)

'caro Y1 store-room for grain, ambar, p hollow, pit in the carsir (q v), cora f Z pit for storing grain — driem da co — Prs. cala vault, depository for grain, car potter's kiln, Khow 'care pitted from small pox < Ir

'čire (či're) m, Yzh, o'rī sh, g, Mm, g, Z, G, 'čīrī Yr, o'i Yu. Mti apricot (prunus armeniaca) — vo čīrief yurd Yu, žə čīrien u from the apricottree. — Cf Yazgh či'rai, Prasun či'rē, Kati 'cirə, Ashkun cī'rā, Kshm

cer, Bhadrawahi 'cirö' But note also Armen ciran. Cf Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p 540 V cīryišče cūr Yp cross-bar separating the strings of a pellet-bow — Khow cūr cōrda Mg, (g) fourteen — Prs cir'grinj Yzh, sh milk rice. — Khow chir + grinj

Cir'guizen Mt three days ago, se rūz šud.

— *čagru + azanya- Cf žirizen,
and v čurmo

ce'rīy M(g, a kind of cultivated grain or seed, döna — Possibly linseed from which lamp oil is prepared v Vavilov, Agricult Afgh, p 114). Cf čīrūy

ceruy Z, cy-lân G lantern — Prob an early lw from Prs

cīr'yišče Yzh diied apricots — Ci cīre and Prs kišta dried fruit, esp apricots v Vavilov, p 452), Psht dried apricot cii k Mm, Z dirty — Pis V kiž'yo coro'mī, v č- oguščiko

čur'mō Yzh. sh, 'čūremo Mm three days ago — < 'čaθru- + ama-, not < 'čaθwāra + ama as in most dialects (v. Ganthiot, MSL, 17, p 151) Gf čirgyīzen, pčūrma, čurmosal, čoromī car mah, čar'mak Yp the wool on the spindle — Prs

čirom Yzh, in na c no šuya near the

čoro mi o'quščiko Ysh, 'čor o' g index finger — čoromi fourth, cf. čur'mo V. čaran'qušč

čurmo sāl Yzh, sh three years ago - V čur mō

čaran'gušč Yzh the index fingei, g the four fingers, ogišt shiid — *Prs čār-pa'yalyo Yp stone hid of the čāro (q v)

čērpo yī Mm, čârpa yī († bed — Prs V žen

'cārsīr Yp elevated platform made of brickwork, in one corner of the house

'cār'wəl Yzh headman of a village,

cān'bū. — Khow cār'uēlū headman
of several villages (O'Brien) — V
ar bāb

čerwašk Yzh, čm° sh resin, gum. Khow tum — Pis čarniš, čarbiš fat? V rūyno, uāziyo

cât'woyt pl Mm, côt'tôy m Z small cattle — Prs cât pâya, Taj corvô sheep Cf LSIm cfût-pâlaf (obl pl' cattle

čara Yzh, g, p, Mg, čora m spinningwheel — *Prs, cf čarč

car'xo Yzh avalanche of stones — Cf Wkh, Shgh carxa id < *Prs — Khow cokăl id (*cak(ra)la-) is a parallel formation

carx-v fa'lak Ysh the Milky Way —

"Prs 'cf Khow cārfalak, acc to
my Gawai-Bati informant) V pado
car rāuk Yn bandle crank of a spinning.

car aānuk Yp handle, crank of a spinningwheel — V čar r

cũn va Yzh, u unripe apricot — žə cirien cũrwakəf āvər Yu biing unripe apricots from the apricot-tree — Cf Sgl ču'učl, Wkh ču'uăn apricot

ces Ysh whatever, čes B, čis LSIy what?

— ces ke Xədāiyen līo cīzī he Xudāi
dād' — Cf če — čes < *čes <
*čiščit?

češ Ysh, čoš Z, G is not — hāč huči češ there is nothing, 'hēč čīzī nēst', yo vīra mən šifien češ this burden is not my husband's, tu Xadāyen bande češ a* are you not God's ślave? tu do of xabar česyā have you no news

about them, no $xu^{\dagger}_{l}\bar{a}n$ $na^{\dagger}_{l'}\epsilon n$ ^{lees} there is no bread for eating — Cf ℓe , acc. to G compounded with $\ell s < \Delta v$ $\ell a \in Sa$, but this is phonetically improbable

cešo Yzh, ca- sh, 'ceša p, ceše Mg, ceša f Z the pin of a spindle. — < castrā/ī-, cf Psht. cāšaī, Orm tish (< cash). Kurd tašī, tešī spindle.

ca'tīr Yu teut — da asmīno co vīo, da co loh šināmi viet — Khow ca'tīr, in its turn fr M II. "cātēr, ef Prs cādar, -ir, Russ Iw šater Cf BSOS, VIII, 660.

¿šīr Yzh, p. LSIy (zh also cšīr, c's'īr, p. c's'īr), čīr Ysh, g. 1, u. B. (misheard for ¿šīr²), čfīr Ysh, g. 1, u. B. (misheard for ¿šīr²), čfīr Mt, g. ti, čφīr (sh), čfūr m. LSIm, ¿²° Z G (G also č¹fār), ča'fīr MFB, čavīr Y. acc. to G (from what source? four — čīr mix Ysh, čīr wule sh, čfūr-pâlaf LSIm (obl pl.) cattle — Av čaduārō, etc Cf § 102

čot Yzh antler — Khow Lor čöt knob on ibex horn Cf

čote Yzh knuckle. — Khow čot knuckle, twig (cf. preceding word).

čuua (= °ču va °) Yzh something — mən č ° astet I have something — V. če ča'uuh Yzh whip — Prs. čābuk.

caxt Ysh piece of wood used for tightening a rope — Cf Prs caxidan to twist

cix-, v tix.

cīy- řūy- Z to freeze, to feel cold — Cf. Prs. cā(h)īdan, Zaza čī- to feel cold, Sar. pa ci- to become cold, Orm câk cold, and perhaps Khow (Ir. lw?) čoi.ik, cho ik (Lor), čohik (O'Brien) to be frostbitten. Z compares also Shgh žcīy- V. pčīo

čōy-, v čai

čuži¹ya Yzh, oʻyak zh, g, oʻyake pl. sh,
čū¹ëıy Mm, čūžio;o (g) oʻi¹ya Z ehicken
Cf Badakhshi čuča, Madagl čūčik,
l'rs čūja, etc

caržuš Yzh, caž° sh tenkettle. — Pis

D

da, da Y, Mm, Z, do Ysh, u, Z, da G, etc. into, in, at, etc - Y lo voi do kyee he entered into the house novur do kucio brought it out into the street, $n\iota^{\dagger}\bar{a}$ $(n\partial^{\dagger}\gamma or)$ $d\partial^{\dagger} hu\bar{c}\bar{\imath}^{\dagger}o$ went out into the street, da yu ma'žit šūt he went into a mosque, žīo da avyuš he put it in his lap, za da'sāharo duvm Mm I shall go into the desert, šūi darūn də kyoi Mm he entered the house, šūi na Čitrayī da Crtragi 1981 Yah he went to Ch and arrived there; do urjug suv'do Yu on the right shoulder, wu'žur do 'kyor kə jə'hön rūpa'yo Mm he saw that there were many rupees in the house, da iščiv Yzh under the roof, de to apir astet Ysh he is in front of you, da 'laxčio 'nigio Ysh he took it out of (?) the bag, da axorat Yu finally, la to barābar equal to you, - Prob < Av antara (cf. Prs dar) not with $G_1 < Av$. -da, Greek $-\delta \varepsilon$ Cf § 219

dă Mm, g, (g), (sh), t, Z, G ten — Prs V los

'dā um 'davd-um Yzh to smear -< *han-daw-, Prs andūdan, cf. Av frā dav . — V sā

de'bāl LSIy, da° m behind — Prs (early lw) dumbāl dadram, v dram dīδ (?) Ysh after, on account of — po yū hory dīδ 'barā ı yak kūr', čīr mıx dīδ 'čār rūz bā'd'. — δ was not heard in any other word

dof- doft Yzh, sh. duf- duft Mm to clasp, seize, duf- duft Ysh, Mt, duf- Z, difta B to fight, dift Ysh. u. dif dift Z to catch fire, dufta B to begin - dolfum, doftom Yzh, do fam, dof tam sh, dofam, doftam Mm, t, xāpui difte Yzh I staited coughing (caspida kat-ı mā), def'ted do hony Ysh they started working, čāšpīdan, 'lā mon če defa sh don't fight with me, 'kat-1 man jang na šawid', yüla dəft Ysh it caught fire, dar quift, vo (!) lažīno deft Yu the wood-pile caught fire, suxt - Possibly han taf(ya) and really two verbs *han-dab- (*han dafs-, cf Z svv) deigone pl Yr twins - Prs dūgāna. V luaneke

degaza'γe (pl ?) Yp forked rest for a matchlock. — Prs *dū qŭza,

da'hā-m žī-m Yzh, sh, r, də'hā m žī-m g, 'duh-um žī- Mm, do-am žī im t, de-, də- žıy-d Z, də(h)- ži'ya G, deh- žia LSIy, m to beat, strike, place voto da ham Yzh, da hām fto sh, zo to da ham g, za fta doam, doam et Mt, zo vai da'ham Yzh, zo vēi d'hām sh, za vaī dv'ham Mm, tu či va-mən de'hē? Yzh, tu va-men či dchē? g, da'haf zh 2 pl , tu vou de' zh, 'dea sh beat him, zo/man vto žīm zh, fto ži im sh, mon vto žīm g, mun ftə žīm Mt, tū vomən žīt Yr, tō vəmən žit g, tu vo mən žitt sli, žiet Mm, žio wof Ysh, mon vto žvyom Yg v § 248), zə/mən vəto žīvəm vīo r (v § 250), mon vto žīm stom g, zo

v³to žīom-1štom r v § 247) — žīo da av'yuš Ysh, do 'vyuš žio u he put it ın hıs lap, lažīno deh Yu buıld a pile, vo yaspa pallān žilo n he saddled the horse, miwa ye ži et sh they planted fruitbearing trees, won albīn žīdm r I winnowed it, tolfak da'ham (pret da'ha-ım!) zh I fire a gun, soro da ham (žī em) sh manure, mimekikya daiham zh I dive, gab 'diah sh speak, vrūtə žie baš sh if he cuts his beard, mon do vũ žo to gap g thy word struck my ear $z\bar{i}$ < Av jata-, with dah- etc., cf Shgh. de-, etc (cf Rep Afgh, p 78) Cí especially Sangisari de- že to beat

duhlqân Mm, dehqān LSIy, m agricultural labourer — Prs

duk Yg the wheel of a spindle — Pradūk woman's spindle

do kulco, v hucio

 $du^{i}k\bar{a}n$ Ysh shop — Ar-Prs

dukan'dar Ysh shopkeeper — at do, do yurd yū alāno, šolo dukan'daren.

- Ar -Prs

'dala Mt marmot, weasel — Prs, cf Sgl dela

'dal-Im liễm Yzh. 'dal vm lễ-(1)m sh.

r, u, g, 'dal- lễ(y)- (lễ1y) Mm, t, Z,
dāl- M(g), lễy- G to give — no man
ces delum? what shall I give him?
no won a mũno dalem Ysh I give
him an apple, namen da le, 'nā mon
del give me, 'na-men 'c̄i da le don't
give me, dīl 3 sg, 'dalet 3 pl, zo
yāre na yen dalīm zh I give him
assistance, men nawen na 'ren lɨ lẽm,
yan na maf na 'ren lɨo, lễ'et 3 pl,
yū a lāno 'lẽ vão Ysh he had given
a pome-granate — Av da δā dāta.

cf Shgh. $\delta \bar{a} \delta$ - Reg the dissimilation in dal-, cf § 52

dul Yzh, sh, dul p the hopper of a mill

— na dulen — Prs

daula dâr Mm rich — Prs V bāi, akâbur.

dolk Yzh, sh, r, dəlk Mm, delk Z, dolk B lean, bad — Pis dalq

dilmil M(g) straw, ear of corn — Produlmul unripe grain, of Panjshin tut i-dilmil half dried mulberries (Andreev, On the ethnology of Afgh, p. 23).

 $da^{\dagger}len$ Ysh below — $y\bar{u}$ $ma_{\parallel}a$ \check{z}_{\parallel} d° $\check{a}_{\parallel}\bar{v}_{\parallel}$ — $da + len < *a\delta ana$ -, of Sak $d\bar{v}_{\parallel}$ below

dau'lat Ysh possessions, riches — mind do, ni āst sho do — Ar-Prs

dzl-r ži'gar Yr n of some ential — 'Cf Skold, Mater, 261 dil-džigar dəm Mm bellows — Prs V pu'ine dom Yzh, sh, B hreath — yū dəm sh suddenly — Prs

dəmalen Yzh at noon — də + malen də māmo Yzh, damāmo B large drum — Pis

dāməne pl. Ysh foot ("hem") of a mountain, dāman-i kōh — Prs

dāna Ysh, dâ nâ G wise — Prs Cf lānawo B

drār Ysh hither (?) — wo mara drār avāze bring the man hither (?) — Cf. dram

drī-m Yzh, drī m drī-o sh, drī-cm drī-m r, driā m drī-lum Mm, 'drī-am (g) to pour into, throw (into)—
'yauyo da zu'yum (= 'drīm) Yr I pour out the water, maraken hūy da tārazū drī'o sh the man threw the money into the scales, drīo, drīet sh 'andāxt(an', you drīem da čāro y

I threw the grain into the corn bin. kəryo o'yury drēi (driyo) zh the hen lays (laid) an egg, yaržo drīm sh I shave (') my beard — But of also tuyum dra-im Yzh I sow, droyam M(g) I shoot, aim at, xiram diroim I throw into the threshing ground, I thresh, drai LSIy, derāe LSIm put ye on, derye LSIm threw, dorōy $d^{j}r^{j}y$ to throw — The material does not enable us to decide whether all these forms belong to one verb $(d \cdot \bar{a} \bar{\imath} - d \cdot r \bar{\imath} - \bar{\imath})$, or not Note that Khow dieth (< I1) means 'to pour out, to throw, to sow' and also 'to shave' - Z compares Av drāvaya-'to make to run', better < *han-d° Cf dero

'daro Mm, o g, ''a Z valley — Pis V ko'ša

doro'um duru'ī-m Yzh, dro'um diu'ī-m sh, 'drō-um diī-m g, doiō um di'vī-m r, do'row am 'dwrīy am Mt, do now um du'rīy am m, denuw-duroy Z, do'row-G, duriya B to fear — dro'vīyom vīo Yr I had feared — < 'han diaw'? Cf di ī-

 $d\tilde{a}^{i}r\tilde{u}$ Ysh, ° $\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$ sh, u medicine — d°-i $b\tilde{\imath}\hbar u^{i}\tilde{\imath}\tilde{i}$ u, uo d° la mon astet sh I possess the remedy, $\cos d\tilde{a}^{i}r\tilde{u}$ $v\tilde{\imath}o$. — Prs Cf

'dārui Yzh gunpowdei - Prs

di'ārē Yp looking around, vision — Prs. dīdār

dū Yzh, sh, dir B, yu'dū, yu° Mm, i'dūr Z other, another — dīr mai a another man, yu'dūr sâl Mm last year — < "antāra- (with -ā- from atāra, katāra-), cf Sak hamdāra-, Psht.nōr, Wkh (Hayward)"du ikh"(")")</p>
Cf § 166

dur Yzh, g, Mm, dūr Ysh, r, B, G, dur Mt, der, dur Z to-day - 'dur 'luro pādo šom Ysh I have gone a long way to day. - Cf Sgl. ner, etc? da'rīv Ysh, u alas, afsūs — har do! —

do rak Ysh cognizance, perception. -maraken de čšūi the man did not perceive it, mālum na šud — Ar ·Prs dark comprehending, finding out, cf. Wkh., Sar darak, Shgh delrak

dril Yzh, sh inflated skin for crossing a stream - Khow

dram Yzh, u inside - da-dram tim, da-dram šom Yzh I enter, do bāy da dram čor u 'dar bāy darūn na rau! dramen LSIy inside - < *antarahmi?

drūn Yr, g, B, drun sh, drūn zh bow -Khow dron

da'r ūn Mg, ti, Z belly - Pis da'rūn Mm, (g) into — šūi do da kyoi m, no da rūna (g) inside -- Prs.

drust Ysh all, complete. — do malk —

drušč Yzh, sh, duro g, drišto i, durišk Mm rough - Early liv from Prs dur ušt

drūv-am druvd-am Yzh, drūv- drūvdsh, r, druvda B, drubda LSIy to dance - druia zh imper 2 sg, drwda 1 inf — Cf. Sogd. $\delta r'w\beta$ -, $\tilde{z}wb$ - v MSL, 23, p 126) - dzpoints to borrowing

dra'wā-um Yzh, dəra-wdw-ān- G to terrify - V dono.

dar xufto Yzh covering of the smoke hole - Cf Prs xufta curved?

droxum Ysh, r, g, Mm silver — Khow by Mm

draxt Yzh, g, Mm, B, oto Y1, ote pl. sh, $d^{i}raxt$ Mt1, $d^{j}r^{\circ}$ Z, G tree — draxtemūžet Yzh the trees are moved (by the wind) - Prs

dar'yā Ysh, 'yâ Mm, G, 'yō Mtı rıver - Prs V yauyo.

dörz Yg weaving - do kənəm I weave - Prs darz seam

dorzku, vuz Yzh, sh, vyūz sh, r weaven, spider Cf § 193 V ustada

desto Yzh handle, hilt, ofa Mm, Z (plough) handle. — Prs

dust Yab, dust Z, G friend - Pro dīš-im dišč-im Yzh to think - *handaisya, cf Wkh dis to know, Phl handēš-

dašk' Z steppe - Prs., early lw duš'mon Ysh, oman Mm, doo Z enemy - Pis

duova Mm the second watering of the fields. — Prs *dō-āba, cf Shgh dâhâv - V livile, 'xōkova

dīw'čūw Mm, dĭu'čū (g) torch — Prs dīwčūb deodar

dwozda Mg, (g) twelwe. - Prs

diz om dizd-om Yzh, diz-Am dizd-Am sh, dizda B to bury, 'dīz am, dīzd om Mm, dizdo LSIy to gather, collect - dezdat Ysh they buried - *han daiz-, Skr sam-dih- a heap, mound dizo Yp, in palof do squatting, 'yak jāi bukuni', Khow, blacawe 'collect' -Prob from dīz

duzd M(g), Z, dazd G thief - Pis yal.

D

- Note that the word was also used | didan wo Yzh cotton thread - Khow didonu (Lor) cotton fibre

F

fĩa Y, â Mt, fĩyo ti, g, a m, fĩyo g wooden spade, shoulder-blade, fĩ'ya G, 'fəya m, Z spade. — <*fayaka-, cf. Prs. fili oar, spade not with Schwyzer. KZ, 63, 56 < paô ', Wkh. pẽi, Shgh. fe, Or fai, Sgl. fĩ, Par. phĩ, Sangisari fĩ'fe. Mazand fiē, Talish hīya.

f(v)'cī-ım· f(v)ci'ı-cm Yzh to cleave, tean asunder, fcī-ım M'g) to cleave 'a log), foci'evd-um tore asunder — Cf. pcegiy- pcegiy- Mm to cleave? — V pətišā-, and cf § 238

f²ci'nā-um f²ci'n²vd Ysh, f²'ţana-um zh to put away, hide, žùga mēkunim. yūrd, f²ci'n²vilo she took (the cat' and hid it

fa'gyike Yzh, faigyiho g, pa'kiki (? r. fagika B, fagikef 'obl pl) LSIy song

— f žam Yzh I sing, f. ža g 'bait
bəkən' — < "aβhang- < "abi-hang-,
cf Georg. hangi melody (lw.), Goth
siggwan, etc. (regarding IA forms of
the root of Bloch, BSL, 31, p 62)?)

fiyiko Yzh, r. °go sh small, wooden

spade — V 'fīa. fkysysko Yzh, °go g, r, sfkšgo B alone — (1)fk < *ēvk- < *aswaka-, cf Sar

frod Yzh chip of wood

wj.

fro \bar{u} fro \bar{v} Yzh to melt — warfo (ar'z $\bar{z}z$) fro \bar{u} the snow (the lead melts — *fra $r\bar{z}$ -, cf Skr. $l\bar{z}$ -

fār-om fat-om Yzh, sh, r, far- fat- g, fōr-um fēt om Mt, fatta B to catch, Khow dosiman — fāto wo paryof Ysh he seized the mice; fot zh he seizes - Cf Bad Prs fārīdan to want? 'fāru Yzh, sh mill-bioom — *frā ruv ef rufo?

far'bə Mm fat — Prs. V lan'dık ˈfrīγο Yzh, r, fər sh, fərīγa Mg, °a ις, rīgo m, rīga f Z flea — *frušī hā·, ef Psht wrəta, Yazgh fərēš, etc, (cf Z s v .

fiāiro Yzh, firāro sh yoke-rope. —

*fia-yugā. ef Sgl firyay yoke V

yūelo

fră; bil Yzh, sh, r, fro; biz Mg, fra; sl·bīl
m sieve for grain (acc to Mm used
for mužuk — Cross between Prs
furaxbīz and ralbīl ('f Wkh
frazbīz

fer'yāmə (=e°) Yzh, fər g, fra sh, r, fir;amo B, frayama LSIm he-goat.
frayomiy Mm, g, frayōmioyo (g), fə'rayoməy Z he goat, one year old.—
< *fra-gāmaka-. ef. Psht. waryūmau male kid Par rhayām spring. Simil arly Psht. manganai young of sheep or goats born early in the season manai autumn (< summer.— *pra-qāma also in Kafiri, ef Prasun pāmə. Kati pr'ome, Waig. prāmā kid, one year old, possibly also Pashai əlāŋ he goat, Gawar-Bati plaŋ goats (coll) < *pra gāmaka 'not < *prānaka-) Cf the following words

fər yömček Yı female calf, one year old.

— Cf Wkh. fər'yəmč (lw?) id., and
rəgām Note the place-name Ferga
munj in Badakhshan

frayıngo Mm, fra'renga g, frayenga g she-goat, one year old — *fragāmikā-, cf Sgl. fər'yəm V pren'jio

fəi mē Ysh it may be, bâšad, iii. —
uos wa šūi no tat kyēin-a, da kyēi
žī fərmī ā? has he now gone to his
father's house, or will he be in 'my'

house? da xāna i mā bāša, dukan dār $f \circ r' m \overline{\epsilon}, k u a' t \iota n f^{\circ}$ whether he be a shopkeeper or a rich man, . 'woho cos 'kimat formo (= vii) will there be some money? Cf LSIm ze ferme ki ā im I may be - Prob Pis imper farmāy V § 254

formo-um Yzh, for'miscom Yzh, sh, g, formisky om Mm, formiy- formisk' Z to forget — dolowim ke formo'um Yzh I fear that I may forget, tarmiščayam r perf — Cf Wkh ramuš., Prs faramus- etc Acc to Henning (ZII, 9, p 185) the root is *muš-, not my 8-, and this explanation would suit the Y-M forms, but note Orm šramot, Par. nhâmur, which point to a root in g Cf § 132

farang tfak Yzh European rifle — *Prs fors. Ysh to spit, fris- frison Z to blow one's noso

frāspiy Mg rafteis — Cf Prs farasp, prāsab, farsīb the main roof-beam, Kohrudi rasp 'tīr' < *frā spā.

fur sono Mm, forsàra MFB, ef LSI psano down - Of the formation of Lat maeccps,

fruše Yzh muzzle, snout - Khow froš. m its turn fi Ir

faisame Yzh, oa g. osam sh. fiisim r silk — *Prs, of with f- afrisam, and و سم (Garšāsp Nāma, 603) — V vrišum

foson- firsəy Z to shake trees. — *frasan, of Bailey, BSOS, VII, p 777, and Brahui šana, šaniki scattering of comfits V ušān-

forx-om for an Yzh, fərxı'yo g, furx- firxby Z to stool - francya-, cf. Wkh. rax, Ishk yarx 'excrements'

fsāy-ım fsēry-əm Yzh, r, fsarq-om sh, fxot- fxa ti Ysh, xat- LSIm to seize, 14 - Kulturforskning

 $s\bar{a}$ -im g to stand up — $fs\bar{a}i$ in ımper 2 sg, špāč na tō fsāī sh he rises after you, fsāyo hu'ro he iose here - fseig- is the perf stem

'fsīdro Yzh, sh, g, r, psī° B sping (season) — upa-sarada ? (v §§ 127, 165), of EVP sv psarlar (also with * săi ad-) aud Zaza wasāi ī, Maz avasoi, Sak pasāla (with *-sard)

fusfe'sīya Mm, fəsfə'sīyo g a small mscet, locust (which makes a noice, mēhuna) — Onomatopoetic sadā word

fisko Yzh, p, g, fsho sh, fisko r, fisha Mt, g, oa (g), fuska m, fio ti, ho f Z, fə'ska G nose — Cf Sgl fusek < *fuz k, connected with Prs poz, etc (v Horn, sv)?

fiskaf.'surv Yzh, fiska surav r nostril. fšîi Yzh very soft, ripe fruit, fši B rotten $- < *fx * \bar{i}y < *upa x * \bar{i}ta$ cf Bal šīay to rub away, Oss axsun, fexsuyun to be rubbed off (Shgh. *xtum* haie < *xšita-dumba-?), Skr an upa-ksita- uninjured

fšarm Yzh, g, šfarm sh, šfor m Mg, m, šfårem G, šerm B shame - Av fšarəma-, Sak ksārma- (Bailey), ef Benveniste, MS1., 23, 402 sqq -V šam.

fšūv um fšuvd-um Yzh to suck (used about a child) — *upa šăp-, cf šu'ıā

fša'i Yzh, fo šayı sh short-breathed fto, v tu

fotana, v fočina-

fxa um Yzh, fxau- fxevd Mt, fxō ym fazvd im ti to shear sheep - *apaxab- Cf Sar pžau- (and Slav xabiti to destroy?) V. porxau-.

believe, fxat- fxaty Z, LSIm to agree, consent. — č^u fxatiyo Ysh she did not believe it, na girift fâxtaqa Mm, foxtaqo g ring dove, fâxta — Prs fyēl(i) Mm, fēl g lie, untiue, cf fēl LSIm intention? Scarcely < *apa-hadya-fiz Yzh, sh, g, u, r, Mg, (g), t, fīz ti, t, fūz Mm, fuz B breast, forepart of an animal — Cf Wkh p'ūz, Sgl puz (?)
fīz-yasti Mt collar-bone — V šūtko, pa'ra-yasti

G

gab'dā um Yzh to open (a door) $gad\bar{a}$ - \bar{i} Ysh begging $-q^{\circ}$ təla' $\bar{u}m$ I beg, q° $l \partial \gamma \bar{a} n$ give up begging — Ar.-Prs gof-um Yzh, gaf- gaft Z, goft LSIy to kiss - Cf boh *'yūgurt* Yzh sulphur — Prs grl Yzh, r, gel sh clay (for pottery) -Prs V. mil'yuz, xa'laryo gul Y, Z, G, B, gəl Yu, gıl Mtı flower -- žo a'mun vo 'gəl 'āvər Yu pick the flower from the apple-tree, guile kšči et sh they planted flowers -Pre quil Yzh, sh boil, small-pox. - Cf gul, and Khow isprū flower, boil $g\bar{u}l$ Mm, g, Z, G dumb — Prs $q\bar{\sigma}l$ stupid. V kūr qul'gūn Yr red — Prs. V surx gulra men Yzh a kind of poplar - V 1 a meno gı'lās Yzh, sh, °âs Mm, °ös Z cherry. gulsambare Yzh n. of a flower - Cf Khow qulsam'bār red convolvolus,

gul-1 sambār, gul 1 jafarī, Palola gulsambar, cf Prs sumbul hyacinth. gala'wān Yzh, ovān u shepherd - yū go vī o, găla vānen vo nagl yurd u — Prs galabān qu'nā Ysh sin — mun ces g° 9 — Prs galnaske (pl) Yzh straw of wheat or maize - Khow qanask gungəstə Yr dumb — Prs qung V qūl. kūr, ef hun'yaste. qap Ysh, g word -|qab| di|ah sh, g° deh g speak, vo mon gap yurā sh hear my word, mon đo yū žo to gap speak your word into my ear - Prs. go'ro Mm, eg, e Z knot - Prs V yu'rex ga'rai Yzh Kafir silver necklace Khow garar gir Yzh, g saw - Khow V ana gard Yzh, dry, rotten, Khow. 10n3 -Lor suggests that Khow rone 'a disease of corn in which the leaves wither' is the word intended gard dust, etc., is not known to be used in this sense 'grrdo Yzh, gird Z round - Prs gord-um 'gošč um Yzh, u, gerd- gašk' Z to turn round, become, gaštan gorde zh pres. 3 sg, goščim u I became, koviyo gošč u she turned into a dove - Early lw from Prs, cf Sgl yart- (with y-, also, if correct, in vostča B to return), Khow vard-, but Psht garzēdel to walk about with $g \cdot (< \text{Prs } *gar\delta \cdot)$ g(3) rah Yzh, sh echpse - Khow grah. garm Yr, gərm Mg, Z warm — Prs V pre and Tarmar gram'bešu Yzh, sh, obe'šane g neighbour

- Khow V am'sāyo

g⁹rīnj Ysh, r, gr° g husked rice. —

Khow. grīnj fr a Prs dialect V. 1 $b^u run i$ air van Yzh, ban sh, giri ban r, an Mm, gərivon Z shirtband, collar - Prs V hasa'īne guš woi Mm, gū m, Z, guš woi a M(g) earring - Pis. V yūayike, kadrono gat Yzh, sh, p rafter, acc to p the beams surrounding the smokehole of the Chitrali lantern roof - Khow quv- quvd Ysh, g, r, u, guvd- Mm, quv- quvd- Z, quvda B, LSIy to burn, soxtan, Khow palēth — yūla guve sh 3 sg - Apparently from *han-kaub/p-(guvā-) guvvd Yg to put fire to gov Yzh hollow, sh, g, r, Mm stem of a tree - Khow gox hollow, hole, hollow tree 'gūy- Mm to knead, - *han-gauš-, oi, better, *han- g_1 š· (v § 132), cf. Prs jašta kneaded, mixed, and v agungy găya Ysh just as, as if, thus -- guya da Drahouso vão he was as if it were in Drosh , as far away as D). wos gũya ken now do like this, ālī amī kare bukən — Prs güyā $g^{y_i}b$, $g^{y_i}p$ Yzh, Mt, g_ip LSIy lost. g^{γ} šūt Yzh, g^{γ} šut Mg he was lost. - Early lw. from Prs *gumb, gum gyıbō. Yzh to sınk (tr.), gibavd g, gibov Z, gibavd-B, LSIy to lose. da yauvo gyiboim Yzh. - V gyib g Jib lenike Yzh, 2 g mosquito -V maxše. que) em quešč-em Ysh to walk, to turn round, $g(i)yašk^y$ Mm to turn, pass, giyašk' Z to pass over yu čad miži gyaškyat Mm a few days passed, gašt, au gât-iš giyašky he passed the time, guzarān iš šud - *Prs Cf

gyēr- gyēšč- Yzh to forgive, i to pass, guzāštan, gyēr- gyēšky Mm to pass (tr) — Early lw from Prs *giðār-, oi from some dialect form with -y-, of Madaglashti gyāšt, pret of guzārto leave behind — Cf also giyōr-giyēt Z to carry across, etc gaz Yzh ell — Prs guzar M, m, g, Z ford — Prs V pilf. guzarān Mm livelihood, means of existence — g° či šūi — Pis gaždumba Mg, t, °o m, °a (g), °e (sh) scoipion — Pis V kur'mo gr'že Yzh, sh, g° žə i pick axe

Γ

yau, v yawo 'yī um Yzh, 'yīw·um· 'yivd um M(g), yīw vivd Z to spin, Khow ga iman (= rēiman), — Cf. Sgl yiw, Wkh žup-, Sai žeib, Shgh. žib-, Yazgh y > b- (v Z s v) < *gaip- – V z = v + cyo(h) Yzh, $y^{u}\bar{o}$ sh, $y\bar{o}$ 1, $y\bar{u}$ g, Mm, g, yūw Z excrements — From Av qūθa- we should expect *yūž yū Yzh, g, p, B, 'yūt Ysh, 1, Mt, g, (g), tı, Z, Junker, LSIm, yūtl (?) Mm, yūš (?) G ear — yūr lār Ysh listen, gūš dār, da yūi ži o sh it struck his ear — Av. gaoša yū B denf (Tom, p 206 translates "tief") Prob due to some misunderstanding Scarcely < *a qauša-. yu bâr Mm, on Z dusteloud - Ar. Prs yādəm Y, 'yōndum Mm, g, ti, 'om t, (g), yd'dum G, 'yo' Z, yandam MFB (autumn) wheat - Av gantuma, Wkh yudim (< *-uma-), Sgl 'yondam Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p 131. V uf srme, pa'īzane

yadəm·ləro'vo Yzh wheat-harvest.
yad'mın nayan Yzh, sh, yadə'mın no Mm
wheaten bread Cf Fandumin n of
a place (Eranshahr, p 228). V
aršə'mın

γafs Z fat — Cf Tapiki gauz, gazb fat, thick, Badakhshi γaus thick (stick), Shgb γafč

'γιγιο Yzh, g, γe° sh, 'γι° p, 'γῖγο r cowhouse — Cf Shgh γečīd, Psht γῦjəl <*gau katī V pəˈrīvur

 $\gamma^{\tilde{k}k^{y}}$ Yzh, sh, $\gamma^{\tilde{i}k}$ 1, $\gamma^{\tilde{i}k^{y}}$ g penis — < * $g\gamma^{\tilde{s}nuka}$ -? Cf EVP $\gamma^{\tilde{e}n}$ (and Prs marz- $g\bar{u}n$), v § 117.

γειk skodom Yzh circumcision (prob. pres 1 sg) — Cf skod- and v nailevd. γūι-kiž'γο Ysh ear-wax

γal Yzh thief — Av gaδa-, Psht γal, Wkh. γαδ — V. duzd

 $\gamma \bar{u}elo$ Mm yoke-rope $-<*yar{u}\gamma elo^{\gamma}$ V $frar{a}\imath'\gamma o$

'yūlak Mm, g, °'ak G, γu'lak Z pelletbow — γu'lak skuta 'pustcha Mm (?). — Taj. γūlak (cf. Z s v.), but Prs γu'lāl, Bal galūl, Lhd lw. γulēlī The IA words mentioned Nep Dict s v gulelī are borr from Prs

yu'lek Yzh dewlup — Cf Prs yölak 'money-tıll, save-all' (< 'sack, bag') γal'tan- γaltand Yzh to roll (tr) — Prs

γalv Yzh, γalų sh, γal³v r, γālų g, γölv Mg, γölf (g), t, (sh), γolų m, γolv Z, G, γalf LSIy, γā° m dog — γalv röve Yr — Av. gadva-

'yāmu Yzh a kind of pulse not grown in Lutkoh (pāyān ast), sh pulse from which roasted flour (talkān) is made (yāmi), 'yōmu Mg 'dōna misl-i muya. šōxəl' — Cf Vavilov, Agricult. Afgli pp 114 gomu(ng) 'Ervum Ervilia'

(but acc to Desmaisons, Dict Prs, šaxal, šāxāl Hind arhar Cytinus cajan) γumino Yzh, g, γa'm° sh, ογ'mīno r podex, anus, γ° rōγ g anus. — Cf Wkh. quh-rūda guts, τ. γο(h)?

'γunia Yzh, γūni'o r, γūni'ī sh, γu'nī g
(pl), 'γūnī Mm, g, (g), ti, 'γūnəy m,
Z hair — yū γ° zh — < Av gaonaγə'nīgo Mm, xnī'ga G sneezing — mun
γə'nīgo I havc sneezed — < *x/γuaiš-,
cf Prs išnūša, Psht. nžai, Yazgh
ši nīžu-, Oss axsnisin (onomat)
'γūniko Yzh, 'γūenike (pl?) p dooihinge. — Cf γū?

yənil- yəne'läi Yzh, ya'nöl- yanı'läi sh, yanıl- g to bleat, to bellow — vəzo yə'nile, yəne'läi zh, ya'nöli-a sh does it bleat? vəzo, yawo ya'nılo g V anuv-, pyäy-

γar Yzh, sh, r, γar g, 1 stone, hill Mm, G, γār Mtı, g mountain, hill (Mg hill top), Yzh, r, Mm also 'pass'.
— Av gairi, Psht γar mountain, Par. gir stone, etc

γar Mg adulterer, kat-ı zan ı dıga mēkīna — Prs

'γοιο Yzh cluster of grapes, Khow γruc γu'ι δι m, Yzh, sh, r, γο° g, γ²raz Mg, (g), ti, °2ι m, Z, °az G earth, dust — Cf Yaghn γιικ, Sogd. γr'yk (not with xr- as assumed by Henning, BSOS, VIII, 585, but Yazgh x²rık), possibly also Sak griham clay.

yurou-'pīx Ysh clod of earth Cf. pīx ("ball' < 'bullet'?)

ya'rīb Ysh poor. — Ar ·Prs V lur'wo
γar'bīl Yzh, sh, °īn r, γal'bīl p, Mg, Z,
γρl'bīl (corrected from °īn) Mm sieve
for flour (for wheat Mm) — you γ΄
kənəm Yp, γ° γūrdam p, uōu γal'bīn
žīəm r — Λr Prs — V fraγbīl

var base Yzh sod, clod of earth. - Cf yurou yary Yzh, sh, g, r, yorg Mm, yarx B heavy, vorya f M(g) pregnant, foetus (da darūn-i zan ast) — Av. gouruyer nānu Yzh whirlpool, eddy - Khow. vernānu, verdo, in its turn fr Ir — Cf BSOS, VIII, 664. yurun'rang Yr grey, dustcoloured — Cf yu'r or yur v-um 'yui d-um Ysh, r, 'yur'um yurd um, yu'rīvd zh, yu'r um yŭrdum g, yār-um sh, yurd u, 'yurv am yoruvd-um, yuruvd Mm, yorv-am yorvd-am t, yor'v-om G, yorv yorivd $Z - \gamma ure 2 sg, \gamma uret 3 pl Yzh,$ max wo 'ymam sh we shall buy it, zo 'xabar yu'rum sh, yu'ra(h) sh, u, yurva g imper 2 sg, vo mon gap $yu'r\bar{a}$ sh hear my word, yurd $y\bar{u}$ alāno sh, vu to xai viai 'yurdum u, yal bil yūrdam Yr, yurdogum perf u, va luydaf yu'ruvd Mm - Av grab. etc V §§ 129, 151 yur'vo Yzh, sh, g, r, 'yuo Mm, od g, 'yərva (g), t, 'yı'o tı, yər'wa G, yı'o Z throat (exterior). - < Av grivā., or < *grwa- (cf Greek δέρη, etc.)? yar'vaden Yzh yeast yurvo-ku'luxa Yzh Adam's apple yu rex Yzh, °ox sh, ya rox r, yo° g knot. - yo ke'nem zh. - *qrayya-, Prs girih (cf. Gr.Ir Ph., I, 2, p 25, Yazgh. y'awd, Sak ggratha- (?) Cf Prs. (dial.) $\gamma i l(a) \dot{c} < *g_1 \partial a \dot{c} i$ Bal garanê < *grandaēīyori-bombur Ysh large, yellow wasp -Khow yoli-b'umbur yurı ca-um yurıcavd-um Yzh to swallow yūarike (pl.) Yzh earrings - *gaušabrtaka- V gušwor, kadrono

yurp Yzh steep, precipice, sh deep (water). - Cannot be connected with Phl. gavr, etc yu! paka pl Ysh the temples - Cf. yulp V. poxa'yak, šâxek i-sar. vis Yzh thread made of goat's hair. -Av gaēsa-, etc. vise Yzh plaited bottom of a bed -Cf vis yuskən Yzh, g, r, oun sh, yüsəkun Mm, vūsken g, en Z cowdung. - *gausakana-, ef Par sayon, Wkh. səgīn, Orm (2)shan, etc 'yaše Yzh, u, °i sh, g, r, Mm, °dy Z, ya'sī G good, well — wən isto ke 'yašc' Yu he said 'well', yaši ādam ō r he is a good man, niv yaši hit zh the rain does good, yaši kaky g boil it well, mai 'yaši these are good - Cf Prs gaš delicate, handsome, TPhl.nw. gs. to be happy? yuš Y, yūš Mm, g, Z, G flesh, meat -Acc to G, fr Taj $\sqrt{n}\bar{s}(t)$, which I have not been able to trace, and which must, if it exists, be of E Ir origin, just as is the case with Par yūš — yūš and Psht. ywaša < *gauštră- a form remodelled from *gau šta-, (Prs gošt, ef Av aoštaand aostra lip), of Sak qqus'ta-(*gau-st-, v Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 413) 'yıška f. Z fur coat — Cf Ishk. yušt yu've Yp, 'yuvya Z wooden trough -*gaub/paka-, cf Norw dial wooden bowl, etc (v W P., I, p. 561) Cf. also s. Sgl. you 'yavo Yzh, p, LSIy, 'wo Yr, g, yowo sh, owa Mt, γοινο m, a g, (g), e (sh), °a Z, yâ'wa G cow — yawə anuvə Ysh, yo yanılə g, yo bayaz kiteste r the cow bellows, yaw-a'vazəm sh I

bring the cow, mo yavo sh this cow, yau vastem (lo herem) i I bound (released) the cow (poss yau in in some of these examples? - Av gav. 'yavarso Yzh, yaw' sh, g 1 millet, gāl (Panicum italicum) - Cf Prs $a\bar{a}wars(a)$. Shgh jawaus, Bajuı juwaxčy (Skold), Kurd gāris, gons, Saka gausa, Par gas, poss, with different suffix, Psht yost (cf Psht uēšta 'hair' Av, vardsa-?) V. yūrzun ya'za Yzh a room 'yaz əm yazd-əm Y, LSIy, m to run. — Ir *găz-, ef Yazgh yaz-, Shgh žōzto run, Oss jazun, qazin to play, make display of one's hoisemanship. — Reg Ir * $q\bar{a}z$ to dip, drink, v nuyoz, of also "qaz- to bite, sting (EVP, s v āyzai), "găza shrub, etc v Sgl yūz), *gāza· fat (EVP, s v yōza, cf Khow zāy, Yazgh zēy fat? yuz'yăp Yzh, sh, g very dirty. ya'zaid um Yzh, o'avd sh, o'eid u to l make to run — wos yaspē yazərdət sh 'aspara dawåndan', yasp yazevda baš u, 'paga ya'zavdum zh v s v paga) — V yāz yo'žī-m yoži'ī-m Yzh to stumble — Cf Wkh gač- to totter? Connection with Old Engl. cuacian 'to quake', etc, is possible.

H

hãc Ysh, uc Mm, əc G, hēc B no, any
— hāc kuổi češ it is nothing, uc ku
či vio it was nothing, 'hēc cīzī na
būt', hēc kuč B nothing — Prs
(h)oc Yzh, hoc sh melted fat (au karda).
— Khow. (Lor.) hōc cooked fat,
dripping — V səbrīm, wāzd

'hade m and f Yzh, hade LSIy, hadda B slave - *han-taka-, cf. Wkh. andag, Sar indīj. Cf 'ida, idiko ha'damə Ysh, ao r, an'dâm Mm limb, a dam Yr body - drust adam Yr - < Av handāman- Khow, ha'dām has the appearance of being a lw from Y! hand Mm, hand to and g lake - Ar. Prs hauz, Taj. havd V žōi. hūy Yzh, sh, LSIy price, money, pūl ma xo'nam, 'na to 'hūy dalem we shall buy it and give you the money, čan ke tū kene, 'hūy da'lem Ysh whatever you do, we shall pay the price, — < *wahāka, Prs bahā $u\bar{a}_1 > Wkh \ uay$, bord from an earlier form of the Y word' Cf Brahui (< *Bal) quāčī commodities < *uahāčī- (?), Oss uæi 'sale' hukm Ysh command, order - ba hokm e Xadāyen — Ar Prs hāl, v māl 'hālo Yzh polostick — halo zodəm 'bāzī kardam' (- Cf Khow hal goal in pole fr Prs hal haule Ysh (garden) wall - Khow hau(A)li court yard (Lor), Panj haweli enclosure for cattle, etc, < Ar - Prs 'hīlak Mm flour-sieve. — Turki elek, alak V yarbīl ha'lāl, 'ār Ysh lawful - h' muzdur d ken - Ar-Prs hal'uā Yzh, sh sweets - Ar.-Prs heno Yzh scabbard - Khow hanu 'honadiy Mm out of breath - *an-antika-, ef Av ånti- (ā-anti) inhalation Cf Barthol, IF 7, p 59 henju Yzh tamarisk. — Khow har Yzh, Z all, every - Prs hu'rō Yzh, sh, u, 'uuro, 'ūra Mm, wūra Z, wura LSIm, hūré B there — užūr kə yū kvei huro astet Ysh he saw that there was a house there, fsāyo ho he rose there (da amīn jāiš), rə'slet ho Ysh they arrived there, ho da bāya r, mist nuno Mm he sat down there — Av. avadra, Psht war, Kurd. ōra hargeno Ysh on all sides (?). — 'ho haulen pəzgi'et they built a wall all around it — Ct har?

hory Yzh, sh, ory r, hör(g) g, org Mm, ary t, arg Z, LSIm work — zo wum ho kənəm Ysh I do this work, po yū ho dið sh 'barā-i yak hār', hör kənem g, 'ary ike'nam Mt, hörkun B work (*höry kən) arkırım G work (for *arg kırım) — Cf Wkh. yark, Sgl arī, Phl ark, etc V. Barth. Miran. Mund I, p 10, Bailey, JRAS 1930, p 18

'harkō Yzh, 'hāo sh upper part of the hack, between the shoulders — Turk, arqa, ef Sgl ar'ka, Khow m'qa harko yaste Yzh spine hork Yzh scar — Khow holk, hōōk (Lor) hasa'inc Yg collar, os zh handker-

chief — Khow (h)osēzni (Lor) handkerchief

hosta'ganu Ysh, osta'gane zh ploughhandle. -- Khow hosta'gani har'uan Yzh animal, sh mad, ai'uan G animal. -- Ar. Prs

ha'zār Ysh, a zōr r 1000. — Prs
'hāzer Yzh a sigh. — ho xiščim I sighed
hazorčan gōlo Mm centipede — *Prs

K(Q)

he, ks Y. M that, when, where, if, so that, who, whatever — Cf. §§ 210, 261 — Prs.

ki'ō Ysh hard work, labour, duty, ploughing, kulba — na 'xāyi ko kīt he gives himself trouble, agar na 'max 'štet ko za'nūn 'šūn if it has become a duty that they should speak to us (agar ba mā gap zadan zarūr šuda ast) — < *k(a)ršā-? V § 132, cf kugo

kỗi Ysh, u, hay Z, koyi B who, anybody — kōi-ste? Yu who are you?

na koi āyōit? sh whom (what) did
you come for? kōi yurdo farma? sh

'kī girifta bâšad?' moi hōi kān farmā?

sh to whom may it belong? V

§ 210. — Av kahyā, cf Wkh. kūi,
Sgl kō(i) Cf nakōi, ka'dī.

kũ Y, Mm, Z, G where? — ku šuyəf vĩo Ysh, 'kujā rafta būdīd?' ku liščut u 'kužā dīdī?' xōyo kū šū? zh whero did he go himself? to yār wos kū ō? sh where is your friend now? ku ot? u 'kšā mērī?' kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm p wherever you go, I shall come, kū və'det? Mm 'kujā burdī?' — Av, Prs. kū V kužā

kū Yzh mountain, kūh bar kūh u (in Prs formula) -- Prs V. γar 'qābəl Yzh strong -- Ar ·Prs.

kabūt Yzh, dove-coloured, Mm, g, tı, Z blue. — Prs

kač Yzh a kind of silk or cotton, 'paxtawārī, sh pilaŋ (= pīla?), g spider's web — Prs kaj silk of little value. V kaċ-kurma, kaċ-žūy.

qacio Yzh, ka'cio sh scissors — pa k' viūtof dea sh cut your beaid — Ai ·Prs.

ku čio Ysh street — ni'ā də huči'o go out into the street, do-kučo zh outside, B without, de-kčo LSIy outside, do šom zh — Prs kūča.

kac-hurma Yzh silk-worm - V. kac.

ka'čīr, v xa'čīr. kač žov Yzh cloak made of kač (q v) kəldī Yzh, Z, kedı LSIy, e m who? which? - kə'dī a'yor? Cf kidi či B nobody — Cf §§ 119, 210 V kyem ka'dūr Yzh, ko° 1, ko'du g cucumber. — Prs ha'dam Yzh step, pace. — Ar-Prs ka'drənə Ysh earring — Khow hari'dieni V gušwor, vūarike, haf'čī Yzh, sh hollow below the sternum — Cf Burushaski (Lor) -Askāpun id (AS heart + khapun spoon) Cf 'kafčio Yzh, g, Mm, o'čio Ysh, 'kafčia f Z, °ī ya G kafčī B spoon — Prs V nar-kafči 'hufčiliy Mm stockings V žirabe 'kāfila Yzh,' kōfile sh caravan — Pis kafas tūr Yzh cage — Ar-Prs qafas + $t\bar{u}r$ (q ∇) 'köfše Yzh, g. ° šo sh, 'kofška r, kafšo Mm, a f Z, kafš G shoe - Prs 'kugo Mm plough $-<*k_{\bar{i}} \& ak\bar{a}$, ef $ki\bar{o}, qi^{\dagger}\bar{a}_{y}$? V § 132 $qi'\bar{q}y$ Yzh, p. ° $\bar{q}x$ sh, $ki\;\bar{q}y$ i, ° $\bar{q}'y$ g, quo Mt, 'quo g, (g), sh), quivo(y) m, 'kuvå Z, keray LSIy, kūa m, kyāx B bull - Reg the uvular fricative v § 33. — Cf. Sgl. kužūk, Yaghn (Ujfalvy) kšak bull, Saraghlani (Z, kišo 'cow' — Derivation from *kj šákaimprobable Cf lib $k\hat{a}_{\gamma}\partial k$ o Mg throat (interior of) — V. ālg, stirya kāyəz Ysh letter — k' kəro he has written a letter - Pra ka'hal Yzh lazy — Ar-Prs kuh'no Yzh, koh''nō sh, hūna Mm. kūnaga Z old, ancient — Pis kāk Ysh, r thirsty. — Prs, Taj. qāq

dry. V trušna

'kāka Yzh, sh, r top of the head, 'kaka g back of the head, Kliow khak -Cf Badakshi kåk i på, Shgh kåk-e ling leg above ankle, and v ušk-mažiko, šâxek-1-sar, wuškiostia 'kōko Yzh, 'kako Mm, 'kəka (g) aunt, koko B father's sister — But cf Prs kākā father's brother 'hūrko Mm, 'hurka g, kvo tı, hūwī'ka G, 'huyka Z stone - Genume (cf. Wanji kup stone), or derived from Prs koh? ka'kāk Y cuckoo — Khow 'kakū, Sar kakkuk, Turki kakkuk kāky im kahvi'ā-m Yzb, kavhy kai hvēsh, kehy am kēkyi ăm r, 'kāky-im $(ke^{t}V\bar{\imath}-m)$ g. kəčiy am ke'kyī-m hutyry o Mm, kety- ketey- Z to boil, cook (Z only intr) — yaši kaky Yg cook it well - < *hat-? IA? Cf kə työv- kəlyēvd- Mt, kətöv- kətēvd Z to boil (tr). kikui'i Yzh, λe° sh, λικι λī (?) r, κυκυε'γα Mg, kvj'go m cooked, ripe - Cf hâhy kūkva Yzh, °ia r, ° tyo sh Mm, kə tva G, kūkyo B short — IA, cf Shina khuto, etc., Wkh kat, Sgl kut Lə'kyaro Yzh, °ãro g Kafir daggei — IA, cf Gawai Bati kaltaro, etc kə la Yzh, sh, G when (interrog and icl — kəla a yoyıt? tro kyei kəlo öyöit when you come to a house - Av kaδa. qala Mm, g fort — Ar-Prs V li zo ku lač Yzh, qə löč Z fathom — Pis.

kəlf Yzh, p, kulf Mm, tı, qulf Z lock

kulyo Yzh a kind of wild-growing vege-

tahle, külya M(g) vegetable, eaten with porridge (bir ün-1 äš mendåza) —

*kaudahā-, cf. Pis kūya کو ده, but

— Ar Prs

also written کوبک, BQI) sweet esculent herb, licorice' Or of Kalasha köla 'chive'

kala kanı Yzh wiinkles — Khow kalakalı (Lor wrinkled

kala-may'zīgo Mm, °ıga Z brain. ~ Pis *kalla-mayzī V (pusur-)mayz

qālin Yzh, kā'līn sh, g, u, 'kâlin Mm rug ('') — Prs

ha'lando Mm, ha landa ti pickaxe, mattock — Prs kaland V. gr'že

ku lāpo Yzh down — k° .covdam I descended. — Radakhshi kalapā sloping down, Shgh kala pāi down, Ishk kalapo low Uf Khorasau Prs kallapā downwards, v Lenz, Pamir Dial., I, 171 a

kal pić Mm, "īć Z turban — Pis *kalapīć. V. ča dūr

haloy Z soot - Cf Wkh. hat-dit < *hata-dita-.

kalıyo, v. kue leu

hām Yzh, g r, k'ām sh, kdm Mm palate
-- Prs , ef Khow khām

hu mā Yzh harlot - Khow.

kūmio Yzh big basket, carried on the back

kam lad Yzh, ka° g back tooth -- V. kām, lad

ha maneh Yzh bow for teasing cotton -k° daham 'gāla mēkīnam', Khow bičešīman — Prs kamānča id

ka mān i Rus tam Mm rainbow — Pis V mīna avilasto

ha mar Yp pouch for gun powder ~ Cf Prs kamar belt? V kuti'ā

kamar'band Yg belt — Prs — V suyməlān

kīmat Ysh puce — Ar. Prs — V hūy kăn Ysh, Z affix of the predic gen V § 214 — mən kān, ta-kān amaf-kān (§ 203', amən-lan, aməf-kan, etc (§ 206), kör-kān (§ 210)

'ken am 'ked-am Mm, kan· kĕd- Z to dıg — kēdo və zə'mīn dug m the earth — Av kan-.

he'n em kə'\text{1-em} Yzh, sh, u, 'kən- kə\text{1-ex}, ike n-am Mt, 'yiken'yikə\text{1-ex}, ike n-am Mt, 'yiken'yikə\text{1-ex}, (i)kən (i)kə\text{1-ex}, kə'\text{1-ex}
G to do — kene sh 2 sg, ö-kin kəne
Yu you cannot (na m\text{0-ex}\text{0-ex}\text{1-ex}
3 sg, ke'nam 1 pl sh, u, ke'net 3 pl
sh, ken imper 2 sg sh. kene 2 pl
sh, u. xo \text{0-ex}\text{0-ex} kə'\text{1-ex}
inan ory ke'rəm r I worked, wo 'mən
xa l\text{0-ex}\text{0-ex}
xa l\text{0-ex} kə'\text{1-ex}
inan ory ke'rəm r I worked, wo 'mən
xa l\text{0-ex}
xa l\text{0-ex}
xa l\text{0-ex}
inan ox kar- (kərənav-)
The element (y)\text{1-ex}, which appears in
some of the M forms, can scarcely
be an ancient prefix (yi-\text{9-ex}).

Lornī- Ysh, in 'wos na xa'yīn lo'zo ko'nīum now I shall have a castle made for myself Or let me now make — Causative or subjunctive?

kun om ku'nā i-m Yzh, kun-əm kunā'i-m g, kūn əm kū nā i m r, kū nāy-am Mm, kūn kūnōy Z to copulate. — Z compares Prs kūn but cf Orm kūn- kwul-. Caucas Jewish kunkerd, which point to a contamination between kūn and the verb 'to do' used enphemistically (cf Horn, Np Et., 259. Cf Sgl ken

kınčaka M(g), 'kın'tıka, 'kın'k' Z small gırl, kınke LSIm gırl — Somehow related to Prs. kanīz(ak), Auromanı kənača, etc *kanyačī > kınč-?

kando Yzh, sh, kēnd Mm plough-share.
— < *kanando* Cf Prs. kanand</p>
hoe, spade or instrument for turning
up ground which cannot be ploughed

With dissimilation Prs kaland pickaxe, and further kuland, kulang through contamination with the word for 'crane') But of also Psht kunda plough share hand Mm blant. - Prs. V mrky. handrag Yzh trench, ditch. - Khow, of Prs. handag, xandag hun'dut Mm dust storm ka nayiko Yzh wart kunj Yzh, Mm corner of a house Pra V burž, šungā. ken Yzh cave — Khow hen kun'dūk Yzh, 'hunduk sh, g wooden bowl (larger than a padriško) — Khow

kun¹yaste Yzh. g, kun° sh, kunyəstə r,
 kūn'əv Mm, t, g, kun'g' Z, kun G
 deaf — Av. karəna-, Psht kūn, etc.
 Cf. the similar suffix in gungəstə hankato Ysh non kettle for porridge

(not recognized by zh). — IA?

kap Y, kop Mm, g, (sh), kap G, kop B

fish — Cf. EVP. s.v kab. The p

renders the word suspect of being
borrowed (from Wkh kūp?),

kop Yzh, g, r, kob sh, kob Mm little, too little — kop šūi Yzh it became too little, hūγ kəb no'yoi sh the price became too small, kam šud — < *kanı(b)na, Av kanına-, etc

ku'pər, v pukor

'kār- 'kıšc- Yzh, həšc-, kɔšı ı sh, kıškv

Mm to sow, plant, kōr- kıšk Z to
plough — gu'le kšci'et Ysh they
planted flowers, pāšīdan ket zh he
plants — Bad. and Taj have kārkāšt, not *hišt-, yet borrowing from
Prs. 1s probable Cf Sgl. kīr-

kir Yu, in &kir kone you cannot Cf

'hrr- Yzb, 'hər- r to cut down — Cf
hər dah-

kūr Yzh, kur sh, g dumb. — Cf. Ishk.

qa'rib Mm, g near, close — mə kyaı q° g this house is near. — Ar Prs. V naz'dil

krabere Yzh wool of lambs — Khow kābrath, etc

'Larbosa Y, kar'bosakt pl sh, kar laša
Mt, (sh', kawunggyny Mm lizard —
Prs karbasa, °pāsa, °pāša, etc, cf
Sgl kərvišik, etc — V zəgānmyə.

'kurbəs Mm blind — Cf Prs kür. V 'yāde

hār'ga maker of wooden troughs and plates, tabak trāš. — Scarcely fr. Prs kārgah workshop! But of Psht kāra large wooden vessel?

kəro γunu Yzh, sh cattle-infesting tick
— Khow kor'yuno, kör'γυnu (Lor)
tick

kur'yudə Yzh, °ūt sh bramble, siāh-xār
— With °yudə cf. Prs kunda log'
'karyəz f. Yzh, g, °'yəz r, 'kargas Mg
black and white eagle, Khow bizbar
— The M form is a modern lw from
Prs kargas, cf Sgl. kor'yos. With z
also Sängisarı k'ar'g'az, Brahui kargaz
V ukāb, šiž.

kar'γasp Yzh small, uneatable fish
 'kırəm Yzh bug which eats the giain
 Prs.

kur'mo Y, žu'yus k° g scorpion, 'kurmo Yg, kurm Mm insect (''), kərm Z worm. — vo k° pis'to Yu he asked the scorpion (gaždum) — Genuine, cf Prs kirm, etc

hur'miko Yzh bee — V. ag'mın- hur miki.
'kārun Yzh, 'voun sh army — Anc Iw.
fr. Prs. The meaning of the Y word

supports Fr Muller's derivation of $k\bar{a}rw\bar{a}n < k\bar{a}ra$. (Horn, Np Et p 185), which has been rejected by Hubschmann (Prs Stud., p. 85) and others

'hurpo Yzh, 'po 1, Mm, 'pa G, Z hedclothes — Bad Prs kurpa quilt, ci Sgl. kurpē

hm pa ša Yr mosquito — Pis, *hūr-paša Cf Ishk id

ki'rāi Yzh Kafir cheese — IA teg Pashat ki'rār), but not Khow (cf Ashkun Voc s.v. ce'la...

hur'st Yzh, g chair - Ar Prs

hairðst Yzh, g, r, ke' sh, korost Mg, t, 'ka' m, ko' Z, G hide, skin — Cf Sgl. korost hide, Psht krästa felt (Impossible etymology proposed by Markwart, Caucasica, 6, 32

hurušo Yrh Augelica.

g 3

kər'sav- kər'savd- Ysh to stir (sonp, etc.) ku'rüt Yzh "not made in Lutkoh", g. Mm, "tə Ysh dried curds. — Prs kər'tus Mm cartıidge — Ind fr French karvön'kus the morning star. — *Prs, cf Wkh, karwān-kus.

har vase Yzh, har bos Mm, os Z cotton — M fr Prs., Y fr Khow kar vas in its turn from Prs kar bās, which is of Ind origin!.

'kirio Yzh, keri'o sh, kero g, kii yo r, kirya Mg, t, o m, 'khirya g), 'ko'roya Z, kori'ya G hen — *kikiya, cf. Prs. karq, Psht. čirg, Wotyak (lw kureg, etc. But cf. Shgh čuž, čaž koj in kor da'ham, žiem Yzh, kor dam r to fell a tree, pa kora skostém zh I felled — < *krta- Cf. Sgl kud ken-.

k³ re Yzh, yūk³rıy Mm closed — ken-Yzh also means 'to close'. kere Yzh, 'hərə g shield. - Khow kheli,

kejo f Yzh, 'ka' sh, kə' g, 'ko' r.
'ke' p, 'kero Mm, 'kerika g, 'kera Z.
'ta G kmfe — nuvə'yum vo k' Yp
I took out the kmfe — *kartıyā-,
c! Psht čāra, etc

'luid Yzh numb, stiff with cold, Khow kaug — lo šūi

kārtak Yzh, °āk sh yoke-peg — kāriāke pl — Khow kārt, fr which also Wkh ke'tī

'hinsar Yzh, sh combined walking stick and pickaxe. — Khow hrinzāl pickaxe, hlīnsār (Lor.) alpenstock

how Yzh incrustation, seah of a wound

- Khow. klöh hard, stiff (of a hide, etc.)

kiox(i)-yaste Ysh knuckle, ankle bone
V biok, axrigula, boda, troboda

'kos. 'kist Yzh, r, kuos. sh to search for. — čəš kose ste? Yr ciš mēšūrī? kuo'sem vio sh 'mēšurīdim' — Fr Av kas. to see, get sight of?

hus Yg, Z, hus Mm, g, hos vulva — P15 V šino

huso Yp straw of maize

kosk m Mm. Z, G, kosk Mg, (g), tı, t baıley — Cf Yazgh kåsk, Arm kask (Hubschm, 515), but Prs kašk, Shgh čūšč, Sar. čušj V 'yeršio

Löskən 'nayan', Mm barley (bread) — Prs. kaškina, Arm k'aškēn (Hubschm, 257) V aršəlmin

qasam Mm oath — Ar-Prs V wor qassa Yu tale — Ar-Prs

hö'ša Yzh, g, höš sh, r valley — *kaš(š)a-'armpit', cf. Kabuli Prs bayalı köh nook at the foot of a hill?

kaš Z' piebald, multicoloured — Cf. Shgh. čūž, Yazgh k'āw, Ishk col. Psht gaž -š- points to borrowing kišča Yr plough(ing), kišču-γuz LSIy cultivation — V kār

'huščo Yzh, p wooden frame for carrying hay on the back (v illustrations in Vavilov, Agricult Afgh., figg 40, 70).

huš'm·um kuš'māi·m Yzh, hiš'mōy-am Mg to vomit Cf 'kašpa Z saliva? ku'šūn Yzh, sh smoke — Khow V lūi

kⁱšer Yzh, r. kšyar sh a kind of pea,
Lathyrus sativus, patek — Cf. Wkh
k^jro^ž Acc to Agricult Afgb pp
112, 114 it grows in Sanglech, but
not in Munjan V pateko, xurmuyo
ki šār Yp spike of wheat, etc.

ka'tā Ysh plough - V kugo

ka'tī M(g) mixed — k° kerem — Ar-Prs. qātī

keltiu Yzh, kə tyū g, kəltöb Mm. — zo
'nā-to kiti ū da'lim Yzh, mən yū ko
astət g — M fr Ar-Prs., with Y
cf. Khow kiteb, Wershikwar kitep,
with imāla

kautia Yzh, sh, g, o'tōo r, 'kaftina Mm, og, kotia B butterfly.—V par'wāno

kutilā Yp small pouch for gunpowder, carried inside the kalmar — Cf Prs qūlī a box in which precious stones etc are carried?

ku'taya Yzh, °ya(n) sh wild almond, bādām. — From Kafiri, ef Kati kte < kāntā

hua'tın Ysh, ko tın g nich — no yū l hua'tının muz'durə ken Ysh take i service with a rich man, — Khow i koa'tīn fr Ar-Prs *quwwatīn. V. i bāi, dauladâi

kwtān Yzh large water-fowl, 'kulān' (?) kwtox Yzh, sh, °ax Mm a kind of sour milk made from dūy (māst mēzana, $d\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ mendâza), $kt \neq x$ Yg $kand\bar{u}$ (*). — Cf. Sgl $k^{u}t \neq x$ fr. Tu.-Prs katax, $qati_{\gamma}$

kuta'xın Yzh bread made with hutox V arsəmīn.

k²tyőv-, v kāky-

kūt Ysb coat. - Engl

ko'fīne Yzh, o't g, o'tne sh middle stzed hammer. — Khow

kutolit Yzh dried mulberries — Khow V. tal'kān

'kovio m, Yzh, 'kōvio sh, 'iya r, 'iyo ('ūyo') u, koū g, 'kouya Mm, 'o g, 'kouūya Z, kāwū'ya G, kowū B pigeon—kōviyo gošč Yu— Cf Prs kabūtar, Wkh kibit, Sgl kō'vīδ, Khow Iw kovōr, etc

kovz'dūz Yzh, kaf'dūz sh cobbler — Prs kafšdōz

'kowito Yzh fig — Khow ko(w)īt

kvei m Y, Mt, °əi g, °oi m, °oi ti, kyai Z, kvēy G house — loyēi də kvei; no xoi kvein, tio kvei, tio kvēi, tio kvēyen loyēi, asəm nə kyēlyen, no xoi hyēyen Yu, šūi dalrūn də kvoi, yū kyoi, xiroi kyayı Mm; mə kyai qalrīb, myend kvalyā qalrīb Mg — <*kataka-, Prs hada, etc

'kyof-um 'kyoft-um Yzh to groan. — Cf Prs. kafīdan to burst, crack, foam?

'kyıfo Yzh, 'kyū' sh, r, 'kyīfe Mg, 'kıfa Z, kū'fân Mm hump (of cows) — mou 'kyufo Ysh — Cī kū'fōn Z camel's hump — Cī Pls. koha, Kurd. kāf, SgI kīf < *kaufa-, but Psht. kwab, Or. kūp, with p. — Reg. Wkh kip, kap, Sar kiep v Wkh. s v.

kyo'gō Yzh, p, co'gōo sh, kyoyo B pear.

— < *tongo, Khow tong
hyahre Yzh anger — Ar Prs

kvel Yzh, kväl Mm bald-headed — Prs. kal

kve'lēu Yzh, sh, 'kaliyo Min, čāliye ti, kəlī'ya G key, bolt — Ane lw fr Prs. kəlīd.

kyal-yereno Yzh, °yareno sh white headed, bald-headed eagle. Cf. kyel and Wkh. kalmory °yereno < *grdnu-. cf. Skr grdhnu- eager, greedy, gr'dhra-vulture?

kveliko Yzh, sh, 'kvaliko r, ^kve g, 'kaliko Mm, 'kalivika g, 'kvālvaka (g) jaw. — IA, cf. Kalasha kālyak, ete, Par kalagī da'nân front tooth. V ni'šök.

kval-yaršio Ysh beardless barley, 'kal-jau' Cf Agric. Afgh. p 302

kuem Yzh, kum sh, kuyam Mm, kuyam Z which? — mo kuem üdam? Yzh 't kudām ādam ast'r kum ādam? sh — Cf § 210. V kodī

kvamder Yzh, kvomdor sh, kamder Mw. kemder LSIy younger, 'kandir Z smaller, kando'ra G little finger k° vraya, vrai, vroi younger brother — Prs kamtar

kumalyo Yzh skull — Av kamaraba-, Sak kamala-

kvunyo Yzh, kvun'yo sh, 'kvū° g, r,
'kungvuvgo Mm, 'kendəvga Z magpie,
yalbēk — *kyšna(pa)kā- (?), cf Sgl
kvēvžāk < *kēžvāk < *ki šapaka-,
Wkli kri žepē, krīzipēi, Sligh. krīžēpe,
Sar. kargopē, etc (v Z s v), Khow.
lw. križipi, Shina hašap, Wershikwar
yašēp

kur po Yzh polo ball — Not Khow kur'f-um: kur'fāi-m Yzh, kur'fay-om sh, kurfa'ī m r, cīrfom. čurfa'ī m g to sneeze — Onomatopoetic, cf Wkh štrof-

kyarazo Yzh, č° sh small wooden spade with long handle, used for opening and shutting irrigation rivulets— Ct Prs kirāz hariow, Orm kurāžī, Wanetsi krōz spade

hvesa, v. xšīr kvesa

k^ycsiⁿa Yzh forest — Lor. suggests connection with Khow tes-puk (t-) a kind of shrub. — V. ¹žangal

'kūza Yg, °o r, Mm jar. — Prs. V so'fo qıza'gī Yrh small bridle. — Ar.-Pis qaıza V. aw'lān

ku¹žā Ysh where? — da-kužār kšū? — Prs. kujā, cf. Madaglashtı kušā < *kšā < *k(u)jā.</p>

ku'žo Yzh, sh, Mm crooked. — Cf Sgl, Prs kūž, etc

'kužhe Yzh, °hi sh, °he p, °yi g,
'hūžihà f Z, hujha B hair (of the
head). — kušha nvašim Yg — *kaučilock, curl, cf. Prs kūž curved, Skr
hucati benda, Sogd huz'h 'chignon'
(Benveniste, JA, 223. p 229).

krživo Yzh, r dirty.

kož'vioko Yzh a kind of red and white duck. — Cf kaš

L

la, lo Y with, together with. — ze lo to ory ko'nim Yr I work together with you, la mon astet sh I possess. Cf §§ 166, 218, 220. — Av hada, Psht. la

la-, v. lak.

'līu Mm rotten, bad, ganda, līw Z, G bad — mai raši, wai liwi these are good, those are bad, līu keram I stooled — Acc. to G < Av daēva-Ishk. lēw night-mare, lēv mad belong to a dialect with $l < \delta$ Ishk leu hišča Yr plough(111g), hišču juz LSIy cultivation — V kār

'kuščo Yzh, p wooden frame for carrying hay on the back (v illustrations in Vavilov, Agricult Afgh., figg 40, 70).

huš'm-um kuš'mār-m Yzh, hīž'mōy-am
Mg to vomit Cf 'kašpa Z sahva?
ku'šān Yzh, sh smoke --- Khow V
lū

hi šer Yah, r, kšyar sh a kind of pea, Lathyrus sativus, patek — Cf. Wkh hiroš Acc to Agricult Afgh pp 112, 114 it grows in Sanglech, but not in Munjan V pateko, xurminyo hi šār Yp spike of wheat, etc.

ka'tā Ysh plough — V kugo

ka'tī M(g) mixed — k° kerem — Ar-Prs. qātī

ke'ttu Yzh, kə'tyü g, kə'töb Mm. — zo
'nā-to kıtı ü da'lım Yzh, mən yü ko
astət g — M fr Ar-Prs., with Y
cf. Khow kiteb, Wershikwar kitep,
with imāla

kautia Yzh, sh, g, °'tto r, 'kaftwa Mm, °o g, kotia B butterfly. — V par'wāno kuti'ā Yp small pouch for gunpowder, carried inside the ka'mar — Cf Prs qūtī a box in which precious stones etc are carried?

hi'taya Yzh, °ya(n) sh wild almond, bādām. — From Kafiri, ef Kati hte < hāntā</p>

hua'tın Ysh, hotin g iich — no yü kua'tının muz'dinə ken Ysh take service with a rich man — Khow koa'tīn fr Ar-Prs *quwwatīn. V. bāi, dauladāi

ku tān Yzh large water-fowl, 'kulān' (?) ku tax Yzh, sh, °ax Mm a kınd of sour mılk made from dūy (māst mēzana, $d\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ mendáza), ktəx Yg kand \bar{u} (°). — Cf. Sg! k^{2} tər fr Tu.-Prs katax, qati γ

kuta'an Yzh bread made with kutox V arsəmīn.

katyov-, v kaky-

kūt Ysh coat. — Engl

ko'tine Yzh, oi g, oine sh middle sized hammer. — Khow.

kifo'i 7 Yzh dried múlberries — Khow V. tal'kān

'kovio m, Yzh, 'hōvio sh, 'iya r, 'iyo ('ūyo') u, koū g, 'kouya Mm, 'o g, 'kowūya Z, kāwū'ya G, kowū B pigeon — kōviyo gošč Yu — Ct Prs kabūtar, Wkh kibit, Sgl kō'vīð, Khow lw. kovōr, etc

kovz'dūz Yzh, kaf'dūz sh cobbler —
Prs kafšdūz

'kowito Yzh fig — Khow ko(w)it.

kyei m Y, Mt, °əi g, °oi m, °oi ti, kyai Z, kyēy G house — loyōi də kyei, no xoi kyein, tio kyēi, tio kyēyēf loyōi, asəm nə kyē'yen, no xoi kyēyen Yu, šūi da'rūn də kyoi, yū kyoi, xiroi kyayı Mm; mə kyai qa'rīb, myend kya'yī qa'rīb Mg — < *kataka-, Prs kada, etc

'kyof-um 'kyoft-um Yzh to groan. — Cf Prs. kafīdan to burst, crack, foam?

'kusfo Yzh, 'kuū' sh, r, 'kuīfe Mg, 'kufa Z, kūfân Mm hump (of cows) — mou 'kuufo Ysh — Cf kū'fōn Z camel's hump — Cf Prs. koha, Kurd. kēf, Sgl kīf < *kaufa-, but Psht. kwab, Or kūp, with p. — Reg. Wkh kip, kap, Sar kiep v. Wkh. s.v.

kyo'qō Yzh, p, ζο'gōo sh, kyoγo B pear — < *tongo, Khow tong kyahre Yzh anger — Ar-Prs. kvel Yzh, kvāl Mm hald-hended — Prs. kal

kve'lēu Yzh, sh, 'kaliyo Min, čāliye ti, kalī'ya G key, bolt — Anc Iw fr Prs kalīd

hull-yereno Yzh, graneno sh white headed, bald headed eagle. Cf. kuel and Wkh. kalmury greno < granu. cf. Skr glahni- eager, greedy. gridhravulture?

'kveliko Yzh, sh, 'kvaliko r, 'kve g, 'kalilo Mm, 'kalöviha g, 'hvālvaha (g) jaw — IA, ef. Kalasha kālyak, etc, Par kalagi da'nân front tooth. V ni'sōk.

kyal-yaršio Ysh beardless barley, 'kal-jau' Cf Agric. Afgh. p 302

kyem Yzh, kyom sh, ki'yam Mm, koyam Z which? — mo kyem ādam? Yzh 'ī kudām ādam ast'? kyom ādam? sh — Cf § 210. V. kodī

kyamder Yzh, kyəmdər sh, kamder Mm. kemder LSIy younger, 'kandır Z smaller, kandə'ra G little tinger k° vraya, vraı, vröı younger brother. — Prs kamtar

kvemalyo Yzh skull — Av kamereda-, Sak. kamala-

kvuņyo Yzh, kvun'yo sh, 'kvū' g, 1,
'kungvurgo Mm, 'kendvuga Z magpie,
yalbēk — *kţšna(pa)kā- (?), ef Sgl
kvēvžāk < *kēžvāk < *kṛšapaka-,
Wkh ku žepē, kižipēi, Shgh kižēpe,
Sar kargopē, etc. (v. Z s v), Khow.
lw. ki'šipi, Shina kašap, Weishikwar
yašēp

ku po Yzh polo ball — Not Khow
kur'f-um: kur fāi-m Yzh, kur'fay-əm
sh, kirfa'i-m r, čīif-əm čirfa'i m g
to sneeze. — Onomatopaetic, ef Wkh
štrof-

kvarazo Yzh, č° sh small wooden spade with long handle, used for opening and shutting irrigation rivulets — Cf Prs kirāz hariow, Orm kurāžī, Wanetsi krāz spade.

kvesa, v xšir kvesa

kVest'na Yzh forest — Lor. suggests connection with Khow. tes-puk (t-) a kind of shrub. — V. 'žangal

'kūza Vg, °o r, Mm jar. — Prs V so'fo qıza'gi Yzh small bridle. — Ar -Pis qarza V. aw'lān

ku'žā Ysh where? — da-kužā? kšā? — Prs. kujā, cf. Madaglashtı kušā < *kšā < *k'u'jā.

ku'žo Yzh, sh, Mm crooked. — Cf Sgl., Prs. kūž, etc

'kužhe Y.h, 'ha sh, 'he p, 'ga g,
'kūžikā t. Z, kujka B hair (of the
haad). — kušha nvašim Yg. — *kaučilock, curl, cf Prs kūž curved, Skr
kucati bends, Sogd hwz'k 'chignon'
(Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 229).

kiž'yo Yzh, r dirty

kož'vioko Yzh a kind of red and white duck — ('f kaš

L

la, lo Y with, together with. — ze la to orγ kalium Yr I work together with you, la man astet sh I possess.
Cf. §§ 166, 218, 220. — Av. haδa, Psht. la

la-, v. lak.

'līu Mm rotten, bad, ganda; līw Z, G bad. — mai yaši, wai liwi these are good, those are bad, līu keram I stooled — Acc. to G < Av daēva-Ishk. lēw night mare, lēv mad belong to a dialect with $l < \delta$ Ishk leu

stupid, blunt, cf Prs līw stupid, foolish, may have the same origin loū- lo¹wai Yzh, lawū LSIy to graze (tr. and intr) — x²šu¹wān lo¹ū the shepherd grazes (the cattle), wo¹rī l° the sheep graze, no-lauayen LSIy to graze. — < *dab-, cf EVP, s v blūs ²

lũ m Y, liy Mm, g, ti, lī (g), luy Z,
 G smoke — Cf Prs. dūd, Wkh δīt,
 Sgl dīδ, etc — V. kušūn.

/uū Yzh, lū g pine marten, Khow rušk lib em libāi m Yzh, 'lib em Mti to card wool, Khow dumman — Cf Sgl demb., Khow. lw dum. With Ir *dumb- cf IA tumb- in Panj. tumbņā to tease cotton, etc (v. Nep Dict s v. tumu) — Prs. dafta 'weaver's comb' for *dufta?

laba'kow um M(g) to smear, plaster — Ar -Prs labh mixing (flour with honey, etc.), mixturo?

lə ban əm Ysh lə bad əm sh, r, lə vân-19 ved- Mm, 19 von $l^{3}v\varepsilon y$ - t, (g), l'von- livay- Z to winnow, bat kardan - wou labadam Y1 - Cf Sgl davin, Wkh bun, Shgh. de'vēn-, Yazgh Sevan to winnow, Av dvan (diasa) to fly, us dvanaya- to throw up (Sak uysvan), bata- 'winnowed' (= $l^{3}v\bar{\epsilon}y$ -, Yazgh &evud), not 'coarsely ground' ZAn Wb, sv., Scheftelowitz, ZDMG 59, pp 690, 780) — Paht lwast to winnow, Ardistani bandbas to throw (Bailey, BSOS, 7, p 771) < dvan, influenced by *ban(d)- Cf also Orm ban-, Bakht., ete, van to throw away), cf NTS, 5, p 14

lad Y, lod Mm, lönd g, g), t, lönd tı, lod Z lât G, lād LSIm, lànd MFB

tooth — Pl lade Ysh, logi Mm — Av dantan-, cf Sgl dānd, Wkh. dendih, lānd

lo voī, v tī

'luydo Yzh, u, luy'do sh, g, p, loo r,
'loyda Mt1, g, oa (g), 'lōydo m, 'luyda Z,
loy'da G daughter. — to čand loyde
astet* yū loydo, x'ror loyde Yr, obl
loydon, loydof Y1, luy'de pl, 'ar 'luydeo
sh, lu 'luydr vī'at, ro' luydaf yu'ruvd,
mar 'luydr nīāstat Mm, 'loydr pl. Mt1
— Av duydar, Sgl wudoyd, Wkh
doyd, etc, cf. Oss 'xo dryd husband's
sister (°dryd *'girl')

luydiko Yzlı daughter (demin)

la vafči, v le vaxčc.

lo'yn-am lo'yod an Yzh, r, loyod o sh, loyot u, nayo'n-om (?) lo'yod-om g, loyot u, mayo'n-om (?) lo'yod-om g, loyot u, sau hat, lo'yoda waxt sh evening, sho loyo šuyam r perf (?), stīnyo šūt loyodo g he lay down on his back — Mm would point to Ir eni-gan, not -*kan Cf

layan um, layad um Yzh, sh, 1, nayan-um notyadom g, loyon- loyend- Mt, (g) to throw away, to pour out, 'partau hardan, partaftan' - But note also layend am Yzh 'partau kardım', layendom Y1 I send away, 'mēfiristim'. lo'yed om I poured out, 'tit kardani', Prend um Mm, 'tīt mēkunam' li gadum(?) 'tīt kardum', — gadāī ləzān Yeh give up begging (partau), no 'vira Isyado da kyēs 'da xāna bār partaft' sh, xosto lyadəm da xu'rum 1 1 thiew the grain into the threshingground - *ni gan-, oi, if Mm ligad-19 correct, *m kan, cf. Prs afgandan, etc, (v. AO, 1, p 249, Bailey JRAS,

1934, p 515, Henning, ZII, 9, p. 172)

loh Y, lō(h) Yg, lv Mm, sh), (g), lō t, lō g, lō, lɔ Z, lən G two. — lo naha'nī Ysh two loaves, loh muž, loh pūre sh. 'lv 'lvydi Mm — < *dawa, Av dva, etc.

loh o'guščo Ysh span from thumb to index finger

loh'yīnj Yzh double — Adapted from Khow jurinj

loh'saxo Yzh a period of two years, Khow jusaxa (not known from other sources!). — sax- < *saxwan from sakto pass the time? Cf. yu'saxo.

la'jom Mm, g, Z, loo ti bridle, bit — Prs. lijām, of Sgl la'žām, Shgh la'jūm. etc V aw'lān

la-ken- Ysh, r, lak- M(g) to let loose, leave, la'kia B to leave, lâken LSIm keop, put — rau lo-kərəm Yr I let loose the cow, wo pos'ko la kər sh, uos pilrira lakam M(g) now I break a wind. — Cf Sgl la ken. Wkh la-cer, Shgh, Ot. lā(k), Khow lw lakoman I let go, leave.

'lāmo Yzh, sh, g, LSIy, 'lao' Yt. B, 'lōmo Mm, of g, lā'ma G village — 'žōt 'lāmə vī'et they were from one village, wo 'lōmo žowan Mm this village is his. — G compares Av. dāman-creature, creation, place of habitation (in an eschatological sense), of Sogd. Sm world Similarly Lhd. lōk village < vorld.

lsm Yzh, g, lem r, lvm sh, Mm, (sh), lvm G, lum m. Z tail — < Av duma (<*dumbma-; *dumba- would have resulted in *lub etc.

'lamdo f. Y, 'lo' Mm, lömadu Z hem, 'dāman — < *dāmantā'pl ?cf Benv.

Gramm Sogd II, 79), cf Psht laman V avland

lömago Mm snare - Psht lūma, Wkh bung, etc

lamoiγa Mt swollen, waran kaida — A perf. ptc, cf Prs damidan to break out in pimples or swellings. Ioma'len Yzh, li° g, na° sh half-full — *haδa-maδyana- V 'malen, nim'kālo,

nīmopir
lə mön əm· lə mī m Yzh, ləmo'n əm
lə mī im sh to rub — <*nı man(ə)nanı-matıta- (cf Gr Ir Ph. I, 2, p
212), cf Av. mant- (pres. manā),
Shgh δe'mān-, etc V magy-,

löndeka, v. landık

'lenžu Yzh, 'lyanžu(n) sh strip of willow's bark — Khow lēnžu.

luaneke pl) Yzb, luanə'kə sb, lū'eno Mg twin(s), 'lūnn m hoth. — < *dwīn-, or *duwāna * Cf. Sogd δ(y)βn pair (Gramm Sogd 2, p 140), Shgh δισαη, etc two. — V. də'gōnī

lānawo B wise If correct, ancient lw from Prs

lan'dık Yzh, landuk sh, 'ak B fat (adi), 'löndeku M(g) helly, škāmbe

linga Mm, ling t, °ga m. Z calf of the leg. — Prs. lang V. ilira, neliko lan'gau Yg bucket not known to Yzh'. — V mašerba.

lin'gon Yr, lu' Mm, lo' g (not known to Yzh) hand-mil) —

la pon (l' Yzh glitters, Khow lapouran, lapessa B to sparkle. — Khow V. § 231.

lār- lāt- Yzh, sh, 'lōr- Mm, g, lōn lēt Z to have, lâr- G to give (?) — lat zh he has, la'təni sh, lato he had, zo vəta gap yū lārəm zh I hear yoni word, yū lār sh listen, xabar lār am sh,

tu ištī lörī Mm have you anything?
— Cf Pis dāram, etc

ləbin-m lənebi-m Yzh, labi-m g, luruy-am Mt, lubri-am lubi-em (9) tı, lüriylünyiy- Z to reap — Ci ləbawa Mt reaper, 'gandum kı mēdrana' — Ci. Sgl deray-, Prs durüdan

lira Yp the dium of a spinning wheel (v III) — Cf Av dāru, Prs dār wood, beam?

lūr-um 'rust um Yzh, sh, lur rust-r, Mm, t, th, Z, rul-nm Yr to flee — 'stārei 'lūrət Yg the stars fall — <*raud- rusta-, cf Av raod- to stream, 1011.

lu'ro um Yu to put to flight — 20 rto lo, as tā lo. Cf. 'lūr-

'lūro Yzh, sh, g, o'ror, lv'ro Mm, lv're g,
oa, lūo Z far, distant — yo ādam
lu'ro Yzh, wo âdam lv'ro Mm, uənd
ādame 'lūro astet Ysh, wə kyur lə're
Mg, dur luro pādo šom I have walked
far to day, žo lura'yan Ysh, že
lūreyen LSIy from afar, az dūr —
Av. dūra-, etc

le rəfso Yzh, lə rauso sh, r, lə refso Mm, ca g, də revsa Z awl. — Cf. Prs. dı afs, which has influenced Z's form lə royo Yzh elear sky — < *idrakā-, cf Oss u.d., Skr vīdhra-, Palola bīdu, ctc < *vīdhriya-, Khow yudu < *edhra (?) Possibly borr into Finno-Ugrian, v Paasonen, Ostjak Wb, Nr. 157 (ētə) and cf Kola Lapp vieihta, which acc. to information kindly supplied by professor Collinder may go back to *vētra

l³··νιγιε Yzh, sh, l³··rū r, l³·rī^o Mg, t, 11, l³··rēgus m, l^or^oγūx, l›·νūx l··νūs', lṛūx G sickle — *drāta- < *dāθra-+ kusa (?), v Goteborgs Hogskolus Årskrift, 36, pp 68 sqq Cf Yaghn d'råt, d'rås < *drād-, Sogd dr''š (JA, 223, p 219) and v EVP s v. löi. lis Y, lirs Mg, lurs m. Z goat's hair — Cf Wkh dirs, Shgh. došc, and v NTS, V, p 43, s v drassam Cf also Prs dirs a threadbate garment, a camel's tail, and Khow jošk (O'Brien) fine hair of yak fr lr (cf još ten < *doš)?

l'ro'ro Yzh, r, °ro sh, l'i avo Mm reaping, lir ava ti reaper — l'o kenem, yikenum I reap — Cf l'rs. dirau V. lii lur've Yzh, °wu sh, °wo r, °ūð g, lo'rū B, 'leravi Mm, le'revi ti sick, ill, (pooi Yzh) — zo lur've Yzh I am ill, pādšā lur'rū šūi sh, mən (mox) u'zīr 'lurio 'vīrm r I was (we were) ill yesterday — Cf.

ld'rold Yzh, lorovo B, ldrawe G illness — mon ldrovo th I am ill, I feel pain. — lur've < *a-druvaka-, ef Av. drva-, Sogd. dr'wh sound, fresh, ldrovo < *a-drawyā- (??), scarcely, with G, from *draywi, ef Av dright poor, weak — Cf also Bal durāh, Brahm dunāx well in health < *drāwaxa-

 l^{p} rīva Mtı, l^{p} rīven t shrub, bush used as fuel, $p\bar{u}\dot{s}$.

'larza Yzh, g, 'o r trembling. — mon l'o kit I tremble — Prs

'larze Yzh, 'zı (pl') sh, 'lārzı p, 'lorzıy Mm, 'lōrzı t sheaf of corn, 'larze Ysh sheaf band — Cf. Tahsh darz sheaf, Av darzz- to tie together, etc

lā'n ū Yzh melon, tarbuza — Khow

los Y ten - Av dasa V dă.

lo'so Ysh, r, la g, la h, Mm, lā sa G, la Z, lâsef obl pl l.SIm tope (made of goat's wool) — Cf. Prs.

dasa thread which remains in the loom, Bal dasag thread (?), Shumashti (Dardie) dasə thread (fr. Prs.), Ski daśā- fringe

leso Yzh, lo^ r, loo g, leo Mm wild oats. — Cf Sgl do sin .

last m Y, lost Min, Z, löst Mg, (g), ti, låst G arm, läst Ysh arm below elbow, hand — žuwānsn wa alāno da lāst kər Ysh the young man took the pome-granate in his hand, 'na tə tiə lās kə jum sh I put it in your hand, last üzdəm g I wash my hands.

— Not lw, but with dissimilation fr Av zasta-, as in other Ir dialects laste Yzh, ip, 'è sh handle of a spade las(t, bot Yr, g, lasten b' sh wrist — trə bən ta lasbo'da Yg (?)

los wist Y1 200, hazār (1)

los yū Yzh, g, ° 1yū sh, r eleven — Cf Khow još-ū

lišč-, lišku, v wīn-

laštokun Ysh saddle-cover (?) V jalvy latiok Yzh, 'lāt'oik sh wild chive garlic, used as a vegetable — Khow latruk livde Yzh, '2 sh second irrigation, dūāva. — V dūōva, avzino

luden Yzh, sh, li°r, g, Mm g, 'ludam pl?) Yp, līv'den Z fire-place, Mm also n of a constellation, (cf Kalasha udhon tupod. Idhonek constellation) — *daiga-dāna- (Prs dēgdān) with dissim of δ-δ (v § 52) But v < γ²

ləror Y, Mm, °ər g, lu'vār m Z, lə'uar G door — yū l° no'yor Mm he appeared in the doorway — Av.

dvar-, cf Sgl vor, Wkh bar.

l' roro Y, l' reriko Mm, 'luvi a Z roofhoard, rafter — Ougually doorplank? — Psht barga rafter is probbour from IA

15 - Kulturforskning

loraxče Yzh, la yafër sh large comfer, torch — V. pelicyo

bra'za Yzh, sh, r baked dough

liv'zīn Yzh, lə sh, r, g, ləv'zo felt, ləvz nāmyo G coarse cloth, palos, lovs B thick — Cf Pis dabz thick, coarse (as cloth), -în is an adj. ending

le verzeya rūso Yzh bat (winged fox)
 Cf la and varzeyo V šabparekilay,
 živderaus

lu'wist Yzh, g, lū° r 40, °isto'los r 50 — V § 202

lav'čio Ysh, r. p. 'laxčio zh, Mm, g.
°a i Z small goatskin bag for keeping
flour sɔnāč. — lə'yado da l° sh threw
into a bag, da laxčief yuidam r —
laač < *lahč- < *lačk, ci Sgl
dēcak, Wkh dock?*

lav'stre Yzh, 'laxsərə sh, g, 'ere r 'yaxsəriy Mm, g, yaxsere Z ice — Cî Prs xasăr, hasar, hasîr (yax + sār)? Regarding l- cî. § 78 V List of Place Names Yakhserighar. lyoxe Yzh, sh, lovə r itching (or it itches?)

li'zo Y/h, sh, lo' sh, r, g, lizox B fort, qala Cf Lizo Mm n of a village — li'zo ko'iet, lo'zo ko'nīum sh — Cf Prs diz, Chr Sogā dyz, etc.

Cf Prs diz, Chr Sogd dyz, etc.

lauz Yzh, labz G word — Ar. Prs V. 101

lūž-um lūyd m Yzh, r, Mm, t, Z, lūžy
lūyd- Ysh, lūž lūyd- r to milk —

< *dauč- (a secondary present base

made up from *duxta-), cf Wkh

bic-, Shgh būj-, Par dūč-. Sgl. dēš,

Psht luaš 2l < *dauxš What is W.

Oss docun (cf ficun to cook)

la'žino Yu pile of firewood. — və lažino žafa'ū put fire to the pile. — *ničayanā, cf Turf Phl ni ži-(Henning,

ZII, 9, p 182), Skr ni-ci- to pile up V paržīn

lāžirər Yzh lapis lazulı — Prs

M

ma, mo Y, mâ M this — V. § 206 mố Mm, g month — Prs. V mox ¹ mā-um 'mavd-um Yzh to masticate, chew

² 'mā-um mav'd-əm Yzh, sh, 'māv-um 'māvd-um Mm, məvda B to measure, weigh — 'mām də tāna'zū sh let us weigh, mav'do, mav'det sh he (they) weighed it, ni'zūn 'māum Yzh 'xūb sanjīdim' — Av mā(y)-, oi IA. Iw

'mão Yzh, g, mã'ō sh, r, 'miyo Mm,
oa 'sh), 'miyd g, oa (g), 'miya Z
sheep (Ysh, Mm also female oorial).
— *maišā-, Av maēša V 'miya
ma'cio Yzh, sh, r, oio g, 'macio Mm, g,
oa (g), 'mācia Z, mao LSIm shedog
— Cf Sgl mācik, Taj mōca Early lw.
maci'xor Yzh kingfisher. — Khow maciroi (Lor) a 'kind of duck', māci'xor
(O'Brien) 'kingfisher', an adaptation
of Prs māhāxwār heron Note the
— incidental? — similarity to Nep
mātihoie kingfisher

möčie Yzh, ° sh artisan, blacksmith.
— Hi, etc moci cobblei

mū-čino tweezers, mūči na G seissors (?)
— Prs V cepio

mēdī Ysh? — In novu mo 'az bayal badar (usū) kat' (took it out from his bosom)

ma'dırı Yzh, g seam Khow
mədra'ye Yzh, mənd' sh, mulragı Mm
silver neckring (from Peshawar, acc.
to Yzh' — Pl of *mədra, cf Ishk.

murdik small ring (v Sgl cāmmərdikig), Phl mudr ring V § 88 maf Yzh, sh, möf r, Mm, Z you V § 203 sq

'magam Ysh verily — m° max yū pādšā astēt but you have a king — Cf Par magam possibly, unless, Shgh probably Fr Prs magar?

'mägy-m ma'gyī-m Yzh, g, r, 'maigy-em mai'gyī-m sh, maigy em mai'gyī-m r, 'mōgy-um mugi'y um Mm, 'mō'qy-am megi'ā m t, mōg'- mēg' Z to rub (with the hands), to wash clothes, Yg to crush, 'mēmālim'. — Cf Sgl. mānd- to rub, shampoo, prob. fr IA, cf eg Palola mānd-, Kshm. mādun to knead, wash (v Nep. Diet svv marei, mārnu) — Cf also Yazgh main- to twist, rnb with the hands, but rn would not account for Y-M gu (v §§ 121, 133).

mi'gya Y rıngdove, faxla, Khow kallığır — V faxtaga.

mēy Yzh, sh, r, Mm, g, B mēy Yg, Z, G cloud, Mêy Yp n of a mythical horse (cf IIFL, I p 165 Par Air, Taj. Abi V also Wūi) — Av maēya-, etc

'muyo Yzh, sh, r, mūyo g, a Mt, (g), stur-mugo m bean, Vicia faha, bākula (cf Agricult Afgh, p 112 — not mentioned from Munjan) — Borr from Pkt mugga- phaseolus mungo? (Saka lw māmga?). V xur-muyo mōyihi (pl?) Ysh, mūryih B hail — Connected with the preceding word, cf Wkh mužeh hail Sgl mužīk pea, Shgh ma'šak hail ma's pea? may'mun (nayan) Ysh bread maile of muyo — Reg the suffix, v. § 193.

mo γuso Y, maγssa Mt, moγosa (g), moguso m, maxsa g, magusa t Z, 'ŭ'sa G fly — *makasā, cf Prs magas, Wkh maks, etc

mayz Y. Mm, t, Z, mayz Mg, maxs the marrow, brain — pusur-mayz Yr = mayz-r sar Z brain — The a points to borrowing from Prs.

maha lam Yzh mending (clothes. -

mih mãn Yzh, sh, mi mấn Mm, mĩ mõn Z guest — Prs

mahmi zā um mahmē zavd-um Yzh, sh to make to fly flee, mēparim (intr l, Khow ušturēim — Cf. Prs mahmēz kardau to spur a horse

mīky Yzh, sh, meky g, mu'gyo r, muyro B blunt — Possibly early loan fr Khow muţu (t > ky), but ef also Wkh mug, Sar mēag (Shaw) blunt

māl Ysh, u goods, property — wo māldf aviet Ysh they brought the money, vo māl hāl līm non u I gave him all kinds of goods (māl-hāl) 'māl-i hāl ba ū dādam' — Ar-Prs

molo Y, 'molo Mm, mala t, mo'la G here — tu nisā malo Ysh 'tu īnjā līsī', maf 'male 'nixīt Mm sit down here, zo žī 'malēn (obl form?) Ysh I am from here, mā az hamījā — <*imadā, cf Sogd mō, Sgl mōs(ak) mūl Yzh, mōl Mm strīng stick, used in cooking flour (ārd puxta mēkunan) — Cf. Wkh mul, Psht mōlai fr IA, cf Lhd molhā, etc — V tīwanıy mīlyō Yzh, sh, mīlya Mti, 'məlgo m, 'mīlyīga g white) clay, used for plastering the outside walls of a house. — <*mīlālā. cf Skr. mīla.

Prasun mire - V qil, ši fon, xa laryo.

Cf also

mil'yuz Yzh ied elay

molk Ysh kingdom, tealm. — drust m — Ar-Prs.

milkondi Yzh u of a flower — Khow milkon, mulkhon a sunil violet, bellshaped flower, violet

mullākarīya G goose — Cf. Gawar-Batī mullā čirgo fi Psht?

māləm Yzh apparent, known. — nā-mən māləm ī it appears to me, Khow sarēnan — Ar-Prs

mə^llānın Yzh, blānın g soft, məlānına zh slowly — Ar-Prs

mal-'mīn Ysh, m.ilmin B thus, in this manner, 'amtarix' (ham-or īn-tarīq)

— m' šilaxe šūi he became so destitute, no mun m' če ke'nē-este sh why do you act thus with me? —

V molo and -min

'malen Mm half-full, Z middle — V loma'len, dəmâ'lan G at noon, du'malen Z between

mə¹lān Y, m²º Mm, m²lân g, °ōn (g), ti, Z, mə¹la G waist, Yzh, sh, Mm (mulon!) also belt, məlân G, 'məlön-'avgına Z belt — mlān trāžim Yr — Cf Av. maiðyāna-, etc V snyməlân

malane oguščigo Ysh, m° °ščo g,
mala noguščo r. mala'nīgo 'āguškbo
Mm, male'nīg 'āgušk'a Z, malene'ga
G middle fingei. — *madanaka-, Wkh
məlung middle, cf Av. madəmahe
ərəzvō (gen) — V also Miliyeg

mulragı, v mədraye

mails Yu festival, assembly, music. — Khow mails fr Ar Prs majlis, of Taj maylis.

ma lax Yzh, r, Mm, g, t large, yellow locust — Genuine, or lw from Prs malax (note the vocalism)

'māmo Yzh, sh, g, mām r, mâma Mm, G, 'mūma M(g), 'a Z grandmother, 'māmə Yp old woman, kampīn — Wkh, Shgh mūm, Yazgh, Sar mâm Cf Z s v
mama Yzh starling, mynah. — IA
mən, etc me, my V § 203 sq

-min Y In casaning of what kind? (yo cəs-min žāndār? Ysh, ya cəs-min vīra? sh 'ī či bai ast?' to nām cismin? sh what is your name?), čamin? how (much)? (v. s v), čes-min? what? (čis min LSIv what? to nām ces-min? B), mal-min (v s v.) min appears to give the pronoun an indefinite meaning. Of also mo man viai min B this is my brother. mind Ysh, LSIy so much - mind daulat 'hamīqada do', vo mind ābādief so many fields (obi. pl), mon min(d) aismat korum I have done so much service - Cf and

məndraye, v mədraye

munyo Yzh, sh inflated sheepskin, sənāč
— Anc lw from IA, ef. Waigeli
mõka, Khow manu, etc skin-bag for
ghee? V laxčio.

¹mānjo Mtı bed — IA, ef Panj manjā, (but not in Khow) Wkh manja, Badakhshi mānjā

məˈr-em muˈr-om Yzh, r, muˈr-am muˈr-o Mm, məˈr-əm məˈr-a G, mur mur- Z to die — məˈre pres 3 sg, məˈret 3 pl, məˈrɨstə Yzh 'mēmurad', muˈro he died — Av mar-

'mīra Y, Mm, Z, °1a G, 'mīro Mg, (g),
t, ti, mīra'cām Ysh, u sun — mīra
10sīn Ysh 'aftāb rasīd' — Av miðramīr-coya Ysh to this side, mīr-cuyua
turns back (?), Khow achi yarı. <
ham iðra? — Cf vacoya.

m⁹reč Yzh, °ač sh, g mulberry — Khow m⁹rač

mardum'pūr Yzh boy

mar'gas Ysh 1113 — Prs nargis

'mīrγο Ysh, 'mn' Mm, 'mnrγa g, mĭrγıko Yzh meadow — *mārgā-? But cf Sgl mērγ < *margya- Av marəγā-mor'γŏ Yzh, sh, mə r, ma' g, 'morγı(pl), 'mərγıka Mg, 'aka (g), 'murgıko m ant — < *marunkā-, cf Av maurvı-, etc

muryu'lum Yzh, r down of binds —
Khow muryulüm down, Wkh margilam (Shaw) goat's down — Ir?
my'kië Yzh earded wool, Khow pi'ženu
miia av'lasto Yzh, sh, miia-lamdo r
rainbow ("the sun's sleeve or hem")
— V ka'mān-i Rustam

mumu'sān pary Yzh 1at — Cf Khow mumu'sān kalau rat (Lor. mur mušān ralāo field rat, Shina mīnimuša ferret, weasel) From Prs *mīnmūšān 'master-mouse', cf Wkh mīnpi ič

maja Ysh, r, LSIy, mēra LSIm, G nian
— Pl 'mare Ysh, r, yū maja ži da'len
ā'rōi Ysh, yu maja hor kit g a man
works, ai 'marā sh o man' līo no
maraken sh he gave it to the man,
no 'maraken da apīi sh in front of
the man, yo 'maja ži kū'' from
where is this man' 'majaken yūi'd
sh the man seized it — Cf

mer Y, mēr Mm, g, (g), ti, mar (t), mēr Z, G man, vir — me žiroi mere hōr henet Yg these four men are working — *martya- (hardly M. Ir. *mērt < mart+nērak, v Barth, Miran Mund, VI, p 55)

mu'ro Yzh, g, 'muro sh, i, mur'da Mm, Z, mu'roy Z dead, dead body. — V. mor-

mrs Yzh, g, r, G biass — Prs
'masko Yzh, r, 'ho sh, g, 'maska Mm,
'o g buttei — Prs
'māst Yg curdled milk — Prs V poya

'māst Yg curdled milk — Prs V poya mršč Yzh, sh, mu'r, mušky Mti, mi't, mu'Z, 'muškio Mm, miškye g, miškya G, mušt Yg fist — Av mušti- (Yg lw. fr Prs), cf Wkh. mist, Sgl. mit.

mišća Yp sheaf of coin — Cf Prs mušli handful

miščo'yo Ysh, ouyo g, miščiyiko zh shecalf, one year old — V. muškoya.

maška Ysh, mašk Mm, mašk g inflated skin, used for crossing rivers. — Prs V dril

muško'ya (pl muško'i) Yzh, sh, g, muškō'i (pl ') r, muš kayı Mm, muš'kayı g, t, (sh), mə° (g) newborn, male calf, məš'kdəy Z male calf, up to the age of two years, məšhdī G ranı, sheep(?) — *ham-huškaka-, cf Par tör-pī calf, one to two years old ("dē-līcus"), Phl Psalter 'xšyrky weaned

mašer ba Yzh, oo sh bucket — Khow, fr Ar-Prs

miš'tor Yzh, °ər r prince, mehtar — yo kyei mištərān-ē Yr this house belongs to the mehtar. — *masyah-tara, Prs mihtar

'muštī Yzh, sh silver necklace from Chitral) — Khow muštī.

miwa Yzh, mëua B fruit — Pl mrua ye Ysh fruit-trees — m' žiet they planted fruit trees. — Prs

max Y, mox M we — V § 203 sq.

max Yzh, möx m. Mm, Z, mâx G peg, mex — Genune < *maxa-, cf Psht möžai, mažuai < *maxšu- + aka-*
But Prs mēx < *maixa.

mix Yzh, sh, r, exe g nail - Prs

mux Y month. — do yū məx sh in the course of one month — *māhaxa-, cf Sogd m'y? V. mo

mu'xāliš Yu? — 'zə da šeri'et m°-əm(?)
max'mudiyo Yzh, mamū° B dagger —
Cf Khow mchmūdi, mahmūdī Pathan
dagger, Prs, Psht, Sar bihbūdī, Wkh
bibhūdī, bēbī'dī, Kalasha meha'būdi
ka'tār.

mu'xan Yzh, sh veranda — Khow muxān 'maxše (pl maxše'ī) Yzh, maxšī'īn (pl) sh, max'šī p, māxšī M(g), 'mayaxšīy m mosquito — Av. maxšī-

mix m Yzh, Mm, g, t, mix Ysh, r, M(g), ti, Z day - do yū mix sh m one day, no yū 'mīxen Ysh for one day, «šo'vō tā mīx sh night and day, čīr, uxšo mix sh, yu čad mixi quaškvat Mm a few days passed, žī'rai miž t - Cf Sogd myd, Yaghn. mēt, mēd, etc., Shgh mēd, Sgl mēi (cf also Markwart, Ungar Jahib 7, p 100) Junker (SHAW, 1914, p 13) compares Lith mētas year, time, Alb mot year This is perhaps possible if we assume an Ir form *māθya- < *mētyomad shows that the word does not contain an ancient diphthong (Or mid may be of Shgh. or)

mõxe Yzh, sh, °ə r, g, 'maxıy Mm,
°ı t, °əy m Z stick. — *mäðaka-,
cf Shgh mâð, möð

mižen Yzh, g, mižen r, Mm, (g) noou
— Ancient adj to miž, el Bartangi
mit'din day.

'mıya M malc oorıal — V müo mayo'yo Y, °aqa Mm, möyaya g, °'aqa Z, mâya'ga G, māyaga LSIm, mayeyo y mare. — *mātahā- Cf Prs māda, mādıyān mo'yan Mm, mayan LSIm true — Fr Prs māya substance? V 'urzumaza Mm taste - Prs V aāl mīz Yzh, mēz g table - šitāhan že me'zán Yzh under the table - Prs mīz-em mīzd-əm Yzh, mēz mīzd sh, Mm to unnate — mīzet 3 pl. — Cf mäzyo Av maēz moz em mašč im Yzh, sh, r, maz m mošky om Mm, moz- mošky t, maz mošh' Z, G to kill - vətō mözəm, mor wou maščem Yr we killed him, zo fto moazəm sh, moze-em tū sh 'mēkšī em tu', mən uou maščim sh, vo šīr maščet Yu they killed the hon, to barrange mašč u he killed the ogre, agar Xadāi ču mašče vīi, oyum sh if God has not killed me, I shall come - Shgh moz- means to cut, form (v. Xuynoni Alifba, p 32), but cf Orm maz- to break, Psht $m\bar{a}t$ broken(<*mašta-, not < *maxta-, prob not Par mac- to cut, hurt) maza dar Yzh savoury, tasty - Pis mozdira Mt the day after to-morrow — Containing *azn-?? V sūy yāmo muz'dura Ysh service, pay - no yū hua'tinen mo ken take service with a rich man, mo hra, wo man mo na man del give me my wages, muzdu'i ī hved vio he used to serve - Pis mizyo Yzh, mēo sh, 'mizya Mg, miz'da (v mīz-) Yr urme — *maizakā-, ef Wkh mīzq V mīzmuž- muyd Yzh, sh, muž- muyd Mm, muž- muyd Z to move (inti), to be swung — draxte mūžet zh the trees are moved , by the wind) mu'ža-um Yzh, mu'žav- mu'žavd- sh,

mūžīvda B to shake, move (tr),

mūjeit B earthquake

mažovo Yzh, g, māžovo sh female markhoi — Kliow $ma^{\dagger} \tilde{z} \tilde{e}_{\gamma}$ mi'žaviho, ohi pl Yah mist, sog ---"mıžakā-(kā-), ef Zaza miž, Prs mizga a dark sky mažnum bit Mm hanging-willow. — Pis *majnūn-bēd V čilikyo mižis'te Yzh thigh-bone, sh hip-bone, g arm above el ho w (?) mužusti, mujusti thigh, upper arm (fr. Ir, not fr Pkt minja). Cf Sak mijsā maiiow < *mayzyakă) — Cf also Sgl. asta-mayzik, Wkh mayzī upper arm ma'zīt Yu mosque — da yū mº šūi, da mo lo'yor - Ar Pis

N

nă, no Y, M for, to — 'na mən del give me, nə 'pādšān nə sa'lāmat švi Yu they went to salute the king, nə šīren 'škūr kenam let us go hunting for the hon, cpāc šūr na du'kānen sh he returned to the shop, na kot āyūt? 'ba ci āmadī?' 'xšīyem esto no'xor za'rūnien sh we are weeping out of necessity V § 216 — Av ana over, along with, on no, nə Ysh, ete LSIy, na Z, G, LSIm not — xə nəc lšta va var lšta va

no, no Ysh, etc LSIy, na Z, G, LSIm not — no poč išto, no you išto, no pousito, no pousito he said that it was neither hot nor cold, and that he was neither tired non hungry, no no-of no aujān če astel, no n-āvestān če astet there is neither anything for them to eat nor to wear — Av na, etc V če

'na-um 'navd um Yzh to pour out, to empty, Khow ulërman Cf Skr snāvaya ? nar M(g) reed — Prs nei-m no yor əm Yzh, sh, nə you u, noyor-am 1, 'ni-am nayar-am M(g). nəyar-am(") nəyar-am m, nıy- nəyar Z, never LSIm, novor y to come out, emerge, appear, Khow nisiman niā de kučio Ysh go out into the street, no you do kucio, mira no yor zh the sun 10se, yū barzange nalyor u, parge novo'r et sh the mice appeared, yə tö hūy kəb no'yor this your pince appeared to be too small, yū ažder no₁ (?) Yu a dragon appeared, pilf noyo'ra čīī sh (the river) cannot be forded, yū ləvor no yor Mm a door appeared — < *nrš-rnrž-gata-(> *nirgata > *nigarta., v. § 113?). cf. Par ni- nalyō, Orm ms- (*mısa-) nayōk, Sogd nīž-.

 $n\bar{\sigma}u$ Y, $n\bar{\alpha}u$ Mm, $n\bar{\sigma}'\bar{u}$ g, (g), (sh), t, $n\hat{\alpha}u$ Z, G nine -- Av nava

nəb Mg, nəp tı dew — Cf. Bal namb, Prs nam dew, moısture, Sgl, Shgh namb moıst — V pražyār, šak'lām nı'cāy Yzh, sh, r, g the shady side of a valley — Khow nıchāy V 'nusīy. na'dram Ysh inside — n° na yur'vo inside the throat. — V dram

nif Yzh, g, nīf sh, Mg, (g), t, ti, naf Yr, 'nūfa Mm, Z, °fa, nâf G navel — < *nāfa(ka). Yr fr. Khow naf, in its turn fr Ir

wfs Yzh soul, individual, own family

— tu čamin wo xōi nəfs henē≥ how
do you deal with your own family?

— Ar-Prs

nıy'- nıg'sy Z, nīgı o Ysh to pull out
— da laxčīo n he took it out of
the bag, 'ba dar kart' — *nı-kı š-??
Cf. § 132

'nāyo, v s v xužbūi.

noγο-'um nə'yavd-um Yzh, sh, no'yā-

noyaud- r, no'ya-ūm no'yavd um g, nə'gō-um nə'gavd-um Mm, nə'yōu nə'yevd ə (g), nugōw nugēvd Z to bite, gazīdan, Khow čohik — Phonetically $< *m\cdot kap/b\cdot$, ef Greek κάπτω to swallow, snatch with the teeth, etc (v WP, s.v $qap\cdot$)? Cf. also Shgh, etc anjāv- to seize $< *han\cdot kab\cdot$? Z compares gāv- (q v.), but this is scarcely possible

na'yen Yzh, sh, g, 'nayen r, Mm, g, Z, nayn G bread, food — no na-wen lio, nayan worum Yg I cat bread, no xu'\text{lan no češ sh there is no food to eat — *nayna-, cf Gauthiot, MSL, 19, p 129, cf also Yazgh. \delta \text{look} '\text{lan no kall} (Skold) — Brahui nikān 'iations, meat' fr a lost Bal word of the *ni kāna- type

noyoj, v. niī

noγo'sār Yzh, negusār LSIm below, pāyān — Anc lw, cf Prs nigū(n)sār turned upside down, etc Also Sar has nuyusār down

nə 'yuy- nə 'yušc- Yzh, nə 'yūy- nə 'yušky
Mm, neyūy- neyīšk'- Z, nuyuš-(?)
nuyušky G, doyuja(!) B to hear —
<*nr-gauš-, ef Yazgh. nıyuw- nıyoxt,
Psht nywaž- nyut-, Yaghn duguš
(< *nguš-).

nuγöz- nıγēzd Z to swallow — Cf Wanetsı Psht γöz- to drınk

no yuže Yzh snipe

naha'rī Ysh breakfast, bread, hilča
— lo naharī two loaves/— Ar-Prs
naql Yu tale, story — Ar-Prs

nika'nā-um Yzh, sh, r nika'navd-um i to dig — The k points to recent compounding V. ken-

nu'krâ Mm, nu'qra g, LSIm silver — Ar-Prs V droxum nol Mm, 'noli (pl.) ti reed — NWPhl nad, Prs nat, Khow not, not rushes from *Y? — V. nai, naliko, x²šlāniyo nailā-um Yzh, nēilo-um sh, nēilā um nēi lavd-um r, g, ni lāv- Mm, nīyalov niyalēid Z to make to sit down. zə fto nērloum Ysh — *myāl < *nī-šād- (Or nōδ Z, but nōθ- Lenz $n\bar{e}\vartheta$ - Shgh, with ϑ from the intr), or *ni-hād- Cf Av ni-šāδayanıx-

navilo-um Yzh to circumcise, (Psht sunnat kawum), nailevd zh, sh circumcision, 'čulburi, da já ki mánda' ('remains'). - *nı-dab-? Cf Wkh nəδavn-

naliho Yah, g calf of the leg - Cf nol V ilna, linga

nəliv-um nuvöst-əm Mm, nilv- (ti) to lie down, nu'icostry Yzh lying flat, nīlv- Z nuvdst Z, G to sleep. — 'nilia Mti imper 2 sg -< Av m-paidya. *m pasta. Not, with Z, connected with naila- Cf nivilo

nām Yzh, sh, nâm G name - to nām crs-mīn? Ysh, ba nām-e Xadā sh — Prs.

na mai Yzh appears, Khow, nayūran, nımēd M(g) became known, mālum šud, nəmöy- Z to appear — yū ādam nəmai - Cf Prs numāy- numüd nīm kālo Yzh half-full - Khow. nīmkalau V loma'len, nīmopir

nı mehyika Yzh diving — n° da'ham I dive

no mālyo Y, namalgo Mm, odlya (g), olya f Z, odl'ya G salt — *nama- $\delta(a)k\bar{a}$ - (v. Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 19), ef Sgl nomēyo, etc., Sar nimadj, Sak namve, etc

no mon Yzh target. — Cf Prs namūk butt, target?

nimoper half-full — Cf Prs nim pur V nīm kālo

'nāmyo Mg, ti felt. -< *namatā, cf Sgl numod Prs namad, etc (Pali namataka-, etc lww) V. livzīn, uiston

na māz Yzh prayer — Prs

nəmāzdı gar Ysh, ne mo zh afternoon —

nəlmıž Yg winking, nemig- neməšk' Z to shut the eyes - From *ni-miz-, or *ni-mič-, cf. Sogd nymz'y (Ben veniste, JA, 223, p 241), Sak namajs., Bal mičāč, Prs miža eyelashes But Ishk numul-, Skr nimis- with -8-

'nīno Y, 'nēno Mm, °a g, °a (g), -°a, -° d Z, nen G mother - Cf. Pis. nana, Sgl, Wkh, Or, Khow nān, etc nāno'yō Yzh, p a single grain -

< dānakā- (v § 135), cf Prs. dāna corn, boil, Psht dial, nīnē roasted giain, Waziri nāna grain

nına māšče Yzh, ašča g, nīna mərə sh, 'nīno' r spleen — V spərzə, šišpāzək nar Ysh, g, Mm, g, Z, g, naro Yzh, nor r male - Prs, or genuine?

no lo v Y, no rowny Mm, g, own ti, nə nawəy Z, odu u G black, nord ū Yzh pupil of the eye, cf narowi čoggo - < an-arušaka-? Phonetically possible, we should expect cg Mm * $n^3ruy\bar{i}y$, but a change of uyi >-uwi- 15 conceivable - Acc to Hess (Orient Stud in Honour of C. E. Pavry, p 139) Av auruša- means 'red', but cf Oss ors, etc 'white' nar bəz Yg he-goat. — Pis V fer γāmə naričan Ysh, 1, yusa xo naričen zh he-

goat, one year old — V čalna. Cf

fer yamə

narkaf'čī Yp wooden ladle without a handle, used for flour - V kafčio - nar as a prefix indicates size or strength, v naran'gušč, nari'rau, nar'zū, and cf Brahm nar-awūt extra strong khurūt narkire Yzh, sh, or r, orro g, oniy Mm, g, 'narkiri (sh), 'vii (g) cock -V. kri io naran'gušč Yzh, sh, nəro g, naran'gišt r, ° gvšt M(g), ° gušt B thumb. — Prs (with $\delta t > \delta c$ in early lw), of oguščo, usturoguščo V s v nar-kaf¹čī ná ranj Mm orange - Ar Prs. nari'rau Mm a kind of vegetable, rau na nuš m Z cat - < *nanvuš < °pแร้ nərowi coq'qō Ysh a kınd of pear -V norolū nar u orya Yzh male lamb, one year old - V prasi lane ware, waryiko nar'zū Yzh pus, matter. - Cf Psht zawa, Sak ysū pus, and v s v nar kafčī no'ilz- noilzd- Y, Mm, no'ilz- norizd t, nerīz nerīzd- Z to lick — ne rize Yzh pres 3 sg - Av raēz-, Sak Sogd 1 ys. nāsēn Ysh, in drust molk un noru'ram 'gāštīm sar ba sar' (?) nis- Ysh to take out - Only form noted is nisa imper 2 sg. - Cf. Sogd n'y's, Psht nis to take (*ni-yăs-... Yazgh yas- to take away V novornosty Mm, nessy g the shady side of a valley - Cf Pis nasa(r), nasar, etc. Fars dialect nisā, ef also Sgl nišoim, Wkh. niširm and v Par. Voc sv niso - V ničay maske Yzh, sh, nyoskye g, nies'kyny Mm, niezye (g), niāzyila (t) yawn - no

a'vazem Yzh, sh, n° kenam Mt I yawn, no astet Yg (they) yawn. nasi at Ysh advise - zo fto no henom - Ar -Prs ni āst. v niš-. mastiko, v s.v palo nas'uār Yzh snuff — Hind nāswar (Psht. lw năswār) m'šók Mt jaw, na'šák G cheek naškel Ysh, LSIy, eer B bad. m'šān Yzh showing — n° dahem — Prs našpotiy Mm — Prs V kyo'gō m'šāž-əm mšā'žī-m Yzh, sh, m'šāž-1, ni žāž-əm niža žīm g, nijāš-um nijašt-um Mm, ni'još- (g), Z niješt-Z to show - *n1-žaš- (v § 75) < *ni-čaš-, Sak najsas-, of Z s v nīv Yzh, novo sh, r, novo g, nove (pl) sh, novo B rain. - nīv yaše kīt the ram does good - Cf. nov-e nīvd-o Yzh, sh, nīvd-a r, nav-ī nīvdo Mm, nāv- nīvd Z to rain wos nove Yzh, nəidəyo šūi perf — Cf Sgl nav-, Av nab- to moisten, possibly with semantic change due to association with nabah- sky. Scarcely connected with Prs nawidan to lament, as proposed by Z, nor with nanoyo, etc. (q v ' 'nəvyo Y, °a Mg, 'nuvgo m, 'nüvga Z beak, bill — < *(h)năbahā-, cf. Prs nauk, nēl beak, Saka nauha point (*naba.ra-?) and, possibly, Germ *nabja- (Engl neb, etc.), Lith snapas navriko Yp n of a pink flower, coniolvolus? Cf navyo mivilo Mti bedding, naiwul-virya Z bed - *nıpādā-(?), ef. nəliv- V kurpo, pəlas 'novnoyo Yp, now'neytko sh pasteboard, baxter (v Ill)

no'voi- novo'i- Yzh, sh, nu'voi-um p, ne'voi-um M(g), nou un LSIy, nevar m to take out, draw out — no'voit Yzh pres 3 sg, xām cũ nou or g don't take it (the bread?) out unbaked, že san'duken če nova'rum sh I take something out of the box, novui, novu'iam sh pret 1 pl, nuvo'rum vo 'kēro Yn I took out the knife — *nı bar-, Sgl neuar-, Orm nauar-, cf Par nei-(?), Ay nıš-bar-

nu'vāš- nu'vīšč- Yzh, sh, nu'vōš- nu'vōšī- r, nvaš- g, nu'vōš- nuvašt- Mm
to comb. — huška n° Yg I comb
my han — < *ni'paš(š)a- (v § 75)
< *ni-peks-, cf Waz Psht lmēžəl,
lmatai (v EVP s v)

nu viš- nu tat Yzh, sh, nūš- nuxt- g, nu vuš- nu vuxt-, nu viškv- Mm, nu viš- nu vuxt- t, ne wūš- ne wūxt- Z, nūiša B to write — Not a lecent lw from Pis ni wēsam ni wištan. With nu vuxt, etc ef Sogd np'yšt, npxšt- (v Benveniste BSL, 29, pp 105 sqq)

navišto ken- Yr to write. — Prs. The compound verb is in common use in Afgh Pis

nauo'yō Yzh, sh, nāwo r, nau'yo g, nowogo Mm mill-race, cf naudi G 'chute d'eau'. — Not connected with novo rain, as suggested by G, but cf Prs nāwa gutter, tube, Kandulaī nāūua 'ausgehohlte Baumstamme die als Wasserleitung für die Wassermuhlen dienen', etc Cf Sgl nə'wōk nowo'yo Yzh, noū sh, nū'uny Mn, nore

nowo'yo Yzh, noū sh, nū'uny Mm, nove B new — Av nava + ka, Sgl nuwōk, Psht. nawa, etc

nu'wāte Yzh excuse. — n° kenəm I excuse myself, Khow ispen koman — Cf Ski. nivartaha- removing, abolishing, etc., nivartana- repenting, etc.?

no wīsa Yzh, °1s sh, g, 'nəwus Mm, nawiso (g), 'nawəs Z grandson (= pūren pūr), nephew — Early lw. from Prs. nawāsa? Cf Sgl nə vəs, Wkh nə pūs.

no'woso Yg, nuwo'so r, no'wasiko zh, no' sh, 'nawoso Mm, 'a Z, nawesa(ka) M(g) granddanghter — Cf no'wīsa na'naxf Yzh (too) late — n° č-as don't come too late — Ar.-Prs

nax Mm floor — Khow nax id, Or. nox terrace, sleeping platform, Shgh nex vestibule, etc — Cf naxdaru.

nəxé- nəxéai Yzh, naxê- r, g, niê- M(g)
to drip, to drop from the eaves —
nəx'ée, nəxê'e Yzh, nax'ée r, 'niêi
M(g) 3 sg, nax'éi-stə Yr, g dur pres.
— Derivation (as a denominative) fr.
nəx(š)ê- < *niš-txa- (cf ava-tka-,
Wackernagel, KZ, 61, 190) is improbable

nax'čir Ysh, Mm g, (g), G, nakšir B male ibex Prs. V. žumane

nax cir-pəzaxe Yzh, g, cxien sh male oorıal (?). V pəzexi Cf mıyo nax cir-vəzo Yr, g female ibex

nax'daru Yzh, sh, g roof-beam, bâlâ-i tīr — Khow naxdāru Cf nax

nâxun Mm, °ən g, t, nōxn M(t1), °ən (g), Z nail. — Prs V. a'naxno.

naxš Mm, nāxši (g) song naxta Mm bit of a horse (?)

nı'x·ım nı'ast·em Yzh, g, ·em ·əm sh,
nı'x·ım nı'ost·am r, nıāst u, 'nıx·om
nı'ost·am Mm, t, nıx· nıyōst Z,
nıasta B to sit down — nıx Yzh,
Mm, nıxt Z pres 3 sg, nıxa Yzh,
sh, r, nı'xā sh, nısa LSIy, nılva m
nıper 2 sg, nıxē Yzh, ('maf 'male)

'nixit Mm imper 2 pl, ni ast so dukan'dara Ysh he sat down (stayed) with the shop keeper, bad ni ast wuro Mm then he sat down there, do you hyër mastet Ysh they sat down in then own house, mar 'luydr niâstat Mm these daughters sat down But žinkiko (yū akābur) niāsto Ysh a woman (an old man) was sitting, loh šināmit niāsli sh to girls weie sitting (v § 196), mastdydm Yzh, r, niestogom (g1) g I am sitting - nix- $< *ni\vartheta \cdot < *m-h(i)\vartheta$, of Shigh nevniāst- < *ni-hasta- (Shgh nūst), or, more prob, < *m-šasta (Sgl m'lost, Sai. nālust) — Cf Sgl nīδ-, Wkh. nezd-V. nai'lā

ntya Y, Mm, oo g sour milk, dûy —
*nītaka-, cf Sgl nīduk, Sak. nye
Connected with the Kafiri-Dardic
words Kalasha nīu (nīl-), Kati nīvā,
etc, Dameli nīt id, cf Skr (naia-)
nīta- fresh buttei

niyâ əm G I plant — Early lw from W. Ir *nı-bā-?

nau'zoYzh, r, na° sh, nau'za Mm spear —Prs nāzda Mg, (g), °'da (sh) 19. — Pis naz'dīk Yzh, sh, 1, no° g near. — mo ādam n° Yzh, mind ādamen n° astet sh — Prs

nez'yo Yzh, nr° sh, nəz'yə r, g, nəzya Mg,
'nrzya (g), 'nryzo m, 'nâzuh G nasal
mucus. — *nēz(d)gā < nāstikā-? Ct.
Par nēšt nose < *nāstī-.

na'čan Ysh miccognisable, strange. —
zo n' winəm I see something strange
-- Kho n

 \boldsymbol{P}

po Y at, on, for, po Z with — V § 219
 - Λν paiti

'pr̄o Yzh, pr̄'əy Z rotten, pr̄y Z to 10t — Cf Sgl $p\bar{u}$, Wkh ptth, Shgh $p\bar{u}\delta j$ (v. Z s v), Av pav Reg $\bar{u} > \bar{t}$ v. § 150

pə'cəg am pəcə'gī-m Yzh, poz'a am pəz'gī im sh, pčegiy-em(?) pčegiy em Mm, 'psigi am t, pčig'- pčig'dy- Z to cut, cleave, burridan, Khow. čhinih — mon lo'so poz gyo sh I cut the rope, $n\partial z^{\dagger}qy\bar{o}-m$ sh it cut me (?), pozgriet sh they cut (bridan), pocigyo zh 'burīda šud' (intr?) — Cf pčižpčišk' Z to be torn — pəcəg-, etc < *patsind-, *pati-sinda- (v § 121), pčišk' < *pati sį sta- (v § 131), pčiž,if == *perš-, might be a secondary present, as *pati sid(y)a would result in *pčil- Cf. Prs gusilam (Horn Np Et, 922)

psé Yzh, pəé sh, r, g, psé B hot — Khow pəé V garm, suzön.

pčio Yzh frostbitten, Khow čiistai -Cf. čiy

pnčili Yp a plant with yellow flowers and thick edible leaves — Khow pi'čili šax purslain, xulfa

peūrma Mt four days ago — V čumō 'pādo f Yzh, sh, pa° g, r, B, pāndo Mm, °ə g, 'pāda Z, pāda G road, path (the Milky Way Yr, cf. Gawai Bati Phont id). — dur luro pādo šom Ysh I have walked fai to-day, rahe šūi, da p ayōi he started and came on to the road — Av pantā etc (Ostyak pənt from Ir ?), cf Z s v Note the fem. gender (also in Sak pande and in Psht plā), the existence of which in Ir renders doubtful Bloch's explanation of the fem in Kafiri (Kati put, etc) and Dardie (Studia indonanica, p 19) Reg Av. nt cf. § 120

 p° šūi sh a boy was boin, jinko zə'mön par'dā kīt 1 the woman bears a child, zəmön pai'dāī(?) — Prs pa'dreško Yzh, sh small wooden milk bowl -- *pari-dāsya-kā (cf § 127), ef Prs dās pot, pan?? - V xšīrkyesa'pādšā Yzh, u, šā sh, pōd'šō Z king - yū pādšā pūr, pādšāan pūr a prince, max yū pādšā astet you have got a king, na pād'šāan lī'et they gave it to the king - Prs pu'f-um pu'fāi-m Yzh, p'u'fōi m M(g), puf- pufōy- Z phūa B (but pufa to burn') to blow, breathe - Onomatopoetic, of Sgl, Or. puf-etc (v Z s.v) pufanek M(g) a kind of mushroom -Cf Taj pufuk mushroom pai'far Yzh, sh, paifar r, pai'fer za'mīn g steep hillside, pēfer B mountain - Tomaschek (BB, VII, p 197) writes péver, and compares Av. "pawra-"! 'paga Yzh horse-race — po ya'zavdum - Khow pag'zo Yzh, pāki'zo sh, pag'zō, pazyō r, paz go g, pâkı zā Mm, °ī za G, payzyo() B clean — you pazyō šūi r — Prs. pākīza, and Khow. pazigā, pagiza (fr Prs).

par'dā Ysh, 1 appearing, born — pūr

*piyo, cf Prs piyāz, Phl pidāc (with dialectical development of t-?), or piyo, cf Yazgh pi'yēg (Skold).

'puyo Yzh, po'yo sh, r, g, 'puyo Mg, a (g), a (t, (ti), pugo m, 'pəya f Z, a (f, pegāh LSIm long han, woman's hair. — *păka ?

pa'yalyo, v căr-po.

pai'yumbar Ysh prophet — Prs

pty Yzh omon - Possibly < *pttaka-, or

puka'ra Yp leather strap placed between the two strings of a pellet-bow — Cf p²kore, Khow apaq, Palola dhut also mean both 'mouth' and 'strap of a pellet-bow'.

p³·kore Yzh, p^ukor³ sh, pu'kor¹, pkor¹, LSIy, ku'pōr Yg, pūxor¹ B mouth, ku'por Mm, k³'p³r g, t, ti, k^u'par m Z lip — < Anc Prs patikarapieture, cf Prs. paikar picture, countenance, face. From 'face' to 'mouth', 'lip' the semantic development is possible V yir, pŏršik

pa'kojo Yzh, sh, g, pa'köl r, pa'külo Mm, pâ'küla Z wooden cap — Cf Khow pha'köl, Madaglashtı pākül, Shgh., Ishk paköl, etc — Y pa'kojo must be an ancient lw.

po'kor Yzlı rung of a ladder.

poky Yp, pokef (obl. pl) LSIy husks — Khow. phōţ. Ct sabūstaf, pa'lo pa'kyıky Yzh, sh, po'kyuky Mm, po'kik

m Z woman's cap, veil, burqa pa'lau Yzh pillau — Prs.

'pale Yzh, sh straw of wheat, etc — *IA, cf Skr pala- straw?

pa'lo Yzh husks

'palo Yzh, po'lo sh, 'pŏ' r, g, 'pālo Mm,

°ε g, °a (g), °e ti, °a t, Z, °'la G

foot — niastiko palef dizo Yp
squatting — *pădā-, cf Av. pad(a)-,
Sgl pūδ, Wkh pū'd, etc.

'pıl-cm 'pıšc-ım Yzh, 'pıšh'y-em M(g)
to break wind — Av parəd-(pərəda-)
V. pılyo

pol Yzh footprint. — Av paδa-, Wkh. poδ, Prs. pai, etc

pölə bəlökə Yr ankle-bone — V brok.
plāc Yzh Kafir cheese — Katı pr'oc
Is also Psht. pöca cream cheese, curds
a lw. from Kafir!?

pellicio Yzh, g. in Mig fir-tree, torch - Cf Khow pull (Lor) fir-tree, toreh? Ancient d > Y - M l, Khow y But c c and the vocalism? $p\bar{u}^{\dagger}l\bar{a}d$ Yzh, sh, g, ${}^{\circ}\bar{o}d$ r, $f\bar{u}^{\dagger}l\hat{a}d$ Mm, foo G steel - Khow, Madaglashti, and Wakhi have foims in p, but Sgl, Badakhshi, Taj have forms in fpulf Yzh, sh, r, palf g ford - pilf novora di sh the stream cannot be forded - Av. paratu-, paradu-, hupərədu(y)a (v §§ 102, 128\ V gu'zar pa le o quico Yg toe, - Cf 'palo pilyo Yzh, pilyiya Mg a flatus - nos po lakam M(g) — Cf pilmlo'yo Yzh, pe'loyo r wooden cup, polloviko p small wooden tray, smaller than a poško (q v), prolega Z, pryále ga G cup - Early lw fr Prs pugala, cf Wkh pil paliko Yzh foot-board of a loom - Cf. 1palo pellek Yzh, pulluk Mm, pollok t, prilek (g), pa'luk Z. G evelashes - Prs palak. V palnaxko 'polom Yzh, sh, polm sh, r, palum Mm soft, smooth, fine. — polm hirom = yīram Yg I ground, yau polmo šūi r, yūsn polma g the lobe of the ear --Cf. Khow. pālum (padum, paļum Lor) smooth, Wkh pal(a)m soft, smooth, fine powder (and Prs palm dust, earth?) But Sar pádm soft, smooth Originally belonging to a dialect with $l < \delta^g$ Note also Oss fælmén soft (fælm fog). pilam'ı u Yzh cloak, čakman, pilamru

wurž sh woollen thread, pilamui

(pilamrūž) žoy sh man's cloak. -

Cf Burushaski pilam woollen home-

spnn

Mm. g. ti donkey-saddle - vo yaspa pa lan ži'o Yn he saddled the horse -- Pis pălān (from a dialect with $l < \delta$, of Wkh $po\delta n^{\varrho}$) pa'lang Yzh, sh, pa'long r, plang g, M(sh), polang m, g leopard - Prs V azada-po, xar-pəlang plat - prist Yzh, sh, r, parist g, palar prüst Mm, polor am por ist-am t, pəlör- pərüst Z, pəlâr- G to sell poler Yzh pres. 3 sg , mon wo prēstom sh I sold it. - < *parad *parasta. parād- has been abstracted from the neak form of athematic Av. para-daand has been treated as a simple verbal stem Cf Psht prolet, plorel (with the same metathesis as in Y-M, v § 137), Sogd pr'δ-, Sak. parā, Orm prāy-, Gypsy of Qain parū-idan (?) - Shgh par bāb < *para-dada-, Sgl parδē- < *para daya-, Wkh. puntk < *para-rātakapurund- < *para rand-(?) palarzam. pališčem Yzh, palorzam M(g) to wrap up (a bundle) - Cf Sgl pēžl- id., Prs padarza, a wrapjei, payarza a bundle, Psht blēždəl to swaddle, Orm palat 'to wring. fold' (< *pari-dršta-?) po lās Y, as Mm blanket, matiess made of goat's hair. - Prs. palās palastiko Yzh, po' sh, pa'lasto Min armlet - Cf lasto păm Y, pâm Mm, pōm g, Z, G wool. -Cf Sgl, pām, Prs pašm, Bal phīm, Oss fasm, fans, etc puma Mm, g, `a (g) avalanche < *pišman-, of Skr pis to crush? pumbaraš Yzh beacon, bonfire - Khow.

pūmbaraš

pa lan Yzh, sh, g, 'an u saddle, 'polon

peno Yzh, 'poo g, pao r, pono sh, 'peno Mm, oa (g), 'pena t, 'pene g, oe ti, pena G palm of the hand — There is no trace of i in Ir Shgh ben, Wkh pun, Kurd pani, panadest, Phi Psalter pn'- (Reg Av po onā, which has been transl 'palm' v Meillet, MSL, 20, p 290)

pu'ine Yzh, oi sh hellows. — Khow phu'ini

pānjəmo Mm live days ago — *pančamā pa'nīr Y, Mm, Z, G checse. — Prs pānš (pān'š) Yzh, g, onj sh, r, u, LSIm, onč Yp, pŏnž Mm, onč g, t, (sh), nš (g), pânč Z, G live — pānj u'payo Ysh, pānj wule u — Av panča

psinaxko Yzh, pa' g, painaxko r eyelashes — < *pašim)ara + kā-, cf Av. pašna-

põnzda Mg, g) fifteen — Prs. pānžwist Yzh, pānj° r 100 — V sad

'panio Yzh, g, pani'o sh, 'pāngyo Mm,
'ε g, 'giya (g), 'a t, pān'gye ti,
'pan'g'a Z heel — *pāršniyā-, ef
Shgh pērnak, Av pāšna-, etc

μῦνα Yzh, ° g, 'pinə sh, r, pūŋgy Mm, pɨ° g, pɨŋky (sh), pūna B feather. — Cf Par pön, etc < Av parəna-</p>

pə'nek Yzh, sh, u, pə'nək r, p, pū'nuk g leaf — 10 čīrief la pənəkaf yuid Yu he took the apricots together with the leaves — Cf Sak pāna, Psht pāna, etc.

păp Y, pâp Mm, G, pōp Mig), Z grandfather (paternal and maternal) — Cf Wkh pūp, Arm pap, but v Sgl bōbō, etc

'pāpəs Yzh, 'pa' g, pā pus sh, pa'pūs r, 'papus Mm lung — IA (ef e g Ashkun pa'pus), but the Khow word is now Asqār V dili žigar, suš 'pāru Y, pō'ru m Z horse-dung — Cf Ishk 'pōru, Badakhshi pārub, Taj pōrū (Z, Semenov, etc). But I'rs pārō(b) (*pāda raupa- 'what is swept off at one's feet?'), diall pōrū wooden shovel, pārūca vessel to carry earth and clay? V vaškon

'pero Yzh podex, 'pēro Mm, 'a g, Z,
'e Mtı, 'pere t, 'pēra (g) hip — Ci
Phl pārak, parīk (Tavadia, Šāyast
nē-šāyast, p 87) Connection with
Skr pāli- margin, edge, bosom is
not prob — V 'prčan, mižis te

pno B, pīra LSIm, wapn y before, earlier, pīra-was ta G forwards —
< Av paurvya-9 Cf Sak pīro before, in front, Shgh priō before (ABC, pp 32, 41)

pır Yzh, sh, r, pər zh, g, pur Mm, Z, G full — pər kenem Yzh I fill, pər sət sh many came, 'pur sudan, bisyār āmadan' — Prs

pura um prier m Yzh, pur āram purvi am sh, 'pnāv-am par vī-əm r, pur īvu um par vī-əm r, pur īvu um pur vī um Mm, por īvu por vī t.

por 'rī- (g), por īvu por voy Z, per uī LSIy, prura B to find, obtain—
por evd zh pres 3 sg, por avet 3 pl, copur viam sh 'na yāftim', copor viarāf per 'na yāfta būdīd' (!)— < *par ap-, cf Wkh par vē am to attain v Z s v)?

pūr Y, M (Ysh, g also pūl) son, B boy, pūser (?), B son — žā mən yū pūl am'boh pūre, astet Ysh I have one son (many sons), tu mun pūl sh you are my son, mən nə pūrən amūno līəm sh I gave my son an apple, at pūre sh o sons, no xon pūrəf sh

to his own sons, wo 'mun 'pūrəf u'šāwa sh call my sons, pūr, pūrən, pūre, pūrəf r, yū 'pūr, x*ror 'pūra Mm, pū ku (g) she bore a son — Av. puðra, Wkh pətə, etc, but Sgl zōt 'pūra Yzh son — Demin of pūr Cf s v vən-

'parčam Yzh a girl's front lock, 'tām r a lock of hair — Prs

par'qušče Yzh, sh, 'parguškury Mm, g. 'gišku ti, 'guš'kuī G, porgušču LSIy finger ing — Cf. Khow lw. pulug- 'guštu, Wkh. plongošt and Yazgh per waxt. The forms with l are prob of Prs origin, with pul-, pal < pare, just as in palwanda bale, bundle, palähang bridle, halter (āhang tether), palandīn lintel, jambs of a door 'cf Av aidya-) But I cannot find Pis pulangušt mentioned by G

păry Y, pöry Mm, g, porg Z, pork G, perx B mouse — 'pārze nozo'ret Ysh, 'fāto 'uro 'parzef he seized the mice — Cf Sgl. pork, Wkh purk, and v Notes on Shgh s v pūrg

poruy Yzh, sh, 'peruy m Z holt of a door — *patrruga-, ef Greek λύγρος flexible twig, etc, possibly connected with Engl lock, etc?

poruy'lan Yzh, sh hole fore the doorbolt — V poruy, cf § 145

přira'hān Yrh, sh, pira'ān r, 'pīran Min' shirt, pī'rān m Z woman's shirt p° li'o Ysh — Prs

parkand LSIy half. — loh rupeo p^c 2¹/₂ rupees — Cf Phl *kand fragment (?) (cf Nyberg, Uppsala Univ Årsskrift, 1934, 2, p 67)?

purum Yzh, sh cotton, mattress filled with cotton-wool, parta Khow purum cotton fibre Lor.

parında Ysh, parandagı LSIm bird — Pre

paranyiko Yzh steep part of a road on the face of a chiff, parm — Cf Skr parana- crossing?

prenji'o Yzh, pran' sh, r, 'prenjio,
jiko g she-goat, one year old —
*parana-či- belonging to last year,
ef Psht paran yesterday, etc?

pare pate Ysh boil, sore — Khow per pat (Lor), parpat small-pox, or a similar disease

pārse Y, par'sīy Mm, pōi'siy g rough roof beam — *pārsaka-, but ef Khow. isprāsk, ceiling, Wkh sipask, Shgh sipāšc rafter < *us parsa-ka-(-cō-)?

pr's-im Yzh, pər's-əm sh, g, r 'pist im Y, G, 'purs um pist-əm Mm, pərspēst-, pist Z to ask — zo vto pp'sim Yzh, zo fto pər'səm sh, zə pər'səm-istə sh I am asking, war pər'sə sh ask him (2 pl), pād'sāen pis'tö sh, u the king asked, zənief pis'tet sh the daughters in-law asked, pistəyəm r I have asked — Cf. Wkh. purs- purst, Sgl f'rös forot, Av. pərəsa- parsta

pərsə'ye Y, 'punsəgo Mm, aya g, pinsaya (g), 'punsəye t, pursı qa f. Z rih - Av pərəsu, cf Wkh puns, Oss,

parsk pra säl Y, pro'sål Mt, 'presöl Z last year — *para sarda-, cf Orm prasul,

Prs. pārsāt V yu dūr sāl

prasī lane ware Ysh male lamb, one
year old — *para-sīdanāka- (ef.

*sīda- in Orm. prasīd, Par parāsuz
last year). Cf af'sīnyo (v § 126).
V prenžī'o, 'waīzīko, nar-'u orya.

pro'šū Yzh skirting board of eaves. — Khow prēšu (Lor)

păr šik Yzh, g. p. bo° (?) sh, pā B hp

- Reichelt (ZII, 7, p 149) compares Sogd prs hp. Tomaschek (BB 7, p 200) assumes that the original meaning was 'rim' and compares Ax, parasu- (v WP II, p 44 sq) But 152 - V s v p²kore

p³ rīvu Mm, 'prīv³r g cow-house — With v for w (cf yavo) < Av panī vāra, Prs paruār stable Cf Waz Psht vröraī shelter for eattle in the hills < *fravāraka

parvardi'gār Ysh creator, — ar p° — Prs

par vaxin Yzh, par vox(1)na g, ziken par vaxin sh kuee-cap, par u ăxin zh, sh, par vaxin p the wheel of the spinning wheel (v III), per vakin B round. — The original meaning appears to be 'round', < *par vadana-'wide'? — Cf. Portuguese, etc rodella kuee eap < roda

par'uaño Yr moth — Pis V. kautia par'uaxše Yzh, g, r, `waše(?) sh, 'parnoxšiy Mm, g broom — Connection with Av. vaxš- 'to sprinkle' is uncertain, but not impossible

pər užž pərwöyd Z to sift — *panwaik- (v Z s v) cf Wkh pərwic-, Afr Psht panuēzəl

pirx, pərx f Z hoarfrost, hail — Be sides Shgh perx, etc mentioned by Z, ef also Psht parxa, pərxuā, Oim purxo, Pis barx, burx, Sak. pruhadew (Oss lw pirx, purx(a) spray, etc.?) — It is doubtful whether Pis puz, paz sleet is connected with poix (Fiom Ir Syryen puz, Wotyak puzmer hoarfrost?). — Cf further Prs pas(f)ak, apšak hoarfrost, pais brook, fountain (v Horn, Np. Et. s v) Kurd. purša sleet, Chercmis lw pois hoar-

frost, Skr prusvā-, py'sra- 11me Cf praž'yār — A most complicated group of words!

parayastı Mg collar-hone -- V fizyastı, šūrko

parī'zāt(s) Yu tairy — po no'yor, to po sunār koi — Pis

praž'_tār Yzlı, sh, pražgā B dew — Khow praž'_tār, possibly from Ir (Tomaschek, BB, 7, p. 197) Cf. pərx V. nəb, šah'lām

pai žīn Ysh, oin zh, p enclosure for sliecp, Psht špöl — Cf Turf Phl pičyn hedge, Kandulaī, etc parčīn thorn-hedge, Bakhtiyan pai zīn bramble, etc., poss also Sak pārgynāi f gaiden — From pai i-či, ef Prs pai zīdan to iepair a well Cf lažīno parži'nī Yp thorn-hedge.

 $p_1\bar{a}_{\gamma}$ Yzh to bleat — v_2z_0 $p_1\bar{a}_{\gamma}e = \gamma_2 n_1 e$ Cf Khow $bla_{\gamma}\bar{e}_1k$

par's $\overline{\sigma}$ Yzh, parsa M money, com — $y\overline{u}$ surx p° sh a copper — IA.

pas'mīno Yzh above, bālā — Ct as'mīno pas'mīnaka Yzh steep — V pas'mīno pas'mīnaka Yzh steep — V pas'mīno pas'pīn Z pateh of cloth — Z compares Shgh, Or. pesūn, Yazgh, Wkh. pošīn, Prs pīna Cf also Sar psaun — M sp, Wkh š would point to ancient *kw (Av apa-spā, etc has probably ancient sp` Shgh < *ps(p)ōn ??

psaro B below, before (locally), LSIv down V sāro

'pusu Y, pūsə Mm, g, th, on t, pūsər 'g), 'pusər m Z, 'pūsə G head — *pūti-sarah-? Cf Pai pīsāi forehead, Sogd pts'r'h head

pūsura Yp protruding piece of wood affixed to the foot-board of the spinning wheel and carrying the spindle (v. III.) V pusur.

psāt Ysh immediately, p³sā Mt now —
p³sā-yim Mt ālī raftam, psāt tižim
Ysh I am falling now — Cf Sgl
psāt, fr Prs *ba-sā'at.
'naste Yzh o'th p round iron girdle.

paste Yzh, otê p round iron girdle.

postâ Mm pistachio — Prs

pis'to Yzh, g, pöstiyiki pl r, 'pūs'to Mm,
oå Z, oa G bark of a tree, pisto Yp
walnut-shell — Lw's, of varying age,
fr Prs. Or < *pāstā, Av pasta, ef
Sar pāsk cow hide < *pastaka*
pistâ'ū Yzh, pisto B flat, maidān. Cf
post Y, Mm, pəst, 'pasta Z low, pəst Mg
floor, past G below — Prs.

pısta var Yzh flag-stone — Cf pısta vi pistan Yzh, g, oğn sh, r, oen Mm udder

— Not direct from Av. fštāna- (v. 15'čīn), but influenced by *payahmilk, cf. Sgl. pēštən, Sar vistân (Bellew), Prs pistān Oss fazdon has prob. been associated with -don receptacle Khorasani pistun (Ivanow) 'store room' originally 'milk room'?

pša'i Yzh, pišai B ripe — *pašaka(hya) < *pačya-, cf Prs puxtan to ripen 'paš-em pašč im Yzh, sh to dig — Khow

pašīman.
pašī Mg mosquito — Prs. V. maxše.
pāš Yzh, 'pīšo r snare — Khow phaš,
pāš.

p18'čč Yzh, sh, r, p3' g, p18'k40 Mm, p18k4a g, t, p18k4a tı, p38'k4a G back.

— *p78tı· + ā-, ct Av. parštı V har'k5

păšć Y flour made from dried apples — Cf Prs pist, Ishk. put, Wkh post, Shgh pišt parched grain, v Par Voc. s v pišt — Cf. talkān, tūrpušh.

'pıščan Yzh, r, pīščan sh, g, 'pīškven Mm, g, t, tı, °En (g), 'peškan Z thigh, 16 - Kulturforskning piščen B leg — da p° blok Yg hip. — < Av. paitištāna-, v EVP s.v patūn

prš'ko Y (sh also pw), prškyo Mm, od g, oa t, G, 'puška Z cat — uo po la'kər Ysh he let loose the cat, yū po nowon li'o sh he gave him a cat — Cf Sgl pūš, Wkh pīš, and v Z s.v poškŏ Ysh, p, pəš'ko zh, r, 'paxškyo Mm, 'paxsk'a (s!?) Z laige wooden tray, tabaka, 'pōško Yzh washing basin — no poškē, tro poš'kəf Ysh Z compares Prs paxš trodden, expanded (which is possible), and Bal paćag to boil pūšāk Ysh dress — Prs

'p'škedrī Yzh, g, piškodrī sh, pošgirdio r,
'pvško Mm, g, 'puška f Z dung of
goats and sheep — Cf Prs pušk,
etc With the second element cf.
Shgh otd, Wkh oart, Sgl wuoif,
etc.?

pāškus'tī Yp stick fastened to the kuščo (q v) V Ill

pzške ze Yzh, pišky-zūi Mm kitten. — V zīy-.

pšāne Yzh, 'ə 1, pəlšānə sh, 'i g, pilšânı Mm, g, t forehead — Prs.

pāšino Yr heel. — Prs. V paņio

pěišín Mm, (g) afternoon. — Prs V. 121ane.

pišwö'zī Mm vestibule — *Prs, cf Prs pēšwāz going out to meet somebody — V as'tano

prišawiz Yzh, olwiz sh buckle of a belt — Prs *pēš-āwēz, cf āwēz a hook for hanging something on

'pu'tou Y, 'pītōu Mm, g the sunny side of a valley or hill — Prs patau, Sgl. putāv, etc

pāta'čūr Yzh pheasant (not found in Lutkoh) — Khow badačūl, batačūl

pateko Mm pea, Lathyrus sativus — Cf Sgl patah, v Agricult Afghanistan, p 337 ('patok'') putk Mg anvil - Cf Wkh pulk anvil (Bellew), but Prs putk, Shgh pulk (māš nižon dervat pulk 'our emblem is the sickle and the hammer' abcbook, p 28), hammer What is the nature of the connection between the forms in t and 19 pa'tare Y roof-beam - *patitaiaka-'cross-beam', cf Wkh patari rafter, and Pis $t\bar{t}r < true{-}true{-}$. ptramd-o Yu seized, emprisoned, parkamān kat (?) — Cf Wkh putrum- to pəti'sā-um pəti'savd-um Yzh, pəti'sō um r to tear (a rope, string, etc) -Denom from patišč poltišč(e) Yzh, r broke, was toin, kand. — mən lo'sō pə'tıšč zh my rope broke. - < *pati tṛsta-, cf Prs iftālīdan, Par. tār., Sar zdeig., Or zidarδ- (*us trd-?) to break, split paitalwo Yzh, sh puttees - Khow parta'va, fr Prs. pāy-tāba. patežo Mm, pateža (g), pateža Z shecalf, one year old $- < *pati t\bar{a}\check{c}\bar{i}$, connected with Prs taza fresh, young ?? - V fəryōmček, miščiyiho. pot Yzh bent, crooked - IA? priio Yzh, sh fiesh, or moistened 113ka (a kind of horse-fodder), IA? priio Yzh necklace. par'xo Yp unthreshed grain, straw with the corn - *pati-xuahā-. pix Yr span from thumb to index finger — Cf Sgl. $p\bar{e}x < *paixa$ -, connected with Av pixa knot, joint (in a reed)? Cf the semantic development of Skr párvanpxuf- pxuft- Ysh, puxuft zh, pxuft Mm to get tired, partau šudan, polyuftay Z, poxufta B, xof ta (?) G tired. - From Prs (?) *paxufta < Av *paiti-x*apta-? paxta'i wirž Mg cotion thread. - Prs. paxta cotton .- V šišo'yun, wu'šūles poxa'yak Yzh temples, 'pxoyak g top of the head pīx Yzh, sh, pix r, pixe (pl.?) g, pux Mm, $p\bar{u}\check{x}$ Z, G, $p_{i}\check{s}$ B arrow, bullet (G, B only bullet), drun-pix Ysh, las-pix B arrow, piž-zar Yg bullet ('arrow-stone') — Cf Sogd $p'\delta$, Oss fat, Shgh. $p\hat{a}\vartheta$, Sar $p\bar{u}\vartheta$, etc., poss Sgl. pəčūn Arm patkan fr. Ir — Ir *pāθa- from Skr pāta- flying + Av. (para-)padwant- flying away (from bow-string)? $pi\check{x}o'_{y}o$ Yzh, $pi\check{z}'_{y}o$ sh saliva — * $p\vartheta u$ -, v tfo, and of Orm putu pežiko Yzh snare — Cf Shgh pēt < V NTS, I, 65. *pāθyapa'xəy Z, pa'ha, pa'xa G wide, bload. - < *paθaka-, cf Sogd p'δk Most Ir. forms are derived from Av padana-, but of Sgl, etc pam poya Yzh, sh, r, paya g, o Mg sour milk, māst — Cf Sgl poi, Wkh $p\bar{a}i$, etc < Av payahpă'īz Y autumn — Prs V tīramâ pu'ze Yzh, 'pūzə sh, r, g falcou, bāša, Khow yurž - Fr Prs baz, with substitution of p for b at a time when no initial b existed in Y. -V bâšo pazg-, v. pacagpałzane Yzh autumn wheat. V pă'iz

polzeží Yzh, polzaže g, o r, oke sh,

pı'zažıy Mm, pı'zažī g, (sh), pı'zāžı (g), pı'zažya Z, plešye(?) B male sheep,

1-2 years old. - *patizadya(ka)-'newly horn', cf Sak mū ysamthia-'belonging to his birth', Khow. auzetu 'fem calf, two years old' fr Ir. *a\beta_ra\tau_ya-? Cf nax\text{cir-p\rightarray}za\text{xe, v\rightarray} zažo, zažko $p_i z^i \gamma \bar{a} r$, $\nabla p_i x$ pāži Yzh, sh, pāje LSIy, powi Z all p° mardum, wos p° tayār šūr now all of it is ready, hama is; vo pažof da'ham zh I beat all of them — Cf Skt upa-citi- accumulation, heap? pi žănd- Yzh, sh, po čāmpı-žămpə'čānd- r, pə'jon- M(g) to entrust na to čēi po'čāmum Yr I entrust something to you. - Y fr. Khow. pežemim, in its turn fr Ir., originally *pati-jāmaya- Ct BSOS, VIII, 663 po'žo Yp, pežo u log, beam. — tālum vo požo Yp; amboh pežo xap u fell

R roi Mm, iāi LSIm word (iai B 'wish'

rui Y, Mm, g, (g), t cheek, Yg, Z, G

rū'i Y, Mt, rūyer m, vy g, viy (g),

face - Prs V roxo.

< Khow?) — Ar ·Prs rāi advice?

much timber

rūda, etc. V KZ, 61, 29 sqq
roč Mm difficult — < *roj, Prs ranj
trouble, distress
rufo Y small, soft broom — With f
from the past *rufta-, ef Prs. ruftan,
rōbam to sweep Cf Sgl. rēf V
fāru, par'waxše
'rofiko Mm, 'refika g mill-broom.
'rīyo Yzh, °a sh, Mg, t, ti, 'rūgo m,

'rugd f Z vein, rivo B sinew, rirek

(*riyek) vein $-< r\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ -, cf Sar.

(Bellew) ruwj pulse (but rag vein fr Prs rag < *1akα), Yazdı rōγ vein, Psht rōg strap, thong. Cf also Pis raža a stretched rope (if orig č not j, v Hubschm. Prs Stud, 66)

roy Yzh goat track — 'yumin o 'röγ Yg anus — < Khow röγ incised line, erack, furrow, goat track in cliffs, poss < *raka·, v. 'rīγο

'rōγ(w)o Yzh, sh, τōγ g deodar. — Khow. rōγ

¹rūyən Y, Mm, g, ^ona m. Z, ^ona G clarified butter, rūyna Mm resin. — rūyun da burž deh put the ghec into the corner — < Av raoγna-, cf. Wkh rūyn, Sak rrūna-, etc.</p>

royz Yzh woman's cloak. — Cf. Prs rayza a kind of woollen cloth worn in Badakhshan — *rezg- 'to plait' (WP, II, 374)?

ra'hī, °ē Ysh, °ā u leaving, starting —

1° šū, 1° hər he left, started —

Prs

10k Yzh, rang B, G colour — spī rok.
— rang fr Prs, rok genuine or early lw — (Cf also Prs raxš lightning, rainbow, mixture of red and white, Kurd. raš, Arm eraxš black)

rı'kau Yr, rı'kīb Mm, re° Z stırıup — Prs rıkāb, rıkēb (cí s.v ketiu). V. čaulı'ī

ru'huš- Yzh to creep, Khow druškiran

— iž rukuše the snake creeps. —

Kho rukušik to creep

rīm- rīmd- Yzh, r, Mm to please (unpers.),
rēm- Z to wish, want. — mən rīmet
(3 pl'), rīmdo I wish, I wished
'mēfåram' Ysh, tu mən rīmət I want
you, you please me, 'tu maná mefâra',
youyō rīmet I want to drink water,

au xurdan mēfâra Yr, rīmī Mm he wants — Cf M. Prs rām- to rejoice (Henning, ZII, 9, 190)

'romo Yzh, ro'ma Z flock, herd — Prs ra'meno Yzh, 'ono sh, g, r, 'rameno Mm, 'rāmena (g) poplar, safēdār. — Cf Khow ro'mān, ro'meno aspen (from Y?) — V gulra'men, ta'rzk

ra'mūz LSIm deer — Cf Psht rāmūsat, but Khow (O'Brien) rohunz muskdeer

rın'ıg'a Z smooth, slippery — *nıxšnaka-, or *raxšnı', cf Prs lašn, v Par Voc. s v lhand

răpa'yo Ysh, Mm silver, money, rupee — ha'zâr rupayo, 'yi, Ysh, 'numan yū rūpar (lu rūpayagi) luyum Mm I gave him one rupee — IA

nos ne'sī, ro'sī Yzh, sh, ne'sīo u, 'nesam M(g), res-resīy- Z to arrıvc — ro'sc arrıves, 'mīra ne'sīn' aftāb rasīd', da Čitrayī rə'sī, 'cīs ke 'nā mən re'sī whatever I received, hazār rupayī na to rə'sī you received 1000 rupees, nə'sīet they arrived — Prs

. ri'səd-ət Ysh (for *re'səvd-ət) they made to arrive, rasāndan — vo māləf a'vret, ro they brought the goods and made them arrive. Cf ros

'rūso Yzh, g, 'ruso sh, r, 'raūso Mm, 'rɔusa g, 're·u' (g), 'rɔusa t, (sh), 'rŭ' f Z, rū'sa G fox — Cf Shgh. rupsak, rupcak, Sogd rwps-, Prs dial rōs (and rōs angurda fox grapes), Ropša = Lisička "Fuchschen", n of a river in Orel, Russia (v Vasmer, in Reallex d. Vorgesch 12, 248) But Prs rōbāh, etc Sgl vərvēs, Sak rrūvāsa- jackal with -ā- Reg the gender cf § 179

ris pen Yzh, g, reo sh, r, LSIy, yus pen

Mm, yr° g, t, 'yspin (g), 'yūspin m. Z, °un G, °en LSIm iron. — Cf Sgl 'ž'pōn, Wkh yīšn, Sak. hīśam, Psht ōspana, Shgh se'pen, etc (and Prs sīnī dross of iron) But Y r-? 'raste Ysh rightly, correctly — tu r° xismat ken! — Prs, rāstī

rāš Yr heap — və you rāš kerəm I heaped up the barley — Prs

riša Mt root-fibre - Prs.

*rešk Y avalanche — < *reštk? Cf.

Khow *rešt, Shgh *řšt Cf Prs rašt,
*rušt crumbling, threatening to fall,
etc?

¹rīško Yzh, sh mit — Cf Prs. rīšk, Psht rīča

ra'šan zh, sh, ro° g instep (zh also sole)

— From ra'šān, in its turn prob <
Ir (*fra-fšāna-, v šfīna*)

 $ru^{\dagger}\hat{s}\hat{a}n$ Mm, °an g, $r\bar{u}^{\dagger}\hat{s}an$ G light, brightness. — Prs V $d^{\dagger}run\gamma o$.

rīv Yzh, sh, rīf Mti a kind of odoriferous, bitter-tasting vegetable, resembling rhubarb — < *rāba-, cf Sgl rūv, Prs iāwand, etc, *iāw (Badakhshi rau), v. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p 547, and Markwart, Caucas 7, 16</p>

'röv- rīvd- Yzh, sh, r, 'rev-. rīvd M(g), rav- rīvd Z to bark — 'rove, 'rīvdo Yzh, ralv rōlo r, rövəstə sh, g, 'rolv 'revi, rīvdə M(g) — Cf. Phl rapto cry out, etc (v Johnston, JRAS, 1934, 535 ff).

'rŏuon Yzh. sh. 'rē' Mm, g, (g) wife's brother — Derivation < *rēwul < *lēwur, ef Psht lēwer 'husband's brother' is phonetically and semantically improbable.

rōx(*) Yg cheek — Prs τux, Psht τāx, of Psht rōx side, part — < *raxwa-, Skr srākva- corner of the mouth</p>

raxs M(g) dance - Ar -Prs rux'sat Ysh leave, permission. - wo ro šūi he left, io tūlijyo, wa man 'ro ken give me leave - Ar Prs ı üyer, v. rü'i rīza Y, Mm, 19z'gəy Z, 19zgi'ya G small - mən pür (luydo) rīza, agar rīza vio Ysh - Prs vā zo Yzh fast. - Prs. rīza o'guščiko Yg, sh, ogo sh, rīzaguščiko zh, rizeko-guščiko r little riza'yak Yzh goats and sheep. - Cf. Sar rezapai (Shaw) rīzīko Yzh small — mən luydo ro rīza and rīzako guščiko riz-lovora Yg window ("small door") rizān Yzh in 1° māum I give a full measure, xūb sanjīdim, xūb pur šud paimān(?) — Prs. rizān scattering? ra'zın Yzh, on sh, g, rozon r, razen Mm, g, (g), t, Z, ra'zın G elbow — The similarity with Kaudulaī qñ ariži'nī (Kurd.-Prs. Forsch III, II, 275) is no doubt incidental tically ra'zin might go back to *razanyara'ža Ysh sleeping platform near the fireplace - no vur da ro burd sū-i digdān' — Cf Sgl rēž, Wkh rāž, Or $r\bar{e}^izak < *raz(i)ya$, from * $re\bar{g}$ -? râ'žən G language. — If correct, cf Skr racana- composition, etc? rū'žen Yzh, sh, r, on g, on p, Mm, °jεn g smoke-hole - Cf Wkh rīcn, Par rūčon, Prs rozan, etc.

S

¹sā·um sovd·um Y, sō·um g, sōv· sēvd Z to smear, rub. — sova Yg imper. 2 sg — *sab·, cf Orosh. sēw· Sgl

såmb-, Wkb. såm- (HJ)? Or cf. Prs sūdan, sāwīdan, etc? sī Mg. suī m thirty - Prs sū'ī Yzh slate. — Cf Wkh såt, Sar såd slate, Shgh sad, Sgl usīd bakıng Prs $s\bar{a}d$ smooth, even? sa'bā Y to-morrow — zo s o'īm. — Prs V saār, yāmo subs Mm morning - so ligo 'subh dād' - Ar. Prs sa'buk Yzh, so° sh, so° r, g, 'sabuk Mm light (not heavy) - Prs sā'buk Ysh bride, sābuka bridegroom V 'šābuk sabar'go Yzh, g, oo p, sarbar'go sh trefool — Prs sihbarga səlbrim Y, subrüm Mm boiled fat sabəliani Yzh, sh neckrope, fastening the bullocks to the yoke (v III) - Pl sabə ranje - *samı barana-čī? Cf Wkh samvar yoke, Khow šamarvūnu, and v s v sām sabūstaf obl pl LSIm husks. — Bad Prs sabosta, Prs sabos(a), ef Sar sabast bran sad M 100 - Prs sād bārg M(g) cention, rose. — Prs sau'dāger Ysh merchant, pedlar. - Prs solfo Yzh, sofo p, sofo sh clay pot, kettle 'sāyo Y, 'sōya Mg, 'go m, 'ga Z shade -- * $s(ay)\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ -, Sogd. sy''k', etc. seyr'o Yzh, seo sh, sayyo g, segro (?) r, sigvo Mm, siyiya g, ti, °o (g), səqya Z, sugra G sand (acc. to Mt: fine sand) - *sikitā, v EVP. s.v šoga, and Benveniste BSL, 30, 60 and JRAS, 1933, 43 Cf also Oss. sijit, sigit, etc., earth, soil, (v also Justi

ZDMG, 38, 115)

sīv Y hare — *săhaka-, cf Sgl. sūr,

Wkh. sit Or sü, v EVP, s v sõe, and Bailey, JRAS., 1931, 424

suy Yzh, r leather strap, boot-lace, tasma, suy sh strap of a pellet bow (v III), seyaf ohl pl LSIy 'stripes' (?)

sũy Yzh, r street — wôs do sũy öyəm Yr "ālı da kuća mērim". — Ar-Prs sūq 'sũyiko Yzh, r, sũyaka M(g), sũyo m tale — Ct Par sũy word, affair, Sar saug, Or sũg tale, proverb. But Av. saokameans usefulness, profit.

suy mə'lān Yzh leather belt — V suy, məlān, kanıarband

salyir Yzh, sh, Mm. Z, oir Yr orphan
— Ar Prs.

sŭy'yāmo Yzh, sh three days hence,
 suyyā'mo r the day after (o-morrow (?)
 V 'yāmo, yūy'yāmo.

sāharo, sahro Ysh, sāharo Mm desert sāhara šūi, oyīm-əste sāharen (or from sahar?) — Ar-Prs

sa'har Ysh, Z morning, sa'ār Ysh, 'sāar zh to-morrow (morning) — 'sāar molo ko mən as Yzh come to me here tomorrow morning — Ar-Prs

sko Ysh, u, B, sko Z on, with, cf sarskū G upwards — ni āst sko dau let he settled down with his wealth, sko 'yū ašira'fen mind dau'lat šūi through one piece of gold such wealth appeared, sko yū yasp. suwāi šūi Yu he mounted a horse, sok škura souōr šoy Z he mounted a camel — < Av uskāt (G), cf eg Saka uska above, Psht (h)ask, Yazgh wask high (the resemblance to Kaikādī Tamil vask id. is a "mirage phonetique") — Cf Skarzer

skəd- s(i)kəst Yzh, 'skəd- 'skıst- Mt,
'skıd- skıst (g) to cut with an axe
or a knife, 'mēbu am' — pa kəra

skəstem Yzh — Cf skeškigå Z torn < *skašta-, Wkh škənd-, Shgh š'čend- to cut, Av. skand- to break. siaka'mand tfak Yzh a kind of gun —

Prs *sıyāh kamān

skut Yzh, sh, g, Mm, g, G, skūt Yr, skot Mt1, skwut Z, iskau at (اسكوت) MFB wood, stick — mən va skud vyləm Yg I hroke the stick. — <*skunta-?? (Reichelt, Soghd Handschr, p. 58, comp Sogd skwy firewood)

'skavrio Yzh, 'skarviyo Mm, °a g, 'skārvia (g), skaibī'ya G coal. — Poss < *skarbatā, but not identical with Psht. skarvata, etc (v G s v). Cf Charpentier, AO, 7, 193

sāl Yzh, sh, r, sal g, sâl Mm, śōl g, Z, sālo Ysh, B, sâia (?) G year — yu sāl, yū sālo niāst Ysh he stayed for one year, žahānd sāl šūi many years passed — Prob lw from Prs.

'saile Ysh spectacle, show — so šūt, a'žep so ker'; um I have seen a wonderful sight — Ar-Prs sair, Afgh Prs sail

sīl Mm, g, (g) flood, mundation — Ar-Prs. sail, Wkh sīl, Par sēl, etc

silyo Yzh, səl'yo g, r, °ywo sh, 'selgo Mm, 'silgiya (g), 'silga Z cream — < *sidakā- = Skr. *chidakā-, cf Skr sara- (Kshm har) 'sour cream' from sar- to break (Lidén, KZ, 61, 5) It is doubtful whether Yazgh. sayč can be related to silyo.

sa'lām Ysh, u salutation — s° kər, wālēkam uə-s° Ysh, as-s° a'lēkum, ua 'āliku s° u — Ar-Prs

sa'lāmat Yu salutation — nə 'pādšān nə s° šut they went to salute the king. — Ar.-Prs sel'xiko Yzh sorrel, (Katı čxrū) — Scarcely connected with silyo 'cream' (not sour) in the same manner as Oss. xūrxaq 'sorrel' is derived from xurx buttermilk (v Ladén, KZ., 61, 7)

sām Mm yokc-peg — Cf Prs saum (artificial vocalization in order to distinguish it from sim?), Sistani simāk yoke-key, Ar (< Ir) samīq the part of a yoke which encloses the ox's neck (yoke-peg?), Wkh səm vər yoke; Av. simā-, yuyō-səmī (v. Reichelt, WuS, XII, 288), Skr samyā- (Shina šamīže, Bur šamīy, etc) — V sabəranj, samlasiho, kāriak

somb Mm, g, sumb Z hoof. — Pis V čo'quli.

sam-'lasiko Mm neckrope fastening the bullock to the yoke Cf sam, loso V. sabəranj.

som'te Mg blunt.

'souno Yzh, sh, 'sauno Mm, °ε g cowife — Prob from a lost Khow form corresponding to Kshm son < *saun < sapatn! The present Kho. word is ambov'cān (v amboy)

'sandoq Yg, san'duq Mm box, chest —
Ar-Prs — V. to'vūnyo

san'dăn Yzb, sh, sən'dōn r, sa° Z anvıl
— Prs (< *āsandān, ef (ā)taš 'fire',
etc.) V s v rss'pen

sanj Yzh, san'jā p floor-plank on which the 100f-pillars rest. — Kho sanj su'nīko Yp wooden shovel (V III) 'sīniya Mm, od g sole of the foot

sun'ya Yzh beacon — Cf Kho sun, sun cairn (Lor)?

sind Yzh, sə° p two-storied house, köţa
— Kho sund

sanglaⁱū Y, °loⁱwī Mm, g, °ⁱlōwī (g) otter — Cf Sar. sanglāvī, Sgl saglāvī, Kalasha sangauū fr Prs. saglābī, Afgh Prs (Phillot) sag-i-lau But Wkh. sagâwī < sag-ābī

sankilyo Mg poison — Kho sankiya poison, arsenic, fr Hind sankhyā. V. zahar, žaro.

spī Y, Mm, g, ti, G, s³pī Yr, Z white.
spī rok Yzh. — Av. spaēta-spā'hī Ysh soldier — Prs

'spŏro Yzh, sh, o'ro g, 'sparo Mm, o'ra G, s³'pĕra f Z plough (v. 111). — < *spărā, cf Prs supār, Psht spāra, Sgl spər, Wkh s³pūndr

'spərzə Ysh spleen — Genuine, cf Av. spərəzan-, Sak spuljei, Gabri siwarz, Bal. isp'ulk, etc., or borr from Prs supurz? — Khorasan Kurd. sul (Houtum-Schindler) < O. Prs. *srdan-? — V. ninamāšče

spišč Yzh, g olive-coloured, yellow — Scarcely < *us pišta· (Av paes·)

'spūo (for š-?) Yzh, 'špūo (pl špūū) sh, š²p° r, 'spugo Mm, °yd g, 'spūya (g), t, s²lpəya f Z louse. — Av spiš, Prs supuš, Psht. sp²ža, etc With assimilation into šp- also Prs šupuš, Sogd špšh Reg. the Y forms in šp-ct §§ 74, 135 — Reg Wkh šiš, Abdu šiš etc with Saka-Persic treatment of *ħw-, v Et Voc Psht s v) and subsequently Benveniste, Studia Indo-Iranica, 223 f

'sāro Ysh down, below — və'det so 'burdan pāyān', a'nīməf su'wār sot vəl'yō, a'nīməf sət so half of them rode upwards and half of them downwards. Ancient abl of sor hill (g v), cf Engl down V fursoro, psāro. suri Yzh upper — so a'larsine upper

part of the door frame - < *sarya-? Cf Kho soro upper < Ir. V ta'he. sor Yzh, sh, p ear of corn (zh also top of a hill), B point. — Khow sor (< Ir.) head, ear of corn (cf Lat capitulum). — V xū'šō, 'yūya soro Yzh, sh. sara f Z excrements. dung — so da'ham Ysh I manure — Av sarrya-, Psht. sara, Sar surun (but not Prs surun 'podex', as proposed by Z) sar-1-dil Ysh, sar e-del sh the place under and between the rihs, sar dil Z breast - Prs. sarda'wo Yzh a well - Kho sardawar underground water tank < Prs sar $d\bar{a}ba$ sarf nā že Ysh ornaments. - Prs sarfarāzī grandeur, exaltation $sar^{\dagger}y\bar{a}r$ peg in the plough-beam (v. III.) - Cf Khow kārī, istor-yāri sārpa gā Yr morning — Prs pagāh dawn surv Yzh, sh, oruw r, surva g hole fosko suruw Yr nostril, yūen surv(a) Yzh, g hole of the ear - *subra-. cf Wkh. serv, v EVP s v sūrai surx Y, sv° Mm, sv° ti, sv° g, G red. yū sur x parso Ysh a copper com -Prob genuine < Av suxra-, cf. Wkh. səkr surx-bobure Yzh a red wasp sur ux sač Yzh Epilobium, willow-herb — * $s\bar{a}\check{c}$ is unknown Cf $si\check{c}ik$ (s v $s\check{a}x$)? 'sose Yzh, sors p heap of sheaves 'sasto Mm, sāste ti, sao LSIm hillside - wo cfūr-pâlaf de sar de saste cara dul LSIm he grazes the cattle on the top of the lull - *sastā 'ascensus' *sand-, to ascend, Sogd san- (v. Tedesco, ZII, 2, 39)?

¹stau Yzlı, sh stuhble-field — Khow ¹stāu

*stūy Yr long hair — vanæ-stūy — Cf Oss stig, stug lock of hair, stripe, strip, Skr stukā- knot or tuft of hair (preserved in Prasun ištuak lock of hair?)

us'tuya Yzh, 'stū° g throat (interior of)

— Cf stun V ālq, 'kâyəho

ustuy'nūl Yzh, stuy'nul g dripping (inside a house) — Cf Skr stoká- a drop? sot'ke Yzh, 'sətkə g, sodkə sh gums — Khow sotk gums (between the teeth). — V zömbå.

stun Mm, onek ti throat, larynx — Cf Psht. stūnai (< *stāmnaka-?) — V. us'tuya

ustu'no Yzh, stə° g, r, 'stuno Mm, °e g post, pıllar — Cf Wkh ıstın, Sgl əstın < Av stuna.

stinyo Yzh, g, r supine, lying flat on the back. — s° $\delta \bar{u} = l^{3}\gamma o d \partial g$ — Av ustāna-, Prs. istān, wastān, Brahui lw. istān, Psht stūn.

'stare (pl ori) Yzh, g, ora r, istaio sh, ori (pl) u, storiy Mm, g, ori (pl oni) (g), o'ray Z, story (pl or'gi) Mt, stā're G star - stārei lūrot Yzh stars are falling - Cf. Prs sitāra, Psht storai, Sak. stārai < *stāraka-Sar žturj, Or. žitorj, Yzgh. ** tārag proh. < ** stāryaka-, on account of Shgh xoteri Cf Oss $st'ali < *st\bar{a}riya$ -(?). — Sgl. ustər $\bar{u}k$ < *stărāka, Orm starrak <? Par estēč < *stāryačī-, Wkh sotâr (and Khow istār?) fr Prs sitār — With Psht starga 'eve' cf Irish suil 'cye' (orig 'sun').

's'tor- 's'tar Yzh, 'stor- sh, 'stor- starg, r, 'stor- stor- Mm, ster- stor- Z to sweep — *stīt pres 3 sg — Cf. Sgl. astar-, Shgh zedār- to sweep, Par astar- to rub, wipe away (and Oss starin to plaster, lick?)

ustur Yzh, sh (ustūl sh), stur g, r, Mm, sətər, our Z, ustur B big, great—zo ži to us'tur Yzh I am bigger than you, mən 'vərai žə 'tō 'vərayen us'tūl sh, ustur šūi yauyo zh the river rose.

— Av ostūra-, Psht star, ete

s³lūr Z horned cattle. — Av staora-, etc (but Khow. lw 'stor horse < Prs)

"s'turo 'guščo Yzh, "stu'ro" sh, strooguščiko g thumb — Cf "stur V narangušč

s³trī'šəm Z glue — Prs sırīšım.

"stur-žo'yo Ysh the evening star ('the large cloak'?).

'săvde Yzh, p, 'saudo r, 'sovdey Mm large basket (lll) — Early lw, ef Prs. sapad, safo, sabo, Or sept, Arm sapat, Kalasha savēd-, sohol But also Ar safatun, Syr seftā

'suvdo Yzh, M, °'dŏ Ysh, g, r, u, 'səvdd Mg, 'sevda (g), 'sr° t, 'sr° tı, 'sə° Z shoulder — do urjug (c̄əp) s° Yu. — Av suptı-, Sgl səvδ, etc

suvdiko Mm the end tip of a bow.

səlwī Yg vegetable, sauza — Cf Pashar sawī grass (fr. Ir?), Psht sābə a kınd of grass, vegetables (q.v).

salwir Yzh n. of a tree (said to be a Khow word)

su'wār Y, sa'wŏr Z horseman — vo parīzātə su'wār kə? Yu he put the fairy on horseback, (sko) yū yasp wazĭr luydo so šūt the vizier's daughter mounted one horse. — Prs

su'worum Yzh, oəm g, su'wōrum sh, r

1 Cf § 33.

gold. — Borr from older form of Kho 'sŏı vm (Capus 'sohoroum') which has got its -m from droxum (cf Kurd. zīw 'silver' with z- from zar).

s³'xauk Yzh smooth, slippery — V s^uxuy-

saxt Y, Mm hard, saxt Yr closed —
Prs saxt < Av graxta-close, dense
(not with Nyberg, Hilfsb d Phl, II,
200, from sac-to suit)

saxt(2) 2m) Yzh loom (?).

suxu'y suxu'i-m Yzh, sxu'y- sxo um sh, sxi-m r, 'sxuy- Mm, sxau- sxuy- Z to slip, slide, lišmidan — sxiy-m Yr pf — Related to or borr fr Prs. šaxidan (Kho šēxē stumbling)

sduze Yzh, sauz sh, səvzə g, sauz, -s Mm, tı, G, savz Z, sövz green, sduz Yzh blue. — Prs

sav'zī M(g) vegetable. — Prs — V sə'wī.

sa'yūrž Yzh, šāyūrž sh, ša'yūrš r hawk
— Kho sa'yūrč/j (but Palola šayūrž)
fr Ir.?

'sēzda Mg, sī° (g) thirteen — Prs sə'zalyo Yzh, sī° sh tarantula

su'zōn Mm, sū'zân G hot. — Prs --V garm, prč

səlziyo Yzh, sh, so° r, 'sijia M(g) jujubetree — Prs sinjid, Khow šinjūr (fr Ir?), Psht 'sauzilleh' (= *sanzila?), (Lumsden, Mission to Kandahar, p. 215)

\check{S} , $(\check{S})^1$

šâi Mm bridegroom. — Prs šāh V. šābuk

šū Yzh bedgehog (not found in Lutkoh)
-Kho šu(h) hedgehog, (porcupine, Lor)

šū, šu'ū Yzh, šū'ū sh, r, šū g, M(sh), šūwi (pl) m, šūi g, šūw Z horn — <*si ū, *srāw. Cf. Sgl šōu, Wkh. šəu, Par šī, Bal srō, Kurd. strōh, etc., Sak şṣu, Av srū Cf. also Psht škar, Wanetsi šukar

šūi Y, Mm, t, (šūi Ysh), šay Z, šey G he went, he hecame (v. oy-). - Pret. 1 sg dur luro pādo šom Ysh to day I have walked far, šom zh, r, g, žo voven anga šuyem (1) r I woke, šīam Mm, t - 2 sg tu šūit-a? Yzh have you gone? wos ke šūīt sh now when you have gone, $tu \ \check{z}^u k \bar{u} \ \check{s} \bar{u}^i \bar{\imath}$ (?) sh from where did you go? kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm p wherever you go, I shall come - 3 sg šūi Yzh, Mm, č(š)ūi Ysh didn't go, šūi na Čr'trayī sh he went to Ch; pazyō šūt r it became clean, šūų u či ayoi Mm he went and didn't come (back) - 1 pl šom Yzh - 2 pl šof-a? zh did you come? - 3 pl šut, šət Y, šət nə šaha ren u they went to town; gala'vānen 'čīr 'wule švt u the cowherd got four wives, xošān šut sh they became happy. - Pf 1 sg. šuyam Yr, plupf. 1 sg zo šu'yum vio sh 'rafta būdim', 3 sg mon wulo šīlo xo šūī vīo sh 'zan ī mā līc šuda būd', 2 pl ku šūvef vio zh 'kujā rafta būdid' — Av. °šuta-, etc

'šābuk Yzh, šabok B, sābuk(a), (q v) Ysh bride, bridegroom — Khow šă'bok, cf Prs šāh bridegroom.

šabparekilay Yr, širpəllan sh bat — Fr Prs šabparak, šabpūr, cf Orm šawurkai, šarwarak, Shgh. šabgardak, Par šaukurak, šauparak, Wkh šaupalrak, Sgl. °ek, etc With sh *širpalang cf ləlverzəya rūso, živdelraus ¹šābāš Ysh hravo — Prs. ščīnə, v *1*ščīn.

'šadar Yzh, šAdda B servant. — Khow. šadar, Shina ṣădăr

š¹fe Yzh, 'šifə sh, š⁹fə sh, g, °iy Mm, šfur g, t, šfī (g), ti, šfi/əy Z, šqūy G, šefi LSIm husband — wos kə mən 'šifən ayo'ī-va sh if my hushand come now, to 'šifien škār sh your husband sent it — < *fšuyaka-, cf Av fšuyant-, v Par Voc sv. xâ(ī)
'šifēiko Yzh, °čo sh, Mm, šīf'ēa g waterfall, šīvēa (g) irrigation channel —

Cf Prs. šiftan to trickle?

šef'loč Z hoof — Cf Wkh šilč, Sgl

šolč hoof, Prs šapēl, šafal, šipl

camel's hoof \otimes Ar safilat? The

explanation suggested NTS, 5, 53 is

hardly correct

šf in (I) Yzh, sh, Mg, on Yg, šofin r, šfūn Mm, šofin ti, oūn m. Z, šqūn G comb — Cf Sgl afšūn, Ishk šofūn, Kashan kohr yō'šēn, Prs šāna, čāna (with the standard), etc., Wanetsi w(u)zonj, Pashai lw weşa'nek, Shgh. vezūj V. nuvāštāra, Vala lāfāna Vala (x) ti trājāna

İsfina Yzh, İsfino Mg, (g), t, tı, sfüna m. 111step — Cf. Hazara Prs (Jaghuridi from Dehi Zangi) šāne-i-pāi 111step, Bal šānay backbone, nape, Prs šāna shoulder Reg raišan, v s v

ši fon Yzh, g, šf° sh, r clay used for plastering of walls. — V šift.

šaf¹šīyan Yzh, o¹šīyan sh, šaf¹šīyan g, šou¹šīyan r armpīt — Originally an ohl. case? Cf. Prs. šafš(a), branch, a hooked reed šafšaf a crooked branch? — V tā¹kaš

· šift-əm (pret.?) Yzh to plaster a wall with clay. — Cf šifōn, and poss.

Bal $\delta \bar{e} f a \gamma$ rod for applying collyrinm to the eyes (v NTS, 5, 51), etc (with * $x\delta$?)

šaf'tal Yg, Mm, g lupine — Prs šaf'tāle Yzh, sh, °i g, °ōlū r, °âlū Mm peach — Prs.

'šiytho Yp a plant resembling sorrel,
'šītko f Mm rhubarb, rau — V. rīr,
selxtko.

\$a'yur Mm, g, \$u^o (g) hedgehog (not known by the other informants) —
Prob. a lw (note Mm y-!), cf Sgl. \$a'yor, Par., Prs dial \$uyur

'săhər Yzh, °e, °ar sh, u, šār Z town.
— šūr tro š° Ysh, nə šāharen u —
Prs V. Šāhar

šu'ško Yzh, 'šūiko sh, g collar-bone — <*srauša 'protruding bone', cf Bal srāš elbow' (v Walde-Pok., I, 500) — V. fizyasti, pa'rayasti

škāb- škabəy Z to lift up, raise — Cf. Sak. şkam- to raise, construct, Av. skamb-, v EVP, s v āčawul

šal lām Mn dew. — Cf Sgl, Khow šag nām from Prs. šabnam + Wkh, Ishk šak V nəb, praž vār.

*ški'rō Yzh, š'kə'ro g, °e'ro p, šuku'ro r,
ušću'ro sh, 'škyuro Mm, °a (g),
'škvura t, °'ra G, škyūra M(g),
'škura, đ f Z, šturo B, iščuro LSIy,
škir m.—nar škyur Mg male camel.
— < *ušturā, cf Av uštra-, etc
Camels are not used in Chitral, and
the Y forms with šk are prob. borr
from or influenced by M — šturo B
is a doubtful form. Cf G s v

'škör əm. 'šhār-əm Y (*škör y), 'škör am škar-um Mm, \$*kör- *š*kū/ör- Z, škâr-G to send (a thing) — *kör imper 2 sg, yo 'vīra 'nāmən köi *kär* Ysh who sent me this burden *käyəz kəro, škā\u03e7-ən sh he wrote a letter and sent it (to us?) — Cf. Sogd (')škr- to push, bring, Prs šikār hunting, chazing

²škūr Yu hunting, shooting — no šīren š° švt, no šīren ¹š° ke¹nam! — Fr Prs šīkār

Solkor Yzh, sh sugar — Khow < Prs
Skrafla G scorpion. This word was not known to any of my informants — Connection with Av xrafstra- as suggested NTS., 3, 298 is, of course, extremely doubtful (of Prs xastar reptiles, insects?). But the assertion that xrafstra- should be identical in meaning with spis- (Benveniste, Studia Indo-Iran, 244) is hardly borne out by the texts

škat zh, škyat sh msipid, tasteless, Khow škat — The Khow word has not been recorded by Lor or myself

škym Mm, °1y g, °1y t, °ī t1, (g), šž1y
m Z neck, škym Mg neck of a horse
— < *šta*ka·, with very early contraction < *(u)šaδakahya·, cf 'šile*?
šale Yzh, sh, °ε g, rice in the field. —

Khow < Prs šel Y (šəl r), šāl Mm, šal Z lame. —

Prs šal

'šīle Yzh, šə'le sh, šr'lə g, r, šīlle B,
neck, tre-šele LSIy del-tšlī m on his
neck — drīo tra šīle he threw it on
his shoulder — Cf Sogd. šo("k) neck,
Av. ušabā- name of a part of the
back, puštī tēž? V. škyuī.

šəlo Ysh, oa u, šo sh near, at, together with, pēš-i — šəlo won ai Ysh ba pēš-i ū buru', šəla daryāhan u 'pēš-i daryā' Cf. Gramm § 218 — Prob. connected with 'šile

'šulo Yzh, sh rice and meat boiled

together — Cf Prs šila rice-soup (< *šālya°?)

ša¹lāku Yzh centipede(?), lizard(?), (not found in Lutkoh) — Kho šalāk lizard(?), grasshopper(?) (Lor)

ši'lex Yzh, °ox sh, g, B, °āx Mm, °ax, sə'lēg' Z naked, destitute — mun zəmo'nakk əu mun wulo šilo'xo (f) šūi vīo Ysh my child and my wife have become destitute, šilaxe pl — Cf Sgl, Wkh ši'lax, Shgh ši'lak šăm Y, šūm m. Mm. Z, šâm G evening — Prs V xšēma.

šam Ysh ripe - Cf. Bal šam moist? šam- šamd- Yzh, g, slı, 'šom- šam'd-Mm, šom- šēmd Z, šâ'm- G to drink - yauyo šamam Yr, ćāi šəm! Ysh, 'šamem zh, čamem I don't drink, šāmef-este sh you are drinking — Av šam, cf Prs. āšāmīdan, Zaza šim- to drink, Psht. šūmī drinks (Yūsuf u Zulaixā, ed Qandahār, p. 157, 1 12), Orm šam to sip, (but tar., Par ter- to drink). pā-, piba-, in Sgl pov-, Wkh pov-, Sak. pa-, *upa raiz Shgh berēz-, Yzgh biraz-, etc , čaš-Sogd. čš-, Psht. cš- (but Wan yoz-< gadh + s?), x^war . Prs x^wurdan , etc., Oss nŭaz-(?)

ĕam¹ĕĕr Mm, °ĭr Z, G sword — Prs
V. xogor

šīn Ysh, in čir miž šīn 'four days ago'.

'šīno Yzh, sh, g, 'šūo' g vulva, 'šīno Mm, o' g, o' a Z anus, 'šīne Mti podex, šēna G behind — Cf. Wkh. šīn, Sgl šēn podex, anus, Av. sraonihip, podex Cf also Wkh. s v šūnj 'šĭnjo Yzh, sh, o'jo g, šun'jo r, šižno Mm, o' e g, o' a t, 'šīžna f Z needle — With assim of s-z > š-z from *s(a)u-čanī, cf Niya Kharoshthi sujīnao',

Prs. sōzan, Kurd šūžin, E. Bal šīšīn, Sgl ³štən, Psht stən. jn > nj also in Khow. lw šūnj (v BSOS, VIII, 663), Wanetsi sunzən(?) — Prs. sunjāq pin, Oss sinj thorn, etc., is a different word — V xar-šižn šī'namia (pl šī'namī) Yzh, °'nāmə sh, °e r, °i (pl.?) p, u girl. — loh šī'nāmiī niāsti sh two girls were sitting, də čatīr loh šīnāmī viet u there were two girls in the tent. — Av strīnāman-female sex (about animals). Cf Lbd tremīt, Panj tīmat, etc woman < strī mātrā.

'šonzda Mg, šozo' m sixteen — Prs šun'gā Yzh, sh corner of a house — Prob fr. Khow. šung (of Ir origin') špāc Ysh, 'ocəpoc Mm, špacin B, ispa(') p behind, after — špāc na to fsāt Ysh he rose after you, spac e'nān zh 'pušte mā biyā'(') — *haca-pascā, cf Prs sipas, Wkh cəbas V cpāc, vispac

špāš-kera Yzh hind quarters of animals, špāš-kere sh podex — V. 'pero.

šār Yzh file (tool) - Khow.

šīn Yu lion — no šīren iškūr šut they went to shoot the lion — Prs

šõr Yg (11 yu-1šõr), B, yū šor LSIy, 100.

— Khow V sad.

šarm Yzh, r shame, pudenda. — Prs. V fšarm.

še'rzet Yu Islamic law — Ar-Prs šur'văi Yzh, sh, g, °ba r, °wā Mm soup — Prs

'šešo Yp In mamə š° do 'Warto da pežo a word of unknown meaning, explained thus 'nām na dārad, hamtarī yak gap ast (it is merely a word), mā ba tu āšeq šudam'(??)

'šētša Yzh a kınd of wıld vegetable

growing in the hills - Lor compares Khow šei a kind of mountain plant + šaa (Shina ša) vegetahle 'šišo Yzh, ži'šo sh glass, earthquake -Prs. šiša glass, bottle — V zibijim šuš Mm, šuš g, šiš (g), šoš Z lung -Prs. V pāpas ši'šoyo Yzh, oiyo r, šoyo zh, sh mirror, šiša ga G bottle — Cf šišo âi na šaš'hot Mm podex - Cf špačkere, 'pero šīšpāzək Mg spieen (?), šəšpa'zok Z belly. - Cf. Brahui nīm-pāza spleeu (Ir. lw) - V ninamāšče, 'spor zo šašte Yzh hook, Khow hauf. - Cf Prs šast fish book ištī Mm, šti Z, štē LSIm what? - tu iš° lõri? tu iš° iyikuniy? — < *č(i)sti < čisči (cf Tedesco, Dialektologie, But ef. Oss. 12st, MO, 12, 212) yesti ? šāt Mm honey. — Ar. Prs — V aquimīn šut Mm near. — V nazdik, garīb š¹tāhan, štāen Yzh, štahan B below, under - šo že mazān below the table, šo usltām I place it below. - že + Prs tah šota-žezikan Yr hamstring.

štanan polo Yg sole of the foot - što

¹šti va Mm, ²sti-va (§?) t something na to ¹š° ¹dalum, ²s° ¹av2ram —

suck - č(š) žve doesn't drink, šuve

sucks, Yzh, škyīn šūvd M(g) - Cf

Wkh šap- (Shaw), Par šup kan-, Oss

šu'vā. šu(v)uvd Yzh to suck (used about

'šuvazi Yp n, of a flower, forget-me not

šūvd M(g), šuv- šuvd Z to

adj from šitāhan

sábi suckling.

the mother)

V išti

šuv- Yzh.

'šāxeq Yzh tinder — Prs. šāxak a small twig? šaxek i sar Mm temples - V vuj pako, poxa'yak Cf sv ušk-mažiko. šo'xov M(t) stream divided into many branches — Prs šāxāba. V baxšiyo. 'šiyo Yzh, Mm, od g, 'šiyo Ysh, g, r, p, olya G, šiya Z female — < *strīyā-. Cf Sgl 30c, Wkh. strei, Or seterij, Psht šəja (q v), Oss sil, sila (with l from nal male) 'šayuk Mm cuekoo — V ka'kūk šā'yīn Mm hank — Prs šāhīn šayoz Yzh, sh glacier - Khow šīž Y, Mg, šūš Mm eagle (m and f), vulture (Yzh) — Cf Sgl šūž < *šāč-. šižo-'yun Yzh, Mm cotton-thread - V didan'wo, paxta'ī wirž, wušūles šižovun žov Yzh, šovun-žov sh woman's cloak Tt encl pron 2 sg - Cf § 205 tā Ysh, u until, in order that - xšə'vō tā mrž sh night and day, wa'mon 'muzdurə 'na mən del, 'tā zo o'ām give me my wages so that I may go, ās tā lu'roum u. — Prs

lovo'i-m Yzh, ti'i-m

tə y-im lo yoi Mm, tuw-luyay Z to

enter — yduyo tīm (loyo'īm) Yzh I bathe(d), lo'yŏi do kyēi, tro kiyēf, da

 $ma^{\dagger}zit$ sh, u, dadrām $tim = d^{\circ}$ šom

zh, də kyayî tiim sh, də kyoi tə'yim Mm — ti- < *atı i, ef Sgl atıy,

 $lo'\nu \bar{o}i$ sh,

šax Ysh n of a plant, sicik — Khow šax green vegetable (Lor)

'šāxo Yzh, g, °xº r, 'šāxo Mm, 'šōxa tı,

branch - Prs

Z, šâx G branch — stūr š° Yr a big

Sogd tys- (cf Pkr. arcchati passes on), Sar $di\delta$, Yzgh $di\delta$ - ($da\gamma d$), Khuri tiom I come But $lo\gamma oi$ < ? + gata-

- tu Yzh, sh, to sh, u, Mm, Z, G thou. Cf § 203 sq
- tū Mm, g, tı, tūy Z, G mulberry Anc lw from Pis tūt Acc to Laufer, Sino-Ir. 582, not from Semit V m²reč, tūt.
- tu'būr Yzh, tə°, tam° Z guitar, rubūb, tambūr — Borrowed, at different periods, fr. Prs
- tu'but Mm, g down of birds Cf Sgl tə'bət, Sar tibit down, Turk Prs tibit soft goat's hair.
- Itačinge (pl.?) Yzh goat-skin shoes, used by the Kafirs — Khow Itačing pubboos, footwrappers, Palola thačinga.
- tā dunī ā Yu the lower world, ta Z under
 Prs tah (in tah xāna, etc) Cf. tahe alarsine, šītāhan, tā kaš
- tfo Yzh, tfe sh, tuf r. Mm, tof Yg. Mg, tfoγo Yg, tofo M(g), tuf G, tuf- Z salıva. — Prs Ct Shgh. tuf, etc
- tfak Yzh, tulfək r, tulfak Mm, tə° Z,
 G gun, rifle. təfək dalham Yzh
 I shoot. Prs Wkh, Sgl. have
 the Turk word miltiq, Shgh etc
 the native can Cf BSOS, VIII,
 659
- t³fōv- t³fēvd Z to put fire to V Z, s.v, and cf Par tapēw- to heat 't³go Mm, ta¹ga G, tang Z narrow tang fr Prs, t³go may be genuine — V tang, trok
- *tunga Z, o'ga G button, bud Deriv <
 *tumga < *tukma suggested § 119
 But probably < Prs tuqa. V tukmo
 tag'bīr Yu plan, explanation na

- tag'bīren o'īm. Also Psht, Par, Khow, Ashk, Awromanı tag'bĭr < Prs tadbīr
- t̄ιγο Yzh, p rope made of willow-bark (p used for fastening the handle of a spade, v lll). — Cf Wkh t̄ιk willow, Prs tāk branch, tendril, vinc, etc., Psht. tāṛa elm or poplar
- $tu\gamma d$ -əm $tu\gamma' d\tilde{a}y$ -əm Mpn to shave, tw da(?)B to cut — Cf. $t\tilde{i}\tilde{z}$ - ∇ fxau, xrid-.
- $tu\gamma^u m \ Y \ (t\bar{u}^o \ g), \ t\bar{u}\gamma m \ Z \ grain, \ corn$ Cf Prs tuxm etc, $v \ Z \ s \ v$.
- ta'he a'larsıne Yzh threshold Cf tā duniā V sırı
- talqıo Yzh, r pillow, back of a chair,
 takı'ya Z pillow. Ar-Prs takya.
 V vir'zane,
- 'tēiko Yzh, 'ta° g eye apple Cf Bakht tē, tī eye, Par tēč?
- to'ko Mm, tōqa Z alone Cf Wkh toko, Sgl tāke, Rosh tōqā, Prs tāqa. — V fkyyygo
- tuk¹mo Yzh button Turk-Prs. V tūga
- 'tukun'um Mm to chop up, hash. Cf tik-, kik- Z to beat?
- tā'kaš Mm, g, tā-ı-kaš (g), 'taə kaš Z armpıt — Cf. tā-duniā, Prs kaš — V šaf'sīyan
- tāl Yzh, sh, g, 'tōlo r, 'a m Mm, Z, tâ'la G kettle Sgl tāl, cf Katı tōl, Lhd thālī dish, metal vessel? Not to be compared with Shgli, etc tōvê plate, tray (< *tāvaka-> Y *tīže) as pioposed by G
- 'tāl im ta'lī m Yp to whittle, tōl'y tēl'y

 Z to kill, slaughter. 'tāləm vo
 pə'žō I whittle the log, 'pāra pāra
 mēkunim' < *tard-, v s v pətišō-
- te'la-um tu'lī-ım Yzh, təla-'ūm tūlıysh, tə'lav-um Mm, telev-am t, telaw-

telwiy- Z to seek, search for. qadā'i to Ysh I beg, rux'sat tūli'yō he took leave, 'talbist', či tələ'niā gadā'ī don't beg, šūr no tūli'yān 'ba gadāī talabīstan raft'. — Ar-Prs. talabīdan

'tıla Yzh copper(!), tı'lâ Mm, teo g, tillă B, LSIm gold - Prs - The meaning 'copper', if correct, must be due to a recent adjustment caused by the introduction of Khow su worum 'gold' (LSIy gives zer 'gold') B has loh copper (< Khow)

tal'kān Yzh, sh dried mulberry flour. -Badakhshi Prs (not in lexx) But of Prs talxā parched grain, pulverized and mixed up with water? - V. čirvišče, kito'rī, pušč

tulis'mād Yzh flood, river in spate — Khow (O'Brien) tisilmād id, but ace to Lor. tilismād means 'many, a crowd (of men)'

telt Yzh, teo sh, teo Mm, Bold, shabby, tattered, žəyd(?) From Ar. Prs tils old, ancient, dirt of a garment?

talx Yzh, r, g, Mm, g, Z, °l3x Ysh bitter - Prs

talx-karda'čī Yp dandelion. — *Prs? Bailey suggests connection with Phl. (Bund) kārda, kārtak n of a flower, Pandanus (?) Khow trispoy Cf dandelion Y trisp sour, acid

tāam Ysh food — to kyet-isto she is preparing food - Ar Prs.

ta'mākū Yr tobacco - Ind fr. Prs tono Y, g, B, taina Z, tan G body,

tana Mm stem of a tiee — Prs tan(a) tanou B rope - From Khow tanau (v BSOS, VIII, 664)? But of Shgh. tanov (Skold)

tandene'ū Yp threads connecting the trif Z trift Ysh, Z to steal — žinki'ki

wings of a spinning wheel (v Ill), Kho tande'nī - The Khow word 18 unknown elesewhere Cf Pis tananda a weaver's instrument, etc? 'tandur Yzh, sh, 'tondero Mm, oa g, təndə a G thunder — Prs.

tənidar (-l) Ysh thin

tan'drust Yzh, r, tun° sh, tendu'r° u well, in health - Prs

'tunuk Yzh, t'ı'nek M(g) shallow, Khow tonk, tunka B thin - Prs tunuk (cf BSOS VIII, 670).

tang Mm, Z saddle girth. - Prs. - Cf. tago, trok

təp'laya Yzh drum — Prs tabla(k)

tūi-pušky Mm dried mulberry-flour. -V. pušč, talkān

tro Ysh, r into, on, etc - 'šūi tro 'šāhai Ysh he entered the town; nā to tro 'las ka'rum I put it in your hand, tro zil č āyoī 'ba yād i mā na āyad'. tra awa zyūsto r he flies through the Cf § 219 - Av. taro and antara? Cf. Parachi, tar (IIFL, I, § 101)

'târa Mm a single hair — yū to —

'tiro Y, oa Mg, 'tūro Mm darkness, o'ra G dark, — Av. $ta\vartheta ra$ - (pl !). EVP. sv tor,1

toru Yzh, g lower - to poisik zh lower hp, tornov-drai g bedding, kurpa ('put-below').

tür Z trap - Cf Wkh, tor, v. EVP. 3.v tor 2 2

tūr Yzh, p mountain-ash - Khow treboda Yzh, 'pâle 'trebono boda g ankle, trobon ta lasboda sh wrist. - But Prs. tarband means only 'a wet bandage'. V boda, uškimažiko

u'gah \tilde{z} ə a \tilde{s} əra'f $\tilde{\imath}$ əf yu t^o Ysh the woman stole at once one of the gold coins — Cf. Av trəfya \tilde{t} , Phl. truftak (v Reichelt, Av Elementarbuch, 61, Nyberg, JA, 1929, 293, Bailey, JRAS, 1933, 1004, Schaeder, Stud z antik Synkretismus. 216) Already in Av. t_l -> trə, cf Ishk təruf-, Shgh cuf- with secondary tr- treated as ancient postvoc ϑr (arai 3, but puc son).

trok Yzh, sh saddle-girth — Kho trang, Wkh trang, Shgh te'rang (v s v). — Ct

trok Yzh, og g, r narrow, troyo B tight trog-weliko Yzh, tro-wöliko sh irrigation rivulet running across a field—Prob from trok narrow, and not related to Or (Lentz) tur-wēð Hochgraben, or to Psht trai small stream, mill-race (v. EVP s v).

taryo Y (to° g), tergiko Mm shed for goats and sheep, ayēl-i māl. — Cf. Bur. tārk(h) walled enclosure?

tiry Yzh, r, ti° sh, tir'yo Mm, tər'ya g, Z, turγο B sharp. — Av. tıγrα-, cf. Kohrū, Keše tir, etc.

trīk Yzh thing, matter — co'min to astet?

'tarık Yzh poplar. — Turk. (but Khow. terek chenar). — V, ra'meno.

tīra mâ Mm, g, t, o autumn — Prs. — V pa īz

ta'rān Yzh, sh soft, wet, unfinished cheese, təringā Z fresh, new — Cf. Prs tar(r) moist, fresh.

trušne Yzh, oa B, tišno Yr, tižna g thirsty — Yr, g fr. Prs, Yzh, B fr Khow. truşnı (Ir lw, cf. BSOS, VIII, 664). — V kāk, zolyoriy.

trišp Yzh, r, tro° sh, g, trišpo Mm, °ε g, triš (t³rišpā f.) Z trišpo B

sour, acid, trišp B tbirst(') — Cf Sgl te'reš (lw?), Wkh terešp, Bal trušp Poss *tūšpa < *trpša- (v. EVP. s.v trīu-), of Russ terpkiy sour, acid (< *trptků), v Trautmann, Balt-Slav Wb, 325)

'trāxnık M(g), terax'nok Z spark — Z compares the group of words mentioned s v co'rox

talrāzū Yzh, tā° sh scales, Trāzū g,
 n of a constellation, Labra — t°
 alvrε, mām do t° Ysh bring the scales,
 I shall weigh — Prs

'trāž- Y trayd- Yzh, trěži-'em sh, trě'jyë-m r, 'tráj- trayd- Mm, t³'rönj- t³'rayd- t, tröj trdyd Z, t³'rdj- G to bind, tie — mlān trāžim Yg, 'trěžyəm pf; mo 'adam 'yavo trež, mai 'ādame 'yavo 'tražet zh, tii na'ko va yavo traže? — Prs taranjidan to tighten (v Z s v) (Cf Bailey, BSOS VIII, 138)

'tasa Yp copper tray - Ar Prs tās goblet

to i sar M top of the head — Cf Sgl tå i sar, Prs *tār-i-sar ? V. 'kāka, pxoyak

taš'ko Yzh, tə° g, to° r, ta° sh, p, Mm adze. — Cf Prs. tēša, taš

tắt Y, tot Mm, g, (g), Z, tât G father.

— ar tāt, na to tāt, yo kyr mən
tāt kyr Yr; mō a'maf tāt this is
your father, taten što the father
said — Sgl tāt, Wkh tat, cf. Z s v
tūt Yr mulberry — Prs. V. məreç, tūr
'tūta Mt Adam's apple — Cf Prs tūta
a siy on the eye-lid (orig 'swelling'?).

'tavdoyo Yzh, tovdaga Mt a tree with small berries, tauda, Khow čilažum(?)

— Prs *tafta is unknown in this sense

to νūηγο Yzh, 'tovu° sh, p box, chest.—

Cf Prs tabang(ū), Psht. tawang tray,
wicker basket, chest.— V sanduq
tu'vor Yzh, sh, Mm, to° Yr, tū'vər g,
tə° Z large axe— Cf Prs. tabar,
etc

tuver'zın Yzh battle axe — Prs tabarzın. Kho taparzin 18 an early lw

tours'ton Yr, town° Z, tâw'stân Mg summer — Prs V. 'wāro.

'tivanty Mm stirring-stick, tëw- tëvd Z to stir. — Z compares Ishk, Shgh tëw etc. to stir (but connection with Prs täftan is improbable) tëw- < *tāwaya- fr. IE *tew-, cf. *twer-(Walde-Pok, I, 749)

tux Yzh steam. — Khow. tox, cf. Sgl. $t \ge xt' x_{\overline{\epsilon}}$.

taxta bande Yp boarding enclosing the hearth, odi Z fence - Prs.

tiž im 'čāst-əm Y (tž-g), 'čiž-əm' čāst-am Mm, čž-im čāst am t, 'čiž-im' čost (g), Z, česta B to fall. — wos tžim Yg, psāt ti'žim sh, čižt 3 sg M(g) — < *hača-had-, ef niž-, čad-.

'taya Yzh, g, r, 'tă ĭ sh, 'tō i Mm, 'tō ika g colt — Cf Sgl ta'yāk, Wkh tōy, Sar tāē — Turk.

ta'yār Ysh, tē° B ready, completed - t° šū, kor. - Ar Prs.

'tāzo Yzh, g, °a sh, 'tāza Mm, tazyo B well, ın health — pādšā t° šūn Ysh, to tat ta'z ō təndu'rust astet? u — Prs

tiz Yzli quick, g sharp — tiz as! — Prs.

taižīa Yzh heron, Khow mandāy

'tīž-om 'toyd-om M(g), tēž- tuyd Z to cut, split. — Z compares Shgh. tēž-to shave (with -ž- from the preter l), Rosh tōw-, Wkh. tɔš-, etc. (with which 17 — Kulturforskning

cf. also Sgl $t\bar{u}l$, Psht $t\bar{o}zel$, Oss dasin to shave) < Av. $ta\bar{s}$. — But $t\bar{z}$ points to * $t\bar{a}zel$ aya, ef. Oss tajin adze Acc. to Lidén fr. IE *teg- tuyd- (q v.) to shave is based upon the past stem.

taži an čog go Ysh a kind of pear, — Cf tažīa?

\boldsymbol{I}

tho Yzh, tifo g n. of a small bird which says "tif fuf", Kho. tuf — Acc to Lor. Khow. tuf is a kind of hunting bird

tok Yzh, tok sh wild pear — Khow tong, et. also Psht. tangū fruit resembling an apple A more recent lw. than kyogo, cogo, q v.

'takye Yzh n of a part of the plough ti'pe Ysh much — boh ti'pe dau'let — Kho tip full.

Θ

Jam LSIy come, Jamus then — Very doubtful forms. J is not found in any other Y word

V

 -va a verbal particle denoting the conditional and the indef. pronoun.
 V. §§ 252, 210.

vo nota accusativi — Cf. V §§ 208, 215 lvīo Y, Mm, viyā, °a Z, vī'ya G he was. — žū'wān v°, yū lwulo v°, loh pūre vī'et Ysh; mun wulo šiloxo šūi vīo my wife had become destitute, 'vīo yū â'dam, wo 'hâdamen lv luydi vī'at Mm, yū wīya vīo; mən uzīr lurvo

viem. Cf. §§ 225, 233, 250 — $v\bar{v}$ as irrealis and cond. v § 253 sq. — Av. $b\bar{u}ta$ -, Wkh. vitk, etc.

'vad- 'văst Yzh, r, 'vōnd- vost- Mm, t to bind, to tie together (something broken), 'pēvand mēkinam', to place loaves on the hearth to be baked (Mt) — yau vastəm Yr — Av. band-, cf Sgl, Wkh. vānd-, Shgh vīnd-, etc — V. trāž-

ve'dō-um ve'dī-am M(g) to warm one's hands by the fire. — *upa-(han-)tap-, with secondary preterite(??). Cf

vo'dāy-əm və'dayd-əm Yzh, sh, vidayda B to mix. — *abi-(han-)tak-(??) Cf. Oss andajin to solder. Cf § 118.

vəl'yo (w°) Yzh, sh, w° r, 'valyo Mm,
°a (g), °a MFB, walye LSIm, welyo y,
būryo (l) B up, above. — vəl'yo a'īm,
wəl'yō o'yəm Yzh, 'valya a'yam M(g);
mən kyēi vəl'yō as'tet Yzh my house
is above, šot val'yō Ysh 'raftan bālā',
wel'yōo 'bālā āmad' — Av ərəðwa+ kā might result in Y *əlvyo, vəlyo,
but in Mm we should expect *vəlgo (?)
vul'yōr Yr, wur'yar M(g) shoulder-blade,

wur'yar Mg, t, ogar m upper part of the back, between the shoulders, wurgor m Zspine.—Prob. < *wul'gōr.

Cf Psht wula shoulder-blade.

'veliwo Yzh, ve'l' sh lightning — Prob
< *welivo < *wi-daipā-, cf. Sogd.
wyδ'ynp'h (Buddh), wydymp' (Chr) =
*wiδēmbā, Bartangi (Skold) we'δebj <
*widaipaka-, Sar. (Bellew) wadāfz
(d = δ²). Sak. batava f. acc to
Konow < *witapā-. — A root *daip-,
*dīp- is unknown from Ir, but its
existence is proved by the Sogd and
Bart forms

ven Yzh, g, r, van sk main root, bottom,

foot of anything. — Av buna-, Prs bun, etc.

va'n-Im: va'd-em Yzh, sh, van- vat u, 'vin-um 'vəd-um Mm, vən-. vud, wo Z to carry, bring, carry off (animate beings) - vo wulo (va to wulo) vanem Yu I bring a (your) wife, vo mun və'na 'marā bigīr', 'pūra və'dem Yzh I brought my son, vo may a vridet šəlo pādšāan sh they brought the man before the king, žə pād šāan vo wu'lo vet galavanen u the cowherd took his wife away from the king, və det saro sh 'burdan payan', və det Mm 'burdi', vo wulo žewen če vet kəne Yu 'zan-ı-ūra na mētānī gırıftan' -< *upa·ni·, upa·nita· (v § 118), cf Par $\bar{e}n$ $\hat{a}nt$ $< *\bar{a}\cdot n\bar{t}$, and v Bloch, L'indo arven, p 44

və'nayaro Ysh, g, r, vīns'yarıko zh high hill, cliff, 'šāxı kalān , Khow zom — Talaš Mīr ve'nayaro Yr — Cf. van and yar.

van Yzh, sh, g, vən r, van'gy Mm, vān'gya g, van'g' Z, vanj G long — wos van šūr Ysh now he stretched himself — *baržn-, cf. Av barəzan-(barəšna-), barəšnu- height, hill.

vrai Yzh, sh, r, u, B, v(ə)rāi Ysh, g, v²rāi Mm, °ōi g, t, ti, Z, °ây G, vrōi M(g) brother, cousin — mən lvərai žə tō lvərayen usltūr Yzh my brother is bigger than yours, ai vrāi, če xšief-este sh o brothers, why are you weeping. — Av brātar-, cf Sgl. v²rūð, Wkh v²rit (also from the nom).

'vrī-im vri'r am Yzh, 'vrī im vr''r am

(i) sh, 'vrī-im vrī'l-am r, vrī-m
vrī-am g, vrīr-am vrīšky- Mm, t, G,
v²-rīr- v²-rīr-, v²-rīšk- Z, vrīstča B to

break. — mən va skud vyləm Yg I broke the stick, vylet 3 pl., vrīa imper 2 sg, mo ādam vrī, mar ādame vrīet zh. — Orig vrī· vriškv, vrišč < *braiš- *brišta-, cf. Sgl. vrēl- vrēt, Shgh. vəraž-, etc Cf. § 238.

var M(t), vēr LSIm time. — yıdır var fta wīnəm I see you a second time. — Early lw. from Prs. bār < *wā₁a-?
But note the vowel V. § 58.

v³ro Ysh after. — ži mol v^o 'az ī bād' — Cf Av apar²m postea.

'vīra Yzh, sh, °o M(g), 'vū°, 'vv° Z burden. — yo vīra kōi·kān? whose is this birden? wo 'vira la'yado da 'kyeī Ysh he put the burden down in the house. — Av bāra, Sgl vūr, Wkh vīr

vi'ra-um Yzh vĭ'rəvd-o sh to load, 'bār kardan'. — Cf. 'vīra.

vūr Z light red — V Z s v., Bartholomae, Mir.Mund., VI, 5, and Goteborgs Hogskolas Årsskrift, 36, 3, 67 vroč-om vrexč om(?) Yzh to roast — The forms are not clear vroč- (with -č from the imperative *vroč? < *vro(n)j) < *brinj-, cf. Khow. lw vrenjē im, Bal. brijag, Sak. brijs-, Psht writ (if < *bi ixta-). But Wkh. vareš-, etc., v. EVP s v writ

 $vra\dot{c}o\gamma a$ Yzh to that side, ' $\bar{u}sun$ ' — Cf. $v^{2}ro < apara$ - and v $m\bar{r}r\cdot\dot{c}o\gamma a$.

vröf- vröft Y, wurafs- wurafsöy Z to
fly — vröfe 3 sg, vröfet 3 pl —
Z compares Shgh werafc- to stand
(cf Notes on Shgh s v. wurūvd) cf.
Wkh. wərəfs- id, Yazgh. urafs- and
v Bailey, Orient Stud in honour
of C. E Pavry, 22 — Y *wr-> vr-7
Cf. vərēm-.

'vrīyo Y, °d Mg, °a (g), °a t, °go m, v²rīga f Z, vrē'ga G eyebrows — 'vrīye pl Yp. — *brūkā·, cf. Bakht burg, Oss. arfig, but Wkh v²raw, Sogd. βr'wk, Talish bav (*brāwa·²), Sgl vrīc, Psht wrūja (< *brūčī·), Shgh v²rūy, etc. (< *brūša·??)

vory Yzh, u fruit. — vo cirref la ponokaf la voryen yurd u he seized the apricots with the leaves and with the fruit (or foliage?) — Cf. Prs bar, etc., v Bailey, BSOS., 6, 73

vurya'k'öndi M(g) n of a small shrub used as fuel. — Cf. vəz-vurgo s v. zeviryo

vərkva'kve Yzh, sh, vərka° p a kind of cheese box, made from strips of willow bark — Khow. wərketi (-ţi*) bark of willow or poplar used for making baskets (Lor).

v³rēm-. v³rēmd Z, to stand, vrīnd-əm Mm I am standing, v³rīnd-əm t I rose, vrēnd əm G I rise, werema LSIm stand (imper.) — *upa-rāmaya-, cf vröf-\$ Note Z wurafs- but v³rēmwith v-

vraimin Yr cousin (?). — Cf min.

vraipūr Ysh nephew, brother's son — Cf vrai, pūr.

'vrērī Mm, v^ə'rērəy Z brother's son — < *brāðryaka-, cf. Av. brātūrya-V. EVP s.v. wrārə

'vrērigo Mm, v²rē'rīgā Z brother's daughter.—<*brāðr(i)yakā- V 'vrēri vrīšum Mm, 'vrē' Z, vrē'šəm G sılk — Prs, cf Psht. wrēšm, Shgh. v²'rēžum, etc. V f²rš²'me

v°rut Yzh, vurūt sh, vrūt' g, brūt' r, brūt Mm, (g), ti, b''r' g, t, Z, G mustacho — pa ka'čio 'vrūt'f 'dea Ysh cut your mustaches with scissors. - Prs., Y vr. points to early borrowing.

vrazi'dine Yzh pillow — Kho warzz'dini thick, round bolster for leaning against (Lor), in its turn fr Ir (cf BSOS VIII, 663)

'varzeγo Yzh, 'varzəγə sh, r, 'vəzərγo g,
'vozərgo Mm, 'vŏzərγa g, (sh), 'wāzırga
f Z, 'ər'ga G, verzγo B wing,
'vərzəγə Yp the 'wings' of the spinning-wheel (v Ill.) — *bazrakā- cf
Khow. Iw wraz un, Prs bažīr, and
v. EVP. s v. wazar

vir'zane Yzh, g, ur'z° sh, viz'nī Mm, vo° g, vē° m. ti, Z, viž'nī Mt pillow (filled with shavings of willow wood Yzh). — < *brzanaka-, cf Khow lw vraznī, Sgl. vozd, Wkh. vorz, Bal. barzī, and v. Z s v — V. vrazī'dine.

vispač, v. wačpāč.

vis. G to set (about the sun) — With orig.

*w- and with s from the past Cf
Wkh wis., Yaghn. vis. to set <

*wi isa-?

'viščo Y, 'višk'o Mm, °a g steep hillside, ravine, 'pušta, sasta', Khow dahār.—

Cf Psht uat ravine, crevice, if = wet < *bišta-

'vuza Mm, 'vizo (g), 'vəzo g, t, °a Z hegoat — Cf. EVP. s.v. 10uz V. fer'yāmə, nar'bəz

v³zo Y, 'vozo Mm, 'vıza (g), 'vəza g, t, Z,
wu'za G she goat, Yzh, Mm also
female ibex V 'voza

vez'b-um: vezbi-'im Yzh to tighten, vozib- wəzıvd Z to press together — < *abi-zamb-, cf. Av zamb- to crush, Wkh vizam- to rub to powder

vīzγa Y, vuzγ Mm, vīzγ g, (g), t, vīzx tı the arm above the elbow, Yzh also calf of the leg, Yg, r arm below the elbow, buzga B muscle — Cf Av. bāzu. Psht. wōzai shinbone, etc.

voz-¹γūnəy Z goat's harr. — Cf. Psht. wužywunē, etc, v EVP s.v wuz

v³ zānem: v³ zadem Yzh, sh, 'vzān'vzad- g, 'vzān- 'vzend- r, v²zānv³ zēd- Mm, v³ zōn- v³ zēnd- t, vzōnvzē(n)d, w⁰ Z, wzân- G, wzeda B to
know — v³ zīt 3 sg, zo Pârse vzānəm
Yg I know Persian, zo dūr ágoya či
vizidam B I couldn't come to day —
Cf. Shgb. w(3) zūn-, Sak vaysān- to
recognize, etc, Sgl. pəzīn- V. Z s.v.
*wi-, abi- or upa-zan-?

və'zažo Yzh womb, pregnant (animal), Kho. garbin — < *upa- or *apizadā-, cf Av aipi-zada- the future birth V pezaže, zažko.

'vəzvurgo, v ze'virγo

W

wo that, ille — V Gramm. § 208. wo Ysh, Mm, u Mm, u Yu, Z and — Prs

wūr Y, Mm, Z, G, wīy Mt, wry ti, wr g, wī (g), wūrx(l) B wind. — wūr krt(1stə) Yzh, g it is blowing — Av vāta-Cf Wūr.

wa-cpāc Ysh, vispac (89) u back (adv.), wešpac LSIy behind — wo žinkiko v° šūi Yu the woman went back — Cf špāc.

wa'čārum Ysh alms, 'gadāī'. — w° nāmən del give me alms — Khow wechārum, etc (Lor)

wödyo Ysh, r separate, judā. — wodyo kenəm sh I separate, 'xostə žə yo'wən wödyo šūi r the husks were separated from the grain. — Perf. ptc. of wār-. wāf-em waft em Yzh, wâf-um wift-um Mm, wōf-u/am wēft-e/am t, (g), Z to weave — waft pres 3 sg, wafto pret. 3 sg Yzh. — Ĉf Prs bāftan, etc, Wkh. ūf-, Sgl If-, *ub- in Av *ubda-, Psht. ūdəl to weave, būda, Prs pūd woof (*upa-ubda-), Oss. urd warp, chain (< *ubdra-, cf. Pashai udrī snare < Ir), Kurd ūnīn to weave; *wāp- in Orosh wōb (Lentz) sheaf, Phl Psalter w'py.

wof'šio Yzh, woši'o sh small wasp, 'wafšiyo Mm, oa t, G, 'wāfšiye M(sh), oiya f. Z wasp. — V. NTS V, 45, s v Bal gwabz

waha'ray Yzh hungry, wā'hrāk sh, waxrāx
B hunger, 'woxrōgī pl Mm, 'uaxrā
Z hungry. — zo wo, tu wo-a? Yzh,
mai 'luyāi ni'āstat 'wuro, wo Mm
the daughters were sitting there,
hungry — Tomaschek (BB, 7, 205)
suggests derivation from wé-khorāk
'without food'(?)

wo'jou Yr span from thumb to little finger, wa'žab Mm span from thumb to forefinger. — Prs wajab

woko Ysh, r there, 'uko'. — wo nīnomərə Yr there is the spleen, wokə cəs dāru vīo, woko cəs kimat vīi Ysh 'ūko či dārū būd, ūko či kīmat bâša' — Taj. Prs ūko + wo

wu'l-um 'wust-um Yzh to throw — pa yar wu'lum, wu'le I throw, he throws a stone. — Cf Ishk wēd- to put, Feili Lur bistin to throw, Siw Zaza wist he threw, and cf. EVP. s v wistel (wulem) to throw, shoot.

'wolo Yzh, sh, 'wēlo Mm, °a g, 'wēla Z, wē'la G large irrigation channel — Cf. Wkh. wåδ, and v. Z s v. and EVP s v wāla Cf 'weliko.

wu'lar Yzh, u° g, ula'yō r, wəlro'yo sh, wu'lōr Mm open, wıl- Z to open — Cf. Skr vi-dhā to spread, diffuse? Cf wulēyo

'wulo Yzh, Mm, wu'lo Ysh, u, u'lo g, r, 'wula M, g, t, 'wıla (g), 'wula tı, wəla Z, wu'la G, ulo B, wula LSIm wife. — Pl wuli Ysh, 'wule u. wo xor wulo lišč Ysh he saw his own wife, wo yor 'wule nām lī'o he called his own wives, no 'ā'beli 'pūrəf 'wuli avəzde sh he brought wives for both his sons Cf. Av vaðū-, Sogd wðw, etc.

waly Yzh, wālx sh, wālu Mm, wālui LSIm feast, merriment, walx B marriage — If the originally meaning is 'wedding-feast' (cf Prs, etc. sūr, tōi 'feast' and 'wedding'), we may compare Av. (upa-)vad- to marry, v Sgl. wotuk

wul'ya Yzh, wul'yaka (pl) sh, wul'yaka r, 'wulga Mm, wulguya g, 'wulgay (g), wulling pl. t, wilk, pl wilve to kidney — * $wrdk\bar{a}\cdot$ or $wr\vartheta k\bar{a}\cdot$, f < Av m. dual vərəbka, from which also Khorasani bulk (Houtum-Schindler), Prs. lex. "pulk", Ishk gul., Kurd gulč. etc. Yazgh widgad (Skold), Sak Orm. yulkak, Sgl wolk may be derived from *widk- or *witk- -Oss. urg (and the Ir lws Syryan vork, Cheremiss βaryδ) with early loss of the dental, of Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 220 - Prs $gurda < *w_l taka$, cf. Bal guttay, ywith tt through IA influence? -*wrdka- scarcely from *wert- (Marstrander IF. 20, 347, Charpentier, MO. 8, 109), — V. EVP. s v. puštawarga and of Wkh walth, Sgl. wolk

weliko Yzh, wō° sh, wō° r, g, wē° Mm small irrigation channel Cf. 'wolo. wu'lēyo Y, Mm, oa (g), wulēye g, wu'leya t, wuleya Z span (from thumb to little finger). — Cf Shgh $wi^{\dagger}\delta\bar{e}\delta$, Sgl. $wu^{\dagger}\delta\bar{i}t$, Wkh wu'lēt, Sogd wyð't ('foot' acc. to Benv, JA, 223, 221), formally < Av vi dāti- distribution, cf Skr vidhā- to spread Katı velyou is possibly borr from M_J - In N Bal we should expect *gidath, but we find instead girārth, guo. — V. wojou. 'wulyeyo Yzh, wu'lyēyo sh, wu'līya Mg n of a small shrub, '(y) $ir_{y}a$, $ir_{y}\bar{a}n$ ' Cf Av. varodā shrub V Wkh. yurya. waina LSIm (for) hunting - Cf. Av $v\bar{a}(y)$ - to chaze, hunt?

'win- 'lišč- Y (sh also 'lišči-Am), 'winlīšky. Mm, (t), (g), līšk Z, lošky G to see. - winem, 3 sg wit Yzh, wo xor zəmonəf lišč sh he saw his own children, lišča va, (v. § 252), man vətö liščim g, yū ādamen xūben lišč u a man saw a dream, wo xūben hu liščut u where did you see that dream? myn xūvən liščəyəm r, mon fta lıškyım M(t) — < Av vaēnadərəšta. (v Z s v and G, p. 153), cf. Par dhör, - Mj.-Yd. belongs to the small group of Ir, dialects which has neither the western (incl Psht) type bin- did, nor the north-eastern, Sgl., etc win- wint (Sogd, wit). Cf in E Ir Sak di- data-, Par buch- dhur, Orm juš-, jun- dyē-k (and Bal, ginddit, dist)

wi'en-um. wi'et-um Yzh, wi'ën-əm wi'ēt-əm g, wi'en-am: wi'et-am Mt, (yuwen-) wi'yet-um m to untie, loosen, 'yala mēkunim'. — Cf. Skr vi-tan- to unfold, spread — V yu'wan-.

wind, v. wo

wūn Yzh, sh, wŭn r, g, wing Mm, g, (g) marmot, 'wunduk'.—Cf. Sgl. yūnek, Wkh winek, wundek (from Taj., Prs (dialect) wanak)

'wār əm 'wat əm Yzh, sh, 'wār əm 'wet əm Mm, wetta B to separate. — wad 'yo, wod yo kenem Yzh, sh I separate, 'judā mēkunem' — Cf Av var- to select, with secondary preterite (v § 238)? — Cf wŏd yo

wor Yzh, sh, wor r, war g oath —
wor xorom zh, war xorum g I swear.
— Av varah-, cf Phl. var, Orm
ywar. V. qasam

'woru Yzh, 'wārə g npper — w° pöršik zh, g upper lip. — < *u(v)ar < Av. upara-

wūro f. Yr a large duck

'warfo Yzh, r, °2 g, 'worfo sh, Mm, g, 'wōrfe tı, 'wdrfa f. Z, °'fa G snow — Av vafra, and Orm yōs' m, but Psht. wāwra, Zaza váur (Kurd. Pers. Forsch III, IV, 170) and Saka baura f. (not Saka m as supposed by Konow, Saka Studies, 123), cf. § 177 Meillet's rejection of the derivation of vafra- from Skr. vap-(BSL, 35, CR. 26) is unfounded, cf. e g Palola kir 'snow' Skr. kir-

wa¹rıγο Yzh, ¹wa⁰ sh raın. — Av. vāra·, Wkh wūr, Khow (lw) wāru.

'wōryo, °yıko Yg, 'waryıko f. zh, 'worgıko Mm, 'wərgıka f Z she-lamb, one year old, "worth one rupee" (yak rupā šuda) — < *warakā Cf Sgl. wērak. V. wər'ya.

wury Y (wūry g), Mg, (g), t, wurg m, Z, wurx M(sh), wurk, wərg G wolf. — Av. vəhrka-, cf Sgl wərk, Burushaskı (lw) urk

wur'yar, v wul'yōr.

waryi'jin M(g) n of a water-fowl, 'kālmiry'(?) — But of Wkh. s v 'kalmory

worniko, v uorno

war'waden Yzh trouser-string — Prob

< *war-vaden < *warta-bandana-,
v s.v. woro Cf. Sgl wəl'vös

wārwan Yg the Milky Way(?) V 'pado.

wår'wane Yzh, wor'wānə sh, wər'o r,

wor'wāne g a kind of wild, uneatable herries Prob. a pl form.

wər'ya Yzh, woo g, wori'ā r, wa're (pl wari'ān) sh, 'warē Grammoph, 'worya Mm, wəryoyo g, 'wərəy Z new-born male lamb. — Cf. woryo and narworya, prasi'lane wa're

wirž Yzh, r, Mt, wīrž Yzh, Mg, wurž m. Ysh, Mm, Z, yūrž Yg, wūrž G woollen thread — < *\varphi y\bar{g}zho\cdot\, cf Sgl wūrž, Yazgh wuž, poss Bal gužg root (fibre). V EVP s.v. wuža

wār (pl 'wāre) Y, wör Mm, g, (g) main roof-beam, 'tīr-e-kalān'. — Cf Sgl. wāl
*warta- dissim. from *wartra- 'protection'? V wöro

'wāro Y, 'wōro Mm, oa t summer, 'wōra M(g), oe ti early spring, 'awal-e-bahār'.

— <*wāhṛt + ā, cf EVP. s.v. wōṛai, and Par Voc s v 'xâṛa.

wor-um wusc-um Yzh to knit, wo'r-m wis'c-m sh to weave(?), war- wusk Z to stretch the warp on the loom.

— wusce he knitted — Cf. Av. vart-to turn? Oss ya'dart(reel on) spinning wheel with dissim. < *wa(r)ta3ra-(but cf Miller, Osset § 3, 21)?

'wōro Y, 'wēro Mm, 'wēra f. Z, o'ra G trousers, wero B clothes — Cf. Sgl wāl trousers, Prs. garda leather breeches of a wrestler, Arm vartik' trousers (v. Nyberg, MO 25, 181), Orosh. tar-wēg belt, Psht. nuwārai belt of a pair of breeches, perhaps from Ir Kati wīţ, Waig. ōţ Kafir breeches — Av var- to cover.

'woryo Yzh, 'wargâ Z quail — V. Z s v and EVP. s.v nwaraz (de Morgan gives Psht ourladza = *(w)uraja), Phl vartak, Prs. wardīj, walaj, etc., Brahui bārū from Ir.? Cf. Ishk. worc.

wos Y, w?s Z now, then. — wos '\$to ke then he said, to yār wos kū-ō? where is your friend now? wõs do sūy ōyəm r 'āli da kuča mērum'. — V EVP ōs (s v ōsēdəl), and cf. Paikuli 'ws now 'wo'sa Yzh, wa'sa sh, wo'so r, wa'si wide, broad, wassa B loose. — Cf Sgl

Prs. bas*
wo'sorwo, wa'sərwo Yzh, wa° sh widow,
unmarried woman, wosoro B widow(er).

— Prob from Khow. we'soru, in its
turn from Ir *βē·sar- (cf Tomaschek,
BB. 7, 199 and Morg BSOS, VIII,

wa'sē Cf Av. vaso (adv) unlimited,

'wāst-m: us'tā(y) im Yzh, sh, wustōy-m M(g), wəst- wustōy Z to place, leave behind — Pres 3 sg wăst, pret 3 sg us'tāi 'mānd', štāin us'tāim Yzh I put it helow. — Av. ava-stā- to place, put.

670) V biwo.

wis'to Y, wist G, LSIm, but bist Mm, g, (g), t, Z twenty. — Av. vīsaiti, cf. Sgl wist, Wkh. wist.

wuš Ysh, g, r, Mm, Z, uš Yzh, ūš B, wiš Mt grass. — < Av. vāstra-, v EVP s.v. wāša and cf. Sgl (w)ūš, Wkh wiš

wūšė Yg morning, wišk M(g) it dawns, 'roz mēšawa' — Cf. wuškvõi M(g) flew up, 'ba hawā raft', 'uškvây-am Mm, wušk'- wuškōy Z to rise. — < *uštā- < *ut-sthā-, cf Par., Bal. ušt- to rise, Sogd. 'wšt- (Benv. JA. 223, 177). — Cf. Av uštănavital force Skr. utthāna-, and v Turner, BSOS, 5, 131.

wwiskuj. wwiskujəy- Z to seek — < *uštunj-, cf. Skr tu(n)y- strike, push, etc + ut^{-2}

wiški-ostia Mm ankle, wrist. — Cf. ušk-mažiko.

wu'sūles Mm cotton thread — Cf. Wkh wa'saı, Ishk wāsı id. + loso (q v.)? wusiyo Ysh, r usiyo zh, sh, usi'yō g hunger, hungry — zo usi'yo kenem zh I am hungry, mo 'mara u° kit this man is hungry, wusiyo kər sh he became hungry. — From *wṛsītā(?), cf. Prs. gurs, etc.

wuši(y)ada? Ysh, ušiyad? zh, ušivādiy Mm, (w)ušyåd(igå) Z hungry, (w)ušiyad. Z to become hungry.—
no usiyādəm Ysh I am not hungry, zo wušiada!? əm sh, zo ušiyad? əm zh I am hungry, mo ādam uši!yade, mai adame uši!yadet zh.— wušiyad. <
"wṛṣayanta- 'hungering' > 'having become hungry? wušiyad- used as a secondary verbal stem. Cf. §§ 248, 259

wo'xo Yzh, r, p, 'woxo sh, 'woxo g, 'waxo Mm, oa ti, waxa t, Z, wd'xa G rootfibre.—Cf Prs bēx, Psht. wēx, Shgh wyaš, etc. V. § 152

wa'xān Yzh tasteless — From Khow wēxāl < Ir. *βē·xwāδ(BSOS, VIII, 670) 'woxrogī, τ. wahara?.

waxš- Yzh to grow (about plants). —
woxše este it is growing, umēd asted
ke mən yöu waxše I hope that my

barley will grow; you wuxee the barley grew(?). — Av vaxs

'włya m Y, Mm, Z, °o Mg, (g), t, tı long-leaved, wıld wıllow.—'yū 'wīya vī'o Mm. — Av vaētı-, Ishk wēd, Sak bī, v. EVP. s v. wala — Ct. Oss. yēs, yīs brushwood, scrub, Saka bısı bush, tree < *wartsa- (but Skt vetasa-). — V. a'wusto, čılı'kyō

woyouma, v yāmo.

wwizā-m Yzh, uizā im g, uzāiy-əm pf r
to be tired; uizāy-əm uizāyi-m sh,
uizāy-am r, wuizāy-am Mm, ūzaiya B
to be left behind. — uizēayam Ysh
I am tired, uizāiyet r you are tired
— Cf Par. ūzeh- to be left behind,
Oss. d. izayum to remain, Turf NW.
wyz-d left, Av *ava- (or vi-) zaya-.
Cf. also Sgl. sv fərind

wuzi'ā·um. wuzi'ēvd·um Yzh, wuzi'āv·am: wuzi'avd·um sh, u'zīaw·r, uziaud·um r, wu'zōv·am Mm, wzōw· wzēvd Z to extinguish, to blow out a fire — yūr uziaudum Yr I extinguished the fire, zo va yūra u'zī·aum, yūra u'zīawa! r — Cf. Yazg. ūzīw· ūzōt intr, ū'zau·ū'zawd· tr, v wuzyo, and cf Z s.v — Z compares Prs wazīdan to blow, but cf. Turf NW wzwd (Mir Man III, 64), Saka buysuto extinguish.

wāzd Yzh, sh, wazda r, waz g, wōzd Mm, g fat (raw, of a recently kılled anımal) — V EVP s v wāzda, and cf Sgl. wōst, etc., Wanchi waz (Lentz), Yazgh. wūžd (Skold), and from W.Ir. Zaza vazd tallow, Kurd baz. — Cf. Charpentier, KZ, 46, 25

wăz'd um wăz'dā ım Yzh, sh, ūzd-əm ūzda'ī-m g, 'wuzn-Mm, t, (g). wu'znāym, wūzn-. wuznōy Z, wūzn- G to wash (hands and clothes) — wuz'de 3 sg Yzh, last üzdəm g — Cf. Wkh wuzd and v s v. z³nay-.

'wuzyo Ysh extinguished — yū, w° šūi 'āteš murd' — Perf ptc of *wuz-, intr of wuziā-.

 $wa'z\bar{\imath}r$ Yu vizier. — $y\bar{\imath}u$ $waz\bar{\imath}r$ $lu_{\gamma}do$ a vizier's daughter. — Prs

ww¹zīr Y, Mm, t, (g), w¹zīr B, ww¹zīr Z yesterday — Cf Zaza vazēr, wizyērī yesterday. Acc. to Tomasehek, BB 7, p 196 from *zyō + ayar, but prob < Av. uzayara (= uzīrah-) afternoon, cf Oss izar id? V izīko and Sgl wəcə rīn.</p>

waziya M(g) a large kind of pine, resin, waziyo m pine.

wežnu Yzh garlie - Khow waz nū .

X

'xā·ım 'xāst·əm Yzh to thresh. — xosto xāım. — Cf. Sgl xūy- xūɪð, Or xay-xust, to thresh, Bakht. axū threshing, W.Oss xvayun, E Oss xoın to crush with one's feet, ar-xoın to thresh < *xwah, Saka hvad- to crush, Av. x-asta- threshed (v. Bartholomae, Mir. Mund. II, 27 sq, who wrongly compares O Engl. swaðu trodden path).

'xio Yzh (with post-velar x) a fruithearing shrub growing in the hills (dar köh ast, mēwa dārad).

xı'āban Yu, in the Prs formula xº bar xº, bi'āban bar bi'āban — Prs xiyābān flower-hed.

xūbun, v. xōvun

'xabar Ysh, u news, information. — x° lārəm 'šunīdam'; x° kər no ādaməf he proclaimed to the people, to doöf x° češ-ā* don't yon know anything

about them? zo xo yu'rum I get news ahout st — Ar-Prs

xa'čīr Yzh, ka° g mule. — Turki qačir, Psht qačara, Bal. khaćar, etc, but Prs qātir

 $x \partial^{-1} d\bar{a}(i)$ Ysh, $x u^{\circ}$ LSI God. — ba $n\bar{a}m \cdot i \cdot x^{\circ}$, $x \partial^{-1} d\bar{a} i y \epsilon n$ band ϵ the slave of God, a x° oh God. — Prs

xud'ba Yzh, o sh wedding. — Ar.-Prs xu tba sermon, xitbat asking in marriage.

'xādem Yzh, 'xādəm sh baker, or distrihutor of food at a feast (baxš mēkina da tūi). — Ar-Prs. xādim servant.

xedi'ya Yzh play, game (Khow ištuk), xadiya B to play. — Inf of xoud-

xoud-em- Yzh, 'xod-əm sh, 'xwod-əm g,
'xōd-əm r xadi-m Y, 'xad am xə'diyam Mın, t, xə'd-ām (t), xâd- xâdıy Z,
xad- xadi'ya G to laugh — Pres.
3 sg xīt Yzh — Cf Prs xandīdan,
Sgl. xānd-, Wkh. kānd-, and in Kafiri
Ashk kōn-, Kati kan-, etc

xŏf Y, xaf Mm, Z seum, foam — Cf Sak. khava, Sgl. xŏf, Wkh. xep, Shgh. xĭf (lw, but šāf 'drivel' is genuine), Oss. xaf 'pus', Prs kaf, v Z s v 'xof-əm Y xolfār-m, 'xift-əm zh, 'xift-əm sh, r, xēft əm g, xaf-am xift-am Mm, xef-əm (g), 'xof-am (t), xifta B to cough — xofəm-ste Yg. — Cf Sgl xōfuk, Prs xafa, xufa, Bakht. kufa-, Par khūf-, Khow. (lw.) kap-, Oss xufin.

xºfur Mm, x²fər Z, xāpur Yzh congh. —
'xāpur 'difte it stuck to me(?), 'cāšpīda
katı-nā'(?) — V. xof-

xafa'bande Ysh tight-fitting necklace.
*Prs., cf. xafä strangling, choking
'xafs 'xăvd Yzh, u, xāfs xōvd M(g),

cap.

xafs- xāvd Z to descend, 'xambīdim', Khow. xwamıman. — da yū šăhər $xavd(\partial t)$ he (they) alighted in a town (dar yak šahr xambidan). - Cf Z s v, and Sgl. xav-, Sar žāvs-, Wkh. $\check{x}am$, etc. — Ir *xa(m)b/p to bend, curve (Prs xam(b) crooked, dome, etc. xamez slightly curved, xabidan to be crooked, etc.), and camb/p- (Prs čam crooked, čambar circle, čafta vaulted, curved, etc.) V. xapxuftan Yzh, sh evening - Prs xu'gor Y, kugor B sword — From Khow. khun gör, etc., in its turn from Ir. cf Sogd $xn\gamma r$ - V. BSOS, VIII, p 668 xūyo Yzh, g, r, xūyiko sh, xūgo Mm, $x\bar{u}^{\dagger}ya$ g, ${}^{\dagger}x\bar{u}ga$ f. Z, $x\bar{u}^{\dagger}ga$ G (acc to Junker with unvoiced q) spring, fountain — Cf. Wkh kik, Orm. $x\bar{a}kz$, Av xå. V Xūyiko 'xāki Yzh, u earthen, greyish green, earthcoloured, xâ ki G grey. banda-1-xākī a human being - Prs. 'xōkova Mm first watering of the fields. — Cf Shgh $x\hat{a}k\hat{a}v$ — Prs * $x\bar{a}k\cdot\bar{a}ba$? xa'lōu Mm, g, °ōw Z wet. — Prs xalāb water mixed with mud xāl Ysh (not zh) taste. — From Khow xāl, in its turn from an Ir dialect with l, cf. Prs xiwāī, etc V BSOS, VIII, p 670 - V maza xale, - Y empty. - Ar -Prs. xi ale Yp thought — Ar -Prs xul Y, xa'la G perspiration — Cf Wkb. žil, Sar žaiδ, Yazgh žwiδ (Skold), Khow. (lw) xel, and EVP s v xwala. 'xūlo Yzh, Mm, 'xulo Ysh, 'xūla f Z, ola G embroidered cap. - Cf Psht. xol, Prs. xoi, etc., Georg lw. khudi xalifān Yzh, xalifān sh, on Mm large skin bag for keeping flour, 'xalfuan Z large goat-skin bag for crossing a river. - If genuine, poss. from * $xar \vartheta \beta \bar{a}n < *xwar \vartheta a - p \bar{a}na$ - 'foodkeeper' Z compares Roshan k'alwor, etc, but this is not possible xx'laryo Yzh, sh, g wet clay, used for building walls, mud, bog. - Cf Prs. xard black, viscous clay (with dial rd < rd?), Shgb. $šar\vartheta$, šartk wet clay V. Xəlaryan xa'lās Ysh, u finished — x° kə'ret they finished it, x° šūi (the work) was finished, žinkiko x° šūi the woman got rid of them. - Ar. Prs. 'xulxadī Yp nettle. — Cf. xăl? xăm Y, xōm Mm, g, Z raw - Prs $x\bar{o}^a n$ - $x\bar{o}^a t$ - Yzh, $x^w \bar{o} n$ - $x^w \bar{o} t$ - g, $x\bar{o} n$ 'xōt- sh, r, 'xan- 'xat- Mt, 'xar-am 'xat-om m, 'xar-am 'xət-am (g) to buy - Pres 3 sg xtt, 1 pl. max xō'nam Ysh, 3 pl. xōanet, Pret 3 sg. xot zh. - xar- from Prs, xōn-, etc prob. from *xarn- (with secondary rn, cf. § 133) < *xran-, cf Sgl x2rn-. Oss alxan < *xran (scarcely *xrin)The explanation of the -a- is doubtful. Cf also Orm šrin, Zaza herin-, Tnrf. Phl. Sogd xrin-, and v Bartholomae, ZII, 4, 177 sqq. — xōt- $< x \bar{o} n + t$. xun Yzh, g, r, Mm, g, t, B, xōn Ysh, xon m Z raven. — Cf Sgl xarn, Yazgh. xworn, Wkh (lw.?) žun V Notes on Shgh s.v. $x\bar{u}rn < *h(u)$ warana- or *k(u)-warana- (cf Nep. kupankhi crow). Cf. also Ostyak varñai crow, etc. (v. Jacobsohn. Arier u Ugrofinnen, 36)?

xuno Yp lid of a wooden trough. -

Cf. Prs. xwān covered table, spacious tray.

xana'daro Yzh, sh professional female baker — Prs xānadār house-keeper xap Yzh, u silence — xap ken zh be silent, wo xap kər he kept silence, mo xap čī kīt? why is he silent (xaba čī mēkina)? — Prs, cf Sgl xap

xap· (xab·?) Yu to fell — amboh pēžə xap fell much timber, 'bixambān' — < *xamb-, cf xafs.

xāpui, v x°fui.

'xoro f Y (xō° g), Mm, 'wərd g, 'xara Z, xa'ra G donkey — Av xara-, cf. Sgl xōr, Wkh xūr, etc Reg. the genus, v. § 179

'xoar- Yzh, 'xur- sh, xu'r-əm r, xor-um g 'xu'r-um, -m Y, 'xūr-um xu'r-ām Mm, 'xar-am xū'r-ām t, 'xōr ım (g), xar- Z, G. xur- Z to eat, xorovda B to feed — mo 'adam na'yan 'xut Yzh this man eats bread, va mun xut u, mōx na'yan xu'rəm sh, xorefeste you are eating, yo ādam (mən pūren) nayan xu'ro sh this man (my son) ate bread, xu'rel you ate, tə na'yen xuryeta ə sh have you eaten bread? no xu'rān na'yen češ sh there is no bread to eat — Av x-ar-, cf Sgl. xwār-, etc.

'xurı Min itching. — Cf. Sgl. xūr-, xurūš, Prs xār V. 'loxe, xāriše.

xu'rī Mm, 'xūrəya Z sıster's son — *hwahrıya-, cf. Sgl xīr, Wkh. xarıyön, Shgh xēr, v. EVP. s v xōr¹. V nə'wisa, vraı'pūr.

 $xa'r\hat{a}b$ Mm lean. — Cf Sgl. $xar\bar{a}b(\varepsilon)$, Wkh $xar\hat{a}b$ < Ar-Prs. $xar\bar{a}b$ bad (cf. also Skold, Mater, p 89, n. 215 a) On the other hand Prs. $l\bar{a}yir$ 'lean'

has acquired the meaning 'bad' in several Ir. dialects, and some Ir words for 'good' originally mean 'fat, stout'

xar'bəza Yzh, °o r, °būzo g, °bū'za G melon — Prs

'xird-em 'xrist-em Yzh, xir'd-am x²'ristəm sh, r, 'xərd-əm 'xrist-əm g, 'xredəm 'xrest əm Mm to shave, scratch, xrid-. xrist Z to comb, scratch — 'xerdim Yzh I scratch myself, 'xirde 3 sg., wu'zīr va yāržo xristəyəm g I have shaved my beard yesterday. — *xrint- *xrista- (cf § 227), through contamination of *krt- and *xri- (v EVP. s v xriyəl)? V fxau, tuyd

xu'rīgo Mm, °d Z sister's daughter <
*hwahrıyakā-, cf vrērīgo and v. xurī
xar'gūš Mm, g, (g), t, (sh), Z hare. —
Prs V sīv

'xĭryo Y, 'xīrgo Mm, 'ya g, 'ga G, x³'īrga f Z water·mill. — xiryo ya'gyīim Ysh 'šakīdim' — Cf. Sgl. xu'ðāri, Wkh x³'dōrg, Z s.v, and Notes on Shgh. s.v. xe'dârj With *hwatārakā- 'self-grinder', cf. Bal watās 'self-fire' = pistol.

xởr'yū Yzh, g, °yūı r a bird resembling a dove, but larger, Khow gyux(?) — Can the name mean 'donkey-eared', cf. Prs. xargōš hare, etc?

wir'yar, v. s v wursago

xu'rāk Ysh food. — yurd xo no xu'rān she bought food to eat. — Prs

xu'rom Yzh, p, xu'rum r, xu'ram Mm, xu'ram (g) threshing floor — xosto lyadəm da xu'rum Yr I threw the straw on the threshing-floor, x° d'rōum M(g) I threshed. — Cf. Sgl xōr'mōn, Wkh če'rām, čuramn (NB č-!), Sar šurum, Orosh šī'rum, Shgh. xəlan'yak

(lw < *xəram-jak?), Par kha'mör (< *xamarn < *xraman), Orm. §ramənd, xarmanjāi (lw.), Prs xırman(gāh), (cf also Bal khurmānī, Brahui xurrum gran-pit). Prob from xram = Skr. kram- to step, tread, etc, cf Khow krom-, Katı kr'amto thresh (cf Psht yōbal < *gā(u)pada- threshing), but with various phonetic aberrations

xurom-fia Yzh, sh winnowing-stick.

'xurmuyo Yzh, o'muyo sh, 'xurmoyo g, xurdiko Mm pea (Taj. məjik, prob = mušung Pisum sativum), but acc to Yzh = patek, Lathyrus sativus — Prs. xurd + muyo, q v.?

'xırman-ı-bi'bāt Yu (ın Prs. formula) threshing-floor

xir-pul Yzh bare-footed. — Cf. Prs xīr bare-faced, impudent, etc., Brahui xēr open gravelly ground, and polo.

war-pə'lang Mm a kınd of leopard. — *Prs?

xar'pūst Yzh a white mushroom, Bad.
Prs. pu'fuk — Prs *xar-pōst on account of the greyish colour? V.
pufānek.

xərs Mm, xurs g, xırs (g), t, (sh), xərs, xors Z bear. — Prs V yarš

'xōrıs M(t) moraine, heap of stones, (g) pebbles, 'xāk'; ti pebbles, sand. — Cf.

Prs xār(ā) a hard stone, but -is?

xu'i ūso Yzh n. of an animal resembling a fox, but larger, which attacks ibex'es, Cyon Alpinus Pallas? — < *xrausā- 'crying' (Prs. xurös, xuröh cock), cf Sgl. xrēsag

xursa'go Yzh, xırsa'qo Mm, °gə g, xır'yar Yr millstone — Cf. xĕryo and *sago (= Prs sang), yar, cf Wkh xxdōrq'yar, °bort, Par. xēra'gır, (but Oss. gar-guroine 'stone quern', hand-mill)

'xāriše Yzh itehing — Prs. V xuri.
xerišče Yzh, x∂° sh, x∂ršč∂ r, xešč∂ g,
xriš'kyiy Mm name of a small tree
growing in the hills, whose wood is
used for making axe-handles, 'xarišta',
x∂'rista M(t) tamarisk. — But Prs
xarišta an arched roof, etc.

xaršižn M packing-needle. — Acc to Steingass xar — (e.g. in xar amrūd) denotes the largest or coarsest of its kind Cf šinjo and v juāk-'dūz,

'xai vo Yzh hut on a mountain pasture, Norw. "seter".

xa'ran Yzh mattress — Khow. xa'lāng mattress, Sar. 'khavung' (Bellow) bedding?

xöisk Mm small anvil (?), 'xöyisk Z sledge-hammer. — Cf Prs xäyisk, Wkh xeyisk, etc sledge-hammer

x³s'mānek Yzh, r, and Burbunu (acc to p), səx'mānek Yp, səx'mān g pelletbow. — Prob < *sangk(a)mānak, cf Wkh səm'bōnak < *sanbānak < *sankanak V. § 137

xis'mat Ysh service, work — mən min x° kərum I have done so much service (work). — Ar-Prs

xu'sur Yzh, sh, Mm, xu'sur Yr, xu'sər g, xu'sır Mg, xu'sur Z father-ın-law, husband's brother. — Genuine, or from Prs? Cf. Sgl. xu'sər, Wkh. x9'sər, xūrs V. yū.

x³sərb³'rō Yr wife's brother — Cf Sgl xusərb³'rō, Par xasur'bīra, Prs. xusarpūra, Brahui (lw) xāspar < *x*asurapudra-. V rōwun

'xāste Yzh, ot p straw, 'kāh', Khow. tuš
— Cf. 'xosto

wisto Yzh, oto sh unbaked dough. -

xista kenem zh I knead. — Borr from Khow xasta unbaked, leavened dough (Ir lw.)? Cf Sgl xēste hread, Prs. xāsta risen, leavened (reg the vowel cf. Taj. xēst — Prs xāst). — Waziri xišt kneaded, Or axīx- axīxt to knead, axēxē dough, xāxē fresh dough (and Wkh xeē hread?) can scarcely be derived from *xēšta- (v. Henning, ZII. 9, 179) on account of the meaning Cf., perhaps, Av hvaršta- well belaboured, which would also explain Or, x- instead of š-

'xosto Yzh, r grain — xosto xāim zh I thresh, x° lyadəm da xurum r I put the grain on the threshing floor — Cf xā-, Av. x~asta- threshed

'xusto (f?), Yzh, xŭst sh, r, g, B wet.

— Cf. Wkh. x̃ašć, xaić, Sar xŭst,
Shgh xest, Psht xušt With dissim
from Av. xšusta- liquid, moist, Sak.
kşusta, etc. serum (Bailey).

xši-im xši-im Yzh, x³iši-m x²iši-m g, x³ši-iem x²ši-iem x²ši-iem x³ši-iem x³ii-iem (or xšio kərum) sh, 'xšiy-am Mm, xši-iām (t), xšiy- x²iy-y Z, xšiy-əm G, xšiya B to weep. — Pres 1 pl xšiyem-esto, 2 pl. xši-f-este, 3 pl xši-yet-ste Ysh — Z compares Av. xšudra-, but cf Sgl šid-, Ishk šinto weep, Sogd. 'xš'ywn, Phl. šēwan lament, Abdu ši-ven weeping, (Av xši- 'distress' is douhtful).

'xoš əm 'xıšč-ım, -əm Y, 'xaš-əm Mm,
'xəš-am t, 'xɛš-am (g) 'xıškı-əm, -ām,
-am m, t, (g), xaš- xıšk Z to pull,
drag — Pres 3 sg 'xoše, 'hāzer
'xıščım Yzh I sıghed. — Cf Sgl.
xāš-, Wkh. xāš-, Yaghn. xaš-, Sogd
yrš- (Reichelt, Vımal Sūtra, 155) to
pull, Yazgh xaraž- to pull, smoke,

Prs farxašta dragged along the ground, but kašidan to pull, etc. V § 132.

x^u'šŏ Y, 'xušo Mm, °a g, 'xūša Z, xū'ša G mother-ın law — < *hwasrū- + -ā Cf Sgl xoš, Wkh. xuž, etc, Prs xusrū, etc

 $x\bar{u}^{\dagger}$ \$5 Mm, $^{\dagger}x\bar{u}$ \$a ti ear of corn — Prs V. sor, $y\bar{u}ya$

xušći Yzh, sh, °e LSIy, xuški Mm, 'xušk'əy Z, xuš'kvē G greater, elder, 'kalāntar' — xušći'-e vrai Yzh, sh, xuški vrēi Mm, iž tē xušće sh elder than yourseli, žə xoāin xuščien xismat ken serve one who is greater than yourself — Bailey suggests connection with Sogd. ywyštr master, Sak. hvāṣṭa- principal, first Cf also Oss xistær, xestær elder, eldest, poss. from Av hvēišta- best, greatest, eldest But the vocalism is not clear Cf also Tedesco, BSL. 25, 53

xuš'ko Yzh, 'xu° sh rice with lentils. —
Prs. xuška boiled rice without butter
'xaškən Mm, 'xaskən g, 'xaska G horsedung. — Cf Psht xaršin (Mohmand xrāšənə, Wanetsi xarsına). The Mj.
word is prob influenced by yū skən (q v).

xši lemγo Yzh, x³šlā° sh reed. — °len° < nəl, q v.?

lxšēma G supper. — Cf. Sogd. xšām, etc. < Av xšāfnya- Early lw.? Cf § 96 V. šām.

xu'šān Ysh happy. — ādame xo'šān šut
 — From Khow xu'šān, in its turn from Ir. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 671 Benv,
 JA, 223, 242

 xo^{\dagger} sāne Ysh, xusānī LSIy pleasure, happiness — x° kenet they will make merry x° ke † ne!. — Khow. xosā † nī.

'xšīra m. Yzh, g, Mm, Z, '2xšīra Yr, 'xšīra sh, 'xšīro Mg, (g), o'ra G milk.

— Y-M agrees with W.Ir., while Shgh. has x̃ūvd (< Av xšvipta°), which is found all over Ir, and Sgl xom, Wkh. žārž are isolated Psht, Par and Orm have retained the usual Av word payah— V xušuvd

xšīr-kyesa Mm wooden milk cup — Cf. Prs kāsa.

x²¹šōvo Yzh, g, °¹vo sh, ²xšo¹vo r, x²¹šavo
Mm, x²¹šāvɛ g, °a (g), x²šava t, ¹xšəvo
tı, ¹xšawå f Z, °¹wa G night —
x²ūšo¹vō tā mix, x²ūšo¹vōyī mīx Ysh
by day and by night, no xšo¹vō xšo¹vo
če žā don't call the night 'night' —
Av xšapā-, Psht. špa, etc

xušuvd Yzh, sh, g, xš° r, xulšuvdo Mm, xšvvdo g, xušvvda t sweet. — < Av xšvvpta-(vant-)milk (v EVP s v šaudə), Sak, şvīda cf. Ktesias σιπτα-χόρα n of a tree which means γλυχύ, ήδύ (cf. Prs šīr-īn sweet). Prob also connected with Prs šiftan to trickle.

xəš(u)wān Yzh, xušuwan LSIy shepherd.

— Cf. Chr. Sogd xwšp'n-, and the Sak. transition of fš > kş in kşundar husband and (acc to Bailey) in kşūrma shame — V čupûn.

xatā'i Ysh fault — Ar -Prs

xatra loy Yp muddy, dirty water. — Cf Khow khatur id (Lor).

'xōvun Ysh, on r, 'xūbun zh, on u, ovn Mm, G, kūvan B, xūb(e) (Prs.?)
Yg sleep, dream. — xūben aywon Yg
I fell asleep, 'xubən 'liščim Yzh, xūbe liščem g, xūben lišč Yu, zə xūben wīnem-este vio I have been seeing a dream, žə xūvən anga šuyəm r I woke from a dream — Cf Sgl. xōsm, etc.
V. Benveniste BSL 30, 75 sqq (add

Phl. Ps 'xwmn sleepless') Reg. v/b v. § 59.

'xāwund Yzh master. — Prs

xowr'za Yzh, 'xo° sh bug — Cf. Prs xazdūk, xawazdūk, xūzda, xabazdōk (acc to Gr Ir Ph. I, 2, 6 from Aramean) beetle, scolopendra, chafe. V Sgl. xa'məndək

'xāxo Yzh, sh, p thistle — *xāra-xā, ef. Prs xār thorn?

xa'xālič Yp a sweet-smelling, greyish, composite flower

'xeyo Yzh, p, g, 'xayo sh, r, 'xēyo Mm,
o'a t, 'xeya g, 'xēya tı, 'xeya f Z,
xe'ya G wall — *xatā ? Cf Gabrı
xada, Khow. xatan house, room (v.
BSOS, VIII, 660)?

xŏi (in sandhi also yoi) Y, xdy Z own — vo xoi wulo, zə'monəf lišč Ysh he saw his own wife, children, no xoi pürəf for my (own) sons, do xwoi kyīi to his own house, wo 'yoi 'nām lī'o, wo yoi 'pūrəf 'nām līo he gave his own and his son's name, tu čamin vo xōi nəfs keneş what shall you do about your own soul (family)? vu to xai vrai yurdum u. — Av xatō, etc.

'xoyo Ysh self — 'xoyo arōn-va he would have come himself, xōyo kū šūn? where did he go himself? wos na xa'yōn lɔ'zo kɔ'nīwm now I let build a house for myself, na xān no xurān češ there is nothing for him to eat, zɔ xoa'īn 'az xud', na 'xāyō kı'o kīt he makes trouble for himself — V. xoy.

xu'yēγeno Yzh, xu'yaγəno sh, xu'yāγəno
Mm wife's or husband's sister —
*hvahā γnā. Cf. Prs. xāzana
*hvahā-janikā, Par xījinjek, Kurd.
xwāižin, Wkh xuyun, Sar xayūn.

'xuzd-um xuz'dāi-m Y, xuzd-um xuz-'dāy-m Mm to send, dispatch, 'rahī kardan, mēfiristam' — wo mən xuz-'dāi 'māra rawān karda ast', ādam xuzdum Possibly < *xwazn-, but no similar word traced in Ir.

xuž'bū Yzh, xə° r sweet smell — x° lārəm, xužbı nāyoıste 'būıš mēāya'. — Prs.

Ň

xu mône Yzh, xi môno g, r, xr° sh, Grammophone, šumonna B male ibex.
 — Phonetically < *(a) mãnaka-(scarcely *ā 3°), but connection with Skr ātmán- (cf eg Ishk jan'war markhor, jāndār ram, etc) is exceedingly problematic

xu¹roi Yzh, xu² p, x³¹rōi g, x¹¹roi Mm,
°zi g, xx¹rai (g), (sh), su¹rōi Yi, s³²
sh, si¹rai Mt, xi¹ray Z, x¹² G three.
— x¹rōi pūre Yr — Av. 3rāyō, etc
xira¹sāl Yzh three years ago.

žu rowist Yr sixty

xu'rox e xu'roxt Yzh, xv'rēxi M(g) to shy, cf kırax- kıraxöy Z to tremble?
yasp xu'roxt — < *xurox <
nan < *nan , v Nyberg, Hılfsbuch d. Phl. II, 199.

xi'rĭzen Yzh, r, xī'rēzen sh, xu'ryūzen Mm, xir'gyīzen t, sirīzen B the day before yesterday. — Tomaschek, BB, 7, 196 < *3ri + azan, better < *3ritao*.
</p>

Y

yā Ysh, yō Z or — yā pūlšak škör, yā na'yən škör send either clothes or food. — Prs. yāi, v 18yō Y, yd Mm, Z that, G this — Gr.

\$ 207. yōu Yzh, yoū sh, you r, Mm grain (collective) — 'you yal'bīl kenəm Yr, və you rāš kerəm r I heaped up the grain - Av yava-, cf Sgl you, etc $y\bar{u}$ Yzh, r, p, Mg, t, Z, G, $y\bar{u}$ Ysh, u, g, Mm one. — yū 'wulo, žə ašera'fīəf yu toraft she stole one of the goldcoins, wo yū mara this one man, da u šaher Yu in a town, yū pādšā pūr., u wazīr luydo Ysh, yu čad mixi Mm a few days, 'yak čand roz', $\check{z}\cdot\check{v}\bar{\imath}$ Yah from one. $-<\check{e}u<$ Av aēvo, ef EVP. sv. yau Scarcely Junker (Sitz Heid Ak Wiss. 1914, 22) < *ajúa.

yūi Mm, yīy g husband's brother, 'yūwar'

— Poss. from *yātah, a secondary
masc of *yātā (Sgl. yūð) husband's
brothers wife. But Kabul Prs hēwar
(Par hīwar), Bad yūwar points to
an ancient form *ēwar with unexplained loss of d-, from *dēwar (cf
on the other hand Sgl. tēu, and v.
Meillet, BSL, 30, CR, 90), and a
secondary m sg *aiwah (instead of
*(d)aiwā) might also have resulted
in *yū Possibly a cross between
the two stems V. yūi-wulo and
rowun.

 $yar{a}^{\dagger}bar{u}$ Yg pony. — Prs

yōba Mm, ibia LSIm dance, yōb yēby-Z to dance — Cf. Wkh yībyā very quick ambler (Skold)?

yād Yzh, sh memory — nāmən yād astet zh I remember, yād kərum fto sh I remembered you. — Prs.

'yāde Yzh, sh, 'yădə g, p, ιd'γο(??) r, yō'dıy Mm, 'yāndı tı, °'dıy g, °'dıgν t,

'yandiy (t), ya'dəy (t 'yadıga) Z, 'èy G blind - mo 'mara ('žinkiko) 'yade Yzh this man (this woman) is blind, but yū mar 'yandıy, yū 'žınkıka yan'dıya M(t) - Av anda-, Sogd. 'nt, etc, v. EVP sv jund yu'dūr, v. dīr. yuf'čirgiko Mm, yuvg m Z arrow. -Av 13u-+ 2 - V. pix you'go Y flood - yo hawaz kit zh the river roars - Y g must represent Ir nk/q. Prob $< *\bar{a}\beta anq\bar{a} < Av$. $\bar{a}fant$ - (qv.) + $k\bar{a}$ -. 'youyo (ydu') Y, 'go Mm, 'ra g, 're ti, yōuya (g), 'yōwga Z, yâu'ga G, yauya LSIm, ooy water — yduyo tim, loyoim Yzh I bathe(d) $- < *\bar{a}pak\bar{a}$, cf. Wkh, yupk, Sgl vēk, Zaza 'auka $y\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ Yzh, sh, r, yv_{γ} g, Mm, $y\bar{v}_{\gamma}$ Z yoke. - Prob. < *yauga· (Prs yōγ, Bal jōγ), not *yuga·. Cf Sgl yəγ. yūyo Yu, 'yūgo Z one (among several), 'yaki' — wo yūren nām Z. vio the name of the one was Z. - Prob from yū one, not from *yŭtakā separate, other (Shgh 2/20) yukyego. 'yēyən Yzh, 'ya° sh, g, r liver. — *yaxnya, cf. EVP s v yžna (v. also Krause, KZ. 56, 304). With ji gar (q v) cf. also Sak. gyagarra. yūy'yāmo Yzh, yuo sh four days hence, 'yūyamo Mm, woyouma t, woyū yāmo B the day after to-morrow, yūyemo G to-morrow(?) — *yŭtaka- separate (cf Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, II, 249, and

Par. Voc. s v. $\check{z}\hat{a}$) + $y\bar{a}mo$, q v. — Cf.

yəktalha Yg, yaktali Z shirt. — Prs

*yukyego Mm one (among several). —

yaktahī, Shgh. yektă'ye (Lentz).

 $s\bar{u}_{y}y\bar{a}mo.$

wo yukve'gin k'edo və zəmin one of them dug in the earth — Cf. $y\bar{u}yo$. yāl Yr, yâlı (pl?) Mm, g mane — Prs V čalo 'yelu Yzh stack of corn - Cf. Wkh yåδ- to pile up? 'yīla Mm little. 'yalko, v. 'yexko. 'yāmo Yzh, sh the day after to morrow (?), yāmo B, yamo Mm, youma t, yēm Z to-morrow, yāmo Yg, yē ma G yesterday (?) - Cf sūyyāmo, yūyyāmo and sa'bā, sa'ār. 'yūmena M(g) n of a shrub, Khow $medr\bar{a}x(?)$. 'yana Yr husband's brother's wife -Cf. Kab. Prs yanga brother's wife? V ixcogo, yūi-wulo. yančilya M(g) lizard. 'yān-əm yagyı-'im Yzh, yān-əm ya'gi-m, yir-əm g, 'yān-um ya'gyī-ım sh, yân'gy-um 'yūr-um Mm, 'yōn'gy-əm 'yūr-um t, yōn'g'-. yēn'g'- Z to grind. - Pres sg. yānim, yāne, yeiky, pret. 3 sg yagi'yo Yzh, xiryo ya'gyiim sh ' $\delta akidim'$, $\gamma i \gamma m = polm ki \gamma m g$ $- < *ar-n\ddot{a} \cdot *arta \cdot (*\ddot{a} + rta),$ yagvi-, etc is a secondary formation from *yant < *arnita., $y\bar{e}n'g'$. is formed from the pres. stem (v § 243). Cf. Sgl. $y\bar{u}n$ -, Shgh. $y\bar{a}n$ - $y\bar{u}d$ - (cf. Z s v.), Orm. hinl-, el-, Psht anal, Or, etc. yex- from 3 sg yext (< *yant, cf kižt he does) pret, yūg- or yēžt-(from the pres.) Cf. also Bakht ardan, Talish hore to grind, Gazi 3 sg arūe (Bailey). V yāre yār Ysh friend. -- Prs vāre Yzh assistance — v° dalim — Prs

yōruya, v. ararōy

'yārme Yzh, 'a sh, g foreleg, shoulderblade, 'o p arm above the elhow — Av aramō', Wkh yurm forearm, Sar yaran (Biddulph) arm (or perhaps — yorn elbow?), Prs arm arm from elbow to shoulder, Zazaērmé, ar'maī, Talish ām shoulder, but Oss arm hollow of the hand

yursiliko Yzh, ouli'ko sh shoe-string —
yuro < Av aodra-shoe + siuliko,
poss < *losiko (v loso) with assimilation of o to the preceding or
following vowel.

yarš Y, yerš B bear. — Av arša, Shgh yūrž, etc V § 132. V. xərs

'yeršio Yzh, yar'šio sh, r, yaiši'yō g, yeršiyo B barley. — Connected with Sgl. vivos, unwis, Psht ōrbašē, worbus, arbasi, etc, Sak riusā-, but the original form is uncertain *arpasyā-? V aršēmin.

yurv Mm, yrrv g, (t1), yrrv t, (g), yrrv Z, G mouth

yarya Yzh delay — y° kəret you came too late

'yunzon Yzh, sh, 'yūrzən g, r, Mm, g, tı, Z, 'rn Mt, (g) millet, Panicum miliaceum. — < *(h)ārzana· Cf Wkh yīrzn, Sgl wuždan, Psht ždan, Wanetsi ēždən, Par ârzən, Orm a'žan, Kurd harzın, Prs arzan, Sak éysa (<*alysana) Bakht halum (with Prs l and ·um from ganum), and (ace to Bailey) Prs alum, Phl. (Bund) 'lwm. V AO 7, 200 — Cf. γavarso V arzəmin The resemblance to Greek ἔλυμος (cf. Geiger, BSOS, VIII, 548) is prob. accidental.

'yurzuγο Yzh crushing stone in a handmill (yexio), 'yurzəγο sh, yurzγο g, yurzγο r, yūriko Mm hand mill for 18 – Kulturforskning grındıng snuff, Khow purduyuču. — yūr- < *yaðra-? Cf Sar, yār-yačāk (Bellew) handmill?

'yaržo Y, yo' Mm, 'yōržā g, t, 'a (g), ti, 'yorža Z, yār'ža G beard — With metathesis from *iaiža < *raišā-, Prs rēš, etc Cf Psht žīra < *rīža 'yāre Yzh, 'o sh, g, r, yō'riy Mm, yā' g, 'yāri (g), yō'rəy Z flour — y' kenem Yr, radmī y' g — < *ārtaka (= $\bar{a} + r$ -), cf Psht \bar{o} rə, etc — But Psht. wur 'small' < *rta-, Prs xurd < *hw \bar{y} ta-

yūr Yzh, sh, r, LSly, yūra Yg, p, yūr Mm, g, (g), ti, Z, G fire. — zə va yūγa uzłavum (čaftum) Yg I extinguish (kindle) the fire — Y γ points to *ārt (cf Par. âr and Sogd 'rδ, v Reichelt, ZII 4, 247), with metathesis from the unstable Av stem ātr- (a cross between ātar- and āθr-)

yiskig, v iščīy

yasp Y (yāsp sh), yŏsp Mm, g, (g), Z, ydsp G horse — yaspe Yr pl, yaspē yazəvdət sh 'aspara davåndan'; vo yaspə palān žiō he saddled the horse, sko yū yasp pādšā pūr suwār šūt the prince mounted one horse — Av. aspa-, Wkh yaš, etc

'yaspa Yzh, g small yellow and white locust — Deminutive of yasp? Cf Ital cavalletta, Germ Heupferdchen id., and (acc. to Lidén) Swed diali of Finland hastmora 'large ant', etc yuspən, v. rispen.

'yaste Yzh, sh, °ə g, r, 'yōstıy Mm, 'ya° g, 'yastı tı, ydstəy, yos'tīy Z, yäs'tēy G bone. — < *astıka-, cf Sgl ostōk, Sogd 'stk, Wkh yašč, Prs ast, etc 'yıston Mg, yıstōn m. Z, °ân G felt — < *wı-starana-? V. lıvzīn, 'nāmyo.

yu'saxo Yzh one year old — Cf lohsaxo

yăšk Y, yošk Mm, g, ti, Z, G tear — *asruka-, cf Sgl. āšīk, Wkh. yašk 'yōvurso Yzh, r, yō° sh, 'yoūso r, 'yavurso Mm, 'yəvursa tı, 'yewursa (g) a kınd of juniper, arča — Av hapərəsī, cf Ar.-Prs awıras, v. NTS I, 46, V 40

'yūvərsən Mm, t, tı, °arsın (g) upper part of the door frame. — *uparasayana-? V alarsıne

yuvazgo Mm plough-wedge, fâna

yūi-wu'lo Mm, yiy-wula g husband's brother's wife, 'yanga'

yu'wan em yu'wat-em Yzh, yuwo'n am yuwo't-am sh, t'wōn-əm t'uot-əm r, yu'wən əm yu'wət-əm Mt, yu'uen-əm (wt'yet-um) m to loosen, untre. — V. wen-

yūwistolos Yzh, sh, r, °əlos g thirty yıt'wīz Yzh, sh bit, double bridle. — Khow zwis

yox Ysh, B, yax Z, G cold. — no yox
'što he did not say it was cold. —
Prs

'yaxio Y (sh also yā°), 'ryo Mm, yaxiya g, 'yōxia (g), yēxya, yēx° Z ashes — yāxio xuryet-ā? Ysh have you eaten ashes? — With Z < *ā?(r)yā- (v § —1). Av. ātrya-, Shgb. Ir, Or a?ēr, cf also Psht. īrē, Sgl wuter, Sogd "8'y (Prs xaz-ī) ashes beneath which are latent sparks)? But why x? Cf yexio

yux's-am yuxtam Yzh, g, 'yuxsam yuxtam Mm, wuksa B to learn — Cf Sogd. yyus- to learn, Wkh yexk, Sar ixman learning, Sak nuska 'ae customed' (*ni-yučaka), anuta 'unaccustomed' (Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 13

< *nr-yang-, but j + k not > sk)
V Meillet, BSL, 23, 76, Markwart,
Ungar Jahrb 7, 98, Lommel, Or
Stud Pavry, 285. — Cf Sgl apaxš
yaxsəriy, v laxsire

yežio Yzh, yežio sh, yežio g, r, 'yožio Mm small handmill (for crushing salt in, Yzh), zəyərki, dasū(?) — *yadıyā-, v yun-zuyo (cf. § 101)?

'yēxno Yzh, 'yaxo, yaxıko Mm, 'yexıka g, yēx f Z mest — Cf Shgh yēθ, Or. yōθ, Wkh. yōθ(t), Ishk. yēča, etc (v Z s v) < *(y)āθyā- < *ā-haδyā-? Prs āšyān(a), Phl 'hy'ng (Mir Manich III, 48), Keshe huyā'ne, etc — Cf. ag¹mīn·yēx

yěžko Yzh, g, r, ye° sh, yeško LSIy, 'yalko Mm, 'yēlka g, °a (g), yelko LSIm duck — yež- might be derived from *ādy, cf Skr ātž, but M yal-? ye'ya_Y, 'yeya Mm, °o g, 'yāya m Z, yeya G bridge — Av haētu, cf Sgl yōtuk, etc. V § 175

'yūya Mt, (g) ear of wheat — *(h)auša-ka-, ef. Prs. xōša, Psht. wažai. V. sōr, xušō

'yŏzda Mg, (g), t, (sh), o'da Z, G eleven — Prs

Z

zo Y, Mm, zd Z, za G, ze LSIm I — V. § 204 — B's zo 'that' (rel) is due to a false analysis of one of his sentences.

zobo, v. zomba

zibi'jim Yzh, om earthquake — < *zambīnjum < Prs zamīnjumb (also Shgh), Brahui (lw) zimijumb, ef Sgl zile'žem, Wkh. (Bellew) zalanjum (infl by zalzala), Sar zmādjunj

- 'zifkyan Yzh, 'zəfkyin p rolling pin 'zīgakı'(pl?) Yp side plank of the spinningwheel V Ill. Cf zīk
- 'zἄγο Y, Mm, 'zâγa Mg, 'zōγa Z crow, zâγ. Prs
- $zz'_{\gamma e-um}$ $zz'_{\gamma ivd-um}$ Yzh, $zz'_{\gamma iv}um$ $zz'_{\gamma ivd-am}$ Mg to twist, $z^{2}_{\gamma iv}u-z^{2}_{\gamma ivd}$ Z to rub, grate. Cf. $\gamma iw-+^{*}uz$.
- zuy-um zuyd-um Yg to pour out —
 yauya da zu'yum (drīm) I pour the
 water (into a wooden bowl?!) Yr
- zə yū(v) um· zə yuvdum Y to walk about, fly, 'gaštan', zə yū Mm flies, zoywa walk, zoyurdum I walked LSIy. zyūa as! Ysh come quick; tra awā zyū stə g he is flying through the air, 3 pl. zyūat *uz gaub/p-?? V. cəyū-
- z³/yal-3m z³/yast 3m Ysh to run away (from a wild animal) Av zgad-, to flow, fly away, cf Sgl z̄t̄ð- zust to flow, Psht zyal- zyast- to run away, Sak haysgasta "gegangen" (Leumann, Lehrgedicht, VI, 101), vaysgadto dismount
- 'zoyno, v. za'nax-.
- z³'yəniy(-am) Mm, ^ayır³ Z, zəxəri'ya G, zeyerge LSIm thirsty — *uz-garaka-, ef Psht yārai glutton, Prs žard gluttony, etc
- ¹zah^ar Yzh, g, Mm, zār (g), G poison Prs V. sankiyo, žaro.
- zìh Y, zùh Mm, Z, G, zing Mg, (g), t, °k ti knee. — zihen pərvexina sh the knee-cap *zānu ka-, cf Sgl, Wanetsi zūng (but Kurd hižnī etc. < žnu-)</p>
- zil Yzh, r, zel sh, zela g, zulv Mm, zilgv g, (g), zilv t, zil th, (del Z) heart men tre zil astet Yzh, r I remember, tro zil čaroi I did not

- remember. Prob $< *z_l dya$, v. EVP s v $z_l r a$
- zūl Yzh, sh difficult, violent, 'zōr', B strong, zūlû'war G strong Prs (with l from zulm?).
- za'mar Yzh, zā'măr sh, g, °ōr r, za'mōr Mm, g, (g) son-in-law, sister's husband, za'mây G sister's husband — Av zāmātar-, etc
- zō'm om zō'mān-m Yzh to yawn From Khow. zomēik, in its turn from Ir (v BSOS, VIII, 662). Cf Oss zæmbin
- 'zōmbo Mg, t, °a (g), °a tı, zōbo m gums
 —Cf Psht.zāma jaw, Wan "zánmbae",
 Skr jambha- (v. AO II, 280), Sogd
 zmb, Or. zimb rıver bank, sıde?
- zo'mīn Mm, za° G, B earth k'ēdo vo zomīn Mm he dug in the earth. — Prs.
- zə'mön Y, Mm, zunan LSIy child wo xor zə'monəf lišc sh he saw his own children, zəmön paidāt a child was born, jinko zo paidā kāt r the woman bears a child Cf EVP. s.v zōwul
- 22mo'nak Ysh a small child mon z°
 2" mon wulo my child and my wife,
 no men z°-2f, mon zomana'ken obl
 Ct. Sgl zema'nok V ze'mŏn
- zə margire M(sh), °gədə t small, yellow animal, resembling a mouse, 'zaman gira', zə mārgira (g), zə gārimyo g yellow, large lizard(?) Cf Av zamarə-guz- hiding in the ground, Or zimār earth, ground (Lentz)
- zəmr'stān Yzh, sh, zəme° g, zımr'stön r, zamı° Z, zəmı'stân Mm, g, t winter — Prs
- zini'o Yzh, zem'o sh, zin'yo g, ze° r, ze'niyo Mm, °iya g, zi'niya (g), zə'niya Z daughter-in-law, brother's wife,

yu'saxo Yzh one year old — Cf lohsaxo

yāšk Y, yošk Mm, g, ti, Z, G tear—
*asruka-, cf Sgl. āšik, Wkh. yašk
'yŏvurso Yzh, r, yō° sh, 'yoūso r, 'yavurso
Mm, 'yəvursa ti, 'yewursa (g) a kind
of juniper, arča.— Av hapərəsi-,
cf Ar-Prs awıras, v. NTS I, 46,
V 40.

'yūvərsən Mm, t, tı, °arsın (g) upper part of the door-frame — *upara sayana-? V alarsıne

yuvazgo Mm plough-wedge, fâna
vūr-vullo Mm vīv-vulla a husbana

yūī:wu'lo Mm, yīy:wula g husband's brother's wife, 'yanga'

yu'wan em yu'wat-em Yzh, yuwo'n am yuwo't-am sh, T'won-əm T'wot-əm r, yu'wən əm yu'wət-əm Mt, yu'uen-əm (wı'yet-um) m to loosen, untie. — V wien-

yūwistolos Yzh, sh, r, °2los g thirty. yw'wīz Yzh, sh bit, double bridle. — Khow wīs

yox Ysh, B, yax Z, G cold. — no yox 'sto he did not say it was cold — Prs.

'yaxıo Y (sh also yā'), 'ryo Mm, yaxıya g, 'yōxıa (g), yēxya, yēx' Z ashes. — yāxıo xurret-ā' Ysh have you eaten ashes? — With Z < *ā\text{\tilde{\ta}}(r)y\bar{a}\text{\tilde{\t

yux's-am yux't am Yzh, g. 'yuxs am yuxt am Mm, wuksa B to learn — Cf Sogd. yyws- to learn, Wkh yexk, Sar īxman learning, Sak nuska 'ae customed' (*ni-yučaka), anuta 'unaccustomed' (Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 13

*nn yang-, but j + k not > sk)
 V Meillet, BSL, 23, 76, Markwart,
 Ungar Jahrb 7, 98, Lommel, Or
 Stud Pavry, 285 — Cf Sgl apaxš-,
 yaxsərıy, v laxsıre

yežio Yzh, yežo sh, yēžo g, r, 'yōžo Mm small handmill (for crushing salt in, Yzh), zəyərki, dašū(?) — *yadıyā-, v yuv-zuyo (cf § 101)?

'yēxīo Yzh, 'yuxo, yaxīko Mm, 'yexīku g, yēx f Z nest — Cf Shgh yēθ, Or. yōθ, Wkh. yōθ(t), Ishk yēča, etc (v Z s v) < *(y)āθyā- < *ā-haδyā-? Prs āšyān(a), Phl. 'hy'ng (Mir Manich III, 48), Keshe huyā'ne, etc — Cf. ag¹mīn yēx

yěžko Yzh, g, r, yè° sh, yeško LSIy,

'yalko Mm, 'yēlka g, °a (g), yelko
LSIm duck. — yež- might be derived
from *ādy-, cf Skr ātt-, but M yal *
ye'ya_Y, 'yeya Mm, °o g, 'yāya m Z,
yēya G bridge. — Av haētu-, cf Sgl

'yūya Mt, (g) ear of wheat — *(h)auša-ka-, cf Prs. ασξα, Psht. wažaι V. sor, αυξο

yotuk, etc. V § 175

'yŏzda Mg, (g), t, (sh), o'da Z, G eleven.
— Prs.

Z

zo Y, Mm, zd Z, za G, ze LSIm I — V § 204 — B's zo 'that' (rel) is due to a false analysis of one of his sentences.

zobo, v. zombá

zibi'jim Yzh, °im earthquake — < *zambinjum < Prs zamīnjumb (also Shgh), Brahui (lw) zimījumb, cf Sgl zile'žem, Wkh. (Bellew) zalanjum (infl. by zalzala), Sar zmâdjunj 'zifkyan Yzh, 'zofkyin p rolling pin 'zigaki (pl ?) Yp side-plank of the spinningwheel. V Ill Cf zik

¹zãyo Y, Mm, ¹zâya Mg, ¹zōya Z crow, zāy. Prs.

zr'ye-um zr'yxvd-um Yzh, zr'yxv um
zr'ywd-am Mg to twist, z²yxv- z²yxvd
Z to rub, grate. — Cf yxw- + *uz
zuy-um zuyd-um Yg to pour out —
yauya da zu'yum (drim) I pour the
water (into a wooden bowl?!) Yr

zə'yŭ(v) um zə'yuvd-um Y to walk about, fly, 'gaštan', zə'yūi Mm flies, zoyua walk, zoyurdum I walked LSIy — zyūa as! Ysh come quick, tra awā zyū-stə g he is flying through the air, 3 pl. zyūat — *uz gaub/p-?? — V. čəyū-

z²l[']yal-əm z²l_'yast əm Ysh to run away (from a wild animal). — Av zgad-, to flow, fly away, cf Sgl zīð- zust to flow, Psht zyal- zyast- to run away, Sak haysgasta "gegangen" (Lenmann, Lehrgedicht, VI, 101), vaysgadto dismount

zoyno, v za'nax-

z³¹yəniy(-am) Mm, ^oyın ^o Z, zəxəri'ya G, zeyenge LSIm thirsty — *uz-ganaka-, cf. Psht yānai glutton, Prs žand gluttony, etc

¹zah^ar Yzh, g, Mm, zār (g), G poison — Prs V. sankiyo, žaro

zīh Y, zūk Mm, Z, G, zīng Mg, (g), t,

ok ti knee. — zihen pərvežina sli
the knee-cap *zānu ka-, cf Sgl,
Wanetsi zūng (but Kurd hižnī etc.

< žnu-)

zzl Yzh, r, zel sh, zela g, zulv Mm, zzlgv g, (g), zzlv t, zvl tı, (dəl Z) heart. — mən trə zzl astet Yzh, r I remember, tro zzl c-ayōi I did not remember. — Prob. $< *z_I dya$, v. EVP s v $z_I a$.

zūl Yzh, sh difficult, violent, 'zōr', B strong, zūlā'war G strong — Prs. (with l from zulm?)

za'maı Yıh, zā'măı sh, g, °oı r, za'moı Mm, g, (g) son-ın-law, sıster's husband, za'mây G sıster's husband. — Av zāmātar-, etc

zö'm um zö'māi m Yzh to yawn — From Khow zomēik, in its turn from Ir (v. BSOS, VIII, 662). Cf Oss zæmbin 'zömbo Mg, t, °a (g), °a ti, zöbo m gums —Cf Psht zāma yaw, Wan "zánmbae", Skr. jambha- (v. AO II, 280); Sogd zmb, Or zimb river bank, side?

zə'mīn Mm, za° G, B earth — k'ēdo və zəmīn Mm he dug in the earth. — Prs.

zə'mön Y, Mm, zuman LSIy child — wo xor zə'monəf lišc sh he saw his own children, zəmön paidāt a child was born, jinko zo paidā kit r the woman bears a child — Cf EVP. s.v. zōwul.

zəmo'nak Ysh a small child — mun z°

əu mun wulo my child and my wife,

no mən z°-əf, mun zumana'ken obl

— Cf Sgl. zəma'nök. V. zə'mön

zə margire M(sh), °gədə t small, yellow animal, resembling a mouse, 'zaman gira', zə'māngiru (g), zə'gārmyo g yellow, large lizard(?) — Cf Av. zamarə-guz- hiding in the ground, Or zimān earth, ground (Lentz)

zəmr stān Yzh, sh, zəme° g, zəmr'stön r, zani° Z, zəmr'stân Mm, g, t winter. — Prs

zını'o Yzh, zenı'o sh, zın'yo g, ze° r, ze'niyo Mm, °iya g, zı'nıya (g), zə'niya Z daughter-ın-law, brother's wife, zanī'ya G husband's brother(?!). — an zə'nī pl sh, zənn'ef, zı'nīef pistet the daughters-in-law asked — *snušā-, cf Wkh sitəx, Sgl wuz'nel, Shgh zenay, Sar. 'zınull'.

(*)zı āne Yzh, zı ān g, r early afternoon, pēšīn — < *uz-ayana-, Av. uz-ayara- or < Av uzayerrina- (v § 133) V wuzīr

zīn Yr, Mm, g, t, Z, G saddle — Prs V pa'lan

zındo Y, Mm, g alive — amax tad z° vīi Ysh if our father were alive. — Prs.

za'nax Yzh, sh, g, ze'nox r, 'zoyno Mm,

°a g, °a t, Z, 'zōyna Mti, °a (g),
zâx'na G chin — Y from Prs, M
with metathesis from *zon(o)xa (v
§ 137), cf Gaz za'gan

zə nay əm zəna'i-m Yzh, zə'nay-Am zə nāi m sh, zəney-am r zə nāi-m g, M(t), wu'znāy-əm Mm to hathe, swim - Av snaya- snāta-, cf Sgl zənē-, Shgh zenē- (q v), Par sunī-, Sogd sn'y-, Oss nam — wuzd-, wuzn- (q v) 'to wash' $< *awa-sn\bar{a}$ - (with shortening in compound), Skr ava-snāpaya, to wash, cf Or wez'dao to swim (?) Wkh uuzd- to wash, pres 1 sg wēzdeyum, 3 sg wīzdēšt (Skold) has been influenced by $d\bar{e}$ -m, $d\bar{e}$ if (q v.). Note also Oss nam to bathe, but cexsin (W Oss cexsnun cexsnad) to wash, Prs. $\sin \bar{a}(h)$ swimming, but šunān, ušnān a herb with which they wash clothes

zan'gar Yzh, zang Z rust. — Prs zang(ār) zope Yzh, zōpə sh, r clothes, quilt, 'bistara', Khow zap — zōpə āydəm Yr I put on clothes, zōpə lio sh, zopef obl. pl LSIm zör Yzh, sh old (about a person), f.
'zöro zh. — Cf. Prs zar old man Ysh zöl < Prs zāl? Cf. B zoriko old woman.</p>

za¹rūr Ysh necessary — na maf ce zarūr² na max z° šūı, kə . — Ar-Prs

za'rūrī Ysh necessity — no xoi zarūrien out of (my) own necessity — Ar-Prs

'zarıškyo Mm, zārvīškyīka g spider — Av *zarrī-pərəštī- 'yellow-back'?

zīt Yzh, sh. Mm, g, ti, Z, G, zīto (f?)
Yr yellow. — Av. zairīta-, cf. Par
zītō (v. § 125), Shgh zīvd, Wkh. zart,
Sgl zāļ V. azīto

z³¹vīy Yzh, p, Mt, ti, (g), ze° g, zr¹bēy Ysh, z³° g, ze¹rīy(??) r, z³¹vū Mm, Z, G, zev(?) LSIm tongue — *hızıvāka-, cf. Sgl zevūk, Yazgh zɔ¹vēg (Skold), Wkh zīk. Cf §§ 107, 181

ze'viryo Yzh, zo° r, zi'b° sh, 'vəzvirgo Mm, 'vizvirya g, 'vəzvirya t, °a (g), 'vīzvirya ti, vēzvul'ga Z hirch, 'haftpost' (Yzh birch-bark) — Y zev° < M vəzv°, dissimilated from *vərzvirgo, cf. Shgh. vēyzn (v. Z s v.), Tajiki burz, birk (< *birzk*), Par bhīn tree V also Sgl bərež, Wkh. furz s vv — *brza-vārakā- (with v < w after z, cf. § 107), or °pāðiahā-"birch bark"?

zaxči^ldīn Yah kettle. — Cf Khow či^ldīn, Ishk čudan kettle, Prs čūdan cast metal.

zaxm Yzh, r, G, zaxmo Ysh, g, zoxm Mm wound — Prs

zax'mo Yzh, B, Mm, zə° Yp, zax'mə Mg, 'za° Z field — Ohl. pl zaxmaf
LSIm — *zamaxā-, cf W.Oss, zanxa.
zaxko Yzh child bearing — žinko z° šūi 'zan bača karda' — Av za $\vartheta a + k\bar{a}$ -, cf Sak. ysamtha- birth, Prs zahk first milk after parturition, zahd $\bar{a}n$ womb — V pəza $\check{x}e$, vəza $\check{x}o$.

zły zūy- Z to bear a child — Av zaya-. V. prške-ze.

\check{Z} , (\check{J})

- ž- 'št- Y, žāy-əm št-om Mm, 'žōy-am št-ām t, žōy- 'št- Z, žây- šta G to say, speak Pres I sg. žam Yzh, žəm sh, r, žom g, 2 sg tu ču žuī? zh what do you say? tə če žūi sh don't say, 'na gu', 3 sg žut zh, 1 pl. max žam, 2 pl maf či žaf? 3 pl. žɛt, imper 2 sg žā, pret 1 sg 'štim zh, 'štəm r, štum, žīm g, na to 'štom sh, 3 sg. 'št(y)ō, 3 pl 'št(y)ot sh, pf 'štəyəm r. "jat- jasta-, cf Goth. qiþan, etc V NTS. VII, 116 ff
- že, žo, žo Y, Mm, ža Z from žo xoān sh, 'az xud', ži dalen from below, žo lurayan 'az dūr', žim kyeyen from this house, žõi from one, yo amūno že pūren astet r this apple belongs to the son — Av hača V § 50. jåi Mm, jēi (g), jōy Z place, — jēi kinam

M(g) I hide (a thing). — Prs

- žī Ysh still(?), ži, ji Z bnt, also wos wa šūi no tat kyēin ā, da kyēi žī formī ā? has she now gone to her father's house, or (?) may she be at home? Av coit? Bailey compares Kashan diall jī 'ham' (Zhuk)
- žio Y, jiiko Mm, °a g bow-string (Ysh thin string for a pellet-bow, v. suγ)
 Av jyā, Wkh jəi, Sgl. zē, Psht žaī.
- žoi Yzh, sh lake. Khow. žoi irrigation-

channel (< Prs $j\bar{o}y$?) does not fit the meaning. Poss < Av zrayah- $\check{z}\bar{u}u$ Yzh, $\check{z}\bar{u}$ sh, $\check{z}\bar{u}g$ leather (for shoes), $x\bar{a}m$, Khow $yz\bar{c}\bar{u}$ — * $\check{j}auka$ -<* $g^u\!\!\!/eu$ -(a base theoretically expected in the loc sg, etc)?? Cf Skr go-, Kalasha gao 'leather'?

jū-, v. čū-.

žib· žilbī· Y to rise, juba B to stand, jibīm awake. — žilbām zh, om r, g, 'žibām sh; imper žib, pret žibīm, wōs žibe tar ōyem now I rise and go — *jimp/b· to bend (upwards), v. WP I 545??

 $\check{z}u^{\dagger}\bar{a}b$ Yzh answer — zo ${}^{\dagger}n\bar{a}$ to $\check{z}^{\circ}{}^{\dagger}dalxm$ — Ar -Prs

'žaf-um žaft-um Yzh, g to chew, masticate, to light a fire, jaf-um jaft-um r to embrace, 'čašpånum' — žafum-ste Yg, yūra žaftam g 'āteša kardam'.

— With žaf- cf Prs žāwīdan to masticate, Psht. žōwul, jaf- may be a separate verb connected with Prs. jafsīdan (= čafs°, časp°) to stick, adhere. Then, again, there is jōf- jēft Z, jēft LSIm to send, command *jafā-, in və lažīno žafa'ū Yu put fire to the wood-pile — Cf. žaf.

j̃ift Yzh pair, LSIy united — Prs j̃i'gar Mm, g, (g), t, Z, j̃ə° G, žiger B hver — Prs. V yēγən.

žigalren Ysh light brown. — Cf Prs., Wkh jigari

¹žaya Yu place, spot — da žaya šūt he came to a place, mo ča'mūt ¹žaya from where is he? — Khow (Ir lw) žōy Y, žoγ Mm cloak, female dress, žeγ

LSIm clothes — žōy aydəm, cf ustur žoyo.

žu'yus hur'mo Yg scorpion

za'hānd Ysh, r, jə'hānd r, jo'hön Mm,
(g), ja° Z, jahān B very, much —
j° brland Yr very high, j° ādame
many men, z° sāl sh many years,
j° rūpayo Mm many rupees — From
Prs jahān world?

 $\tilde{z}u^ih\bar{u}$ Yzh, sh, ${}^i\dot{z}k\bar{u}$, $\tilde{s}_ih\bar{u}$ Z whence o — yo mara $\tilde{z}^iuk\bar{u}^{\,2}$ tu $\tilde{z}^{iul}k\bar{u}$ $\check{s}\bar{u}^l\bar{\imath}$ — V. \check{z}_e and $k\bar{u}$

jikya M(g) n of a water-fowl — Cf žingo.

žil Yg blanket — Khow žil, Wkh, etc jil But Prs zilū, zailū a kind of woollen blanket

Ižilo Yzh hail — Possibly genuine, of Prs žāla (v AO I, 266). V. möyiki, žâlabârân

 $z\hat{a}lab\hat{a}^{\dagger}r\hat{a}n$ Mm hailstorm. — *Prs $ju\bar{a}l^{\dagger}d\bar{u}z$ Yzh large packing-needle — Prs $jal\partial\gamma$ Mm saddle-covering.

žīme'žīm žīme'žīm, žimežīm Yzh to pull up weeds.

žen Yzh, sh, žən g, jen r bed — Khow. \tilde{z} en.

ju'ana Mm, °ayo g, (g), juwo'na Z male calf, 1—2 years old — Cf Wkh ju'ana, Sgl juwaē *Prs, cf Arm yavanak young of an anımal

žān'dār Ysh animal — yo ces-min ž°?
 — Prs, ef Khow žāndār bird, Sgl ram

žuna'ye Yzh, °yə r, zu'no sh, zıngyıgo M(g), 'zıngyoyo tı, zungey LSIm small boy — *a-jarnaka-, cf Psht zanaı, žanaı? But z?

žena rer Yzh giddy — Khow žen paliko Yzh foot of a bed žina zo Ysh bier. Ar Prs. jina za žang Yzh, sh war, fight. — zan kenem — dufim. — Prs. žangal Yzh, g, u (corr by zh into kyesina),
gal sh, jangal r, jun gul Mm forest.
no žangalen šut they went into the forest — Prs

lžinko Yzh, o'ko sh, r, ogo g, p, lžinko Mm, o g, o a (g), žin(k)a Z woman.

— jinho zəmön paidā kit Yr the woman bears a child, žinko zažko šūi zh, wov loh žinkəf avezdo u he brought the two women. — Av. jain: + kā.

žinkiko Y, °iga Z woman, wife — žinkiko
 ištyo sh the woman said, žinkiki ištyo
 Demin, of žinko.

'žaro Yzh poison — *ja@rā-, cf. Prs zahr, and Khow žāi (from lr, v BSOS, VIII, 660)

ža'rā um to bear, endure, Khow žirēiman žer Yzh, u surrounding — žer nižam zh I surround, istāni po fiz žer šut the stars surrounded his face. — Cf Khow. jer in a row?

'žnabe Yzh, ° g, jura'bo r, že'rāb sh stockings — yū ž° zh — Prs jurāb, and Khow (lw) žarāb.

ži^lrīyəm žir^lyā-im Yzh to scream, Khow žiryoih — Cf Prs žayār cry, clamour? Khow. žiryēik, etc from Y?

žir male (pl) Yzh, žilmal p kernel. — Cf Khow žol kernel?

žor¹žo Yzh, žor¹žo sh, g, r, zar¹žo Mm, zarža g, jör jo B partridge, zörzo B bird — *zaričī-, cf Ishk ujirj, Pis zarič, v EVP s v zarka

jausaben Yzh, jaubse shat daybreak. živdebraus Mm bat — Cf. žib to rise, (fly?) and raŭso(s.v. rūso)? V. leverzeya rūso, šabparakilay.

ju'wān Yzh young, žāwān sh, jewân G youth, young man. — žūwān vio, žuwānen išto, lie no žuwānen — Prs. ju wāri Yzh, r, e sh, ju ārə g, jo wâri Mm jowar - Ind

žň y-am žū yi-m Yzh, sh, žūy im r, žūum g, zīy-əm zī'y-um Mm, zīy-am ¹žīy-am t, žīy- žiy Z to sew — žūyum viō g plpf, žūya baš sh 'ba dūxtan' $-*uz-(h)y\bar{u}$ -, cf Skr ut-syūta- sewed up?

*žezi, in šəta žezikan Yr hamstring ja'zır Yzh rum — Khow jazır rum, from Ar Prs jas slaughtering, decreasing?

ža'žīro Yzh, ja'jīro p, zājīro Mm, 'zajīra Z chain — Y < Khow $\jmath \Lambda n^{i} \jmath \bar{\epsilon} r$ (cf Shgh, yınjıl, Skold), M from Prs zanjīr

List of Names.

Iday, v Yida.

 $I_{\gamma}^{\dagger}dak$ Yr, $I_{\gamma}^{\dagger}d\bar{a}k$ Mt, $Yu_{\gamma}^{\dagger}d\bar{a}k$ m, (g) vill, in Munjan

Imir dino Yzh, Imurjin u (Taj form) vill in Lutkoh Khow Imirdin Undulstān Yr 'Hindostan'

 $Injig\bar{a}n \text{ Yzh} = Idyef$ 'the Yidgha speaking part of Lutkuh', Skold Indijani = Minjani(?) Taj form of *Indio-Anju mān Ysh, oan r, Ajumono Mm

the Anjuman Pass

Apcalyo Yu vill in Bashgal (Bragamatal), Katı Apser

Arlou Y the Artsu Pass (leading from the top of the Lutkoh valley into the Bashgal valley)

Oryo'čo Ysh Orghuch in Chitral Iriko Yu vill in Bakhshir, Owirik Ir žöγ Yu vill in Bakhshir, Yorjogh 'Ajumono, v Anju'mān Ar žinko Yu vill in Lutkoh

"Urak Yzh vill in Lutkoh.

'Iskutul Ysh, 'Skutul u Iskutul in Sanglech $Av^{\dagger}\gamma ato$ Yzh, u vill in Lutkoh, Khow

Ov'xızo Yp n. of a place ın Parabek (Lutkoh)

Iwim, v. Yuwim Iž Yzh, Iž u vill in Bakhshir, Izh 'Ižrar Yu Shah-1-Sidim, at the foot of the Dorah Pass, acc to zh Io is the name of the big rock (the 'Snakestone'), not of the hot spring at Shah-1-Sidim

Badax'šān Ysh, r Badakhshan, Bo yer zh the Dorah Pass

Bəyušt Yu vill in Bakhshir (Bogosht). < *Ba¹gašīta-, cf. Baxšīr?

Burbu'nū Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Burbunn.

Bre'γεγο Yzh, Bra° u, Bra'γaγο r Munjan. V BSOS VI, 439 sqq

Bu zin Yzh, Br'zin u vill in Lutkoh, Khow Bi/arzin (< Ir *wjzana-?) $B ilde{a} ilde{s}^{\scriptscriptstyle\dagger}k ilde{a}r$ Ysh Bashgal.

Bax'šīr Yu vill in Bakhshir (Beshkar), Bax'šīra Ta'gou zh 'the Bogosht (Bakhshir) valley joining the Lutkoh river at Izh' Survey map Beshgar Khow Baxšīr < *Baya'šīta·, v $B_{2}yušt^{g}$ (Cf e.g. the relation between Khow šapir and Wkh šapt 'wolf') V Təri Baxšīr

Čir'wul Yu n. of a place near Droshp Ciltrēyo Yzb, r, Mm Chitral. na, da $\check{C}i^{\dagger}tray\tilde{\imath}$ 'in, to Chitral' Ysh, $y\bar{u}$ \check{z}^{\imath} Crtreyen Mm 'a man from Chitral'. Cf BSOS, VI, 441 sq

Da'yerro Yzh vill in Lutkoh, Daghiri. Dēam'bī Yr, Dēam'bēh Mt, Diam'bē (g) vill in Munjan Dangula'dore Yzh clan in Gurti, Lutkoh Də'rā Yr, Du'râ the Dorah Pass Drošp Ysh, u vill in Lutkoh Dra'wuso Ysh Drosh in Chitral naDrauso šoi. Dašt-1-Būt Ysh a place in Munjan, between Miliyeg and Shahr Dašt-1-Rubāt Ysh a place in Sanglech. F^{j} rastufi Mtı a lake in Munjan, Frastofi Go'ik Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gohik Gu'lyū Yzh vill in Lutkoh, Gulugh. Gurtio Yzh, u, Guoti g vill in Lutkoh, Gufti Khow Guhti (Gurti). Gristini Yzh, u vill in Lutkoh, Gistini Govar'bax Yzh vill. in Lutkoh Govri'ston Yr, Gouri'ston u, Gauri'stan sh Kafiristan. From Prs gabr Zoroastrian, pagan Gažan dore Yzh a clan in Zhitr and Imirdin in Lutkoh l'alamandore Yzh a clan in Burbunu in Gharmar vill on the Kokcha in Yamgan (acc to the map India and Adjacent Countries, 37, C 4). < *yarm hot Γāz Yr, Γaz Mt, Γəz (g) vill. in Munjan, $Aiy\tilde{a}z$ (acc. to M(g)). Haidar'dore Yzh clan in Gistini and Parabek in Lutkoh '(H)artef Yzh (obl. pl.) the Ozhor valley ın Chitral Badakhshi Hart 'Kūa Yg 'the Kho tribe, the Khowar language' Cf BSOS, VI, 441 n. Köbul Ysh Kabul. Ka'lā Mt a vill. in Munjan, Ka'la Yr a vill in Kuran, Kalaomir, Kale-1-Šo Yr, Khala-1-Šo M(g) vill in

Munjan

Kām Yu vill in Bashgal Kəm'dıš Yu vill. ın Bashgal. Kandu'žala Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Kan doojal, Kundzar Kunji kāf Yu a mythical mountain, Koh-ı-Kaf. Kə'rön Ysh, Böla Kə'rön r, Krān Mt a district in Munjan. Katwā'rī Ysh Ktiwi in Kafiristan Kyı'lyam Ysh Kulam in Kafiristan. Luliko Yu vill, in Bashgal Lazo Mm vill in Munjan (== Kala, Qalā?) Madu'gāl Yu vill in Bashgal, Mandogal Mayna'wul Ysh, Mt, 'vul Yr vill in Munjan, Vavilov Megnul mayna. naked? Mili'yeg Ysh vill in Munjan, prob = Mīāndeh. — mīlī < madya-, yeg for yaxg < *-kabaka-, of Madhyankath (Barthold, Turkestau, p 128)?? Munto Yu vill in Bakhshir, Khow Manur < *Mānūtā? Miān'dēo Yr, Miān'dēa Mt, Miân'dia (g), Miandeh Mm vill in Munjan. Mon'jī, pl. Monjiyī Mm a man from Munjan, Mon'jī roi the Munji language, Mon'jiy G Munjani. Mon'jan Mm Munjan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 439 sqq Muridan Yu a place near Droshp Mairātdore Yzh clan in Birzin, Lutkoh 'Mastiko Yp n. of a woman Nou Yr, M(g), Nau t vill in Munjan Narku'i ata Yu vill in Bakhshir, Nar Karet Pəçixūgo Yu a place in Lutkoh, Garm Čišma, Khow Pec-uc, 'Hot Springs'. Pa'naŭ Mt, 'Phanō (g) vill in Munjan Panjišir Ysh, Panišir r Panjshir Paladyo Mm Kafiristan Cf. Sgl Paroy Poruy Ysh, Paroyo u vill in Sanglech. Sgl Poroy

Parauko Yzh, u vill in Lutkoh, Kh

Perkyān Talgou Yzh the part of the Lutkoh valley inhabited by Yidghas. Pârse Yg Persian — zo Po vzānəm I know Persian

Pur'wos Yr vill in Kuran

Rūz Yzh, u vill in Lutkoh, Rui.

Rubât Ysh, Mt, Rubôt Yr vill in Kuran

Ru'bât 1- Tang Ysh vill in Kuran Ram'gvil Ysh Ramgul in Kafiristan.

Rāzer Ysh, r vill. in Kurau — Poss. fr Av razura- forest.

Skar'zer Ysh, 'Skōrzər r vill in Kuran — *Uska-Razer? Cf Sar-Jangāl.

'Skəwo Ysh, Sək'vö r vill in Kuran, Survey Map Sekwao, Burhan-ud-Din Sekui

Sumbul'dore Yzh a clan in Wart, Lutkoh. Su'māldore Yzh a clan in Upper Zhitr, Lutkoh

'Sānek Yu vill in Bakhshir, Sanik 'Sanlić Yzh, Sang'līć r, u, San'līć sh, Sang'līč Mm Sanglech

Sarjan'gāl Yr, Mm vill in Munjan. Stə'yīno Yu vill in Bakhshir, Sighin Sterfī Y the Struik Pass (Mil Rep Shifchik), near Dorah

uStur lāmo Yu vill in Bashgal, Bargramațal, Khow. Luțdeh, Prs Deh-i-Kalān.

Stužun Y the Ustich Pass, near Dorah Mil Rep. Ustuju.

Šud'gol Yu vill. in Bashgal Robertson Shidgol

Šογο'yo Ysh, Šωγογο Mt Shoghor in Chitral. Badakhshi Šογοt

'Šāhar Ysh, M(g), Šār Yr, Šahr Mt, Šår-i-Munjān (sh) vill in Munjan Šō-i-Parī M(g) vill in Munjan Šāh-1-Si'dīm Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, at the foot of the Dorah Pass

Šal'xān Yp n. of a man

 $\check{So}^{\dagger}r\bar{o}n$ M(g) vill in Munjan = $\check{S}\bar{a}h^{a}r$ (cf. Burhan-ud-Din $\check{S}aran$)

Ši'xaidore Yzh a clan in Zhiti, Lutkoh Še'xāmandore Yzh a clan in Burbuuū, Lutkoh

 $\tilde{Su}^{\dagger}yo$ Yu vill. in Bashgal, Robertson Shui, Pshur

Ta'gōu Ysh, r, Ta'gōu-1-Mun'jān Mt vill in Munjan.

 ${}^{t}Tu\gamma akaf$ Ysh, $Tu\gamma okaf$ r vill in Kuran $Te^{t}li$ Ysh, $Te^{t}l\bar{i}$ r, Mt, $Tr^{t}l\bar{i}$ Mt, $Thr^{t}l\bar{i}$ (g), also $\check{X}u^{t}l\bar{i}$ ti (local form) vill in Munjan. $<*(h)a\vartheta ad$, or a similar base

Talaš Mir Yr Terich Mer in Chitral Cf BSOS, VI, 443.

Tuniko Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Thonek Thunik

Təri Bax'šīi Yu vill in Bakhshir, Turi Bashker

Terko Yzh Turikho in Chitral

'Wilū Yr, Mt, (g), (sh) vill in Munjan Wulf Ysh, r, M(g) vill in Munjan — Cf. Av. vadwa- flock, troop (cf. Pashai sāṭha 'village' < sārtha-, etc.)?

Wī'nān Ysh, °ān r, 'Wīreno Mg, °ane tı, °ano Yu "Veron", Prasun, Pārūn, in Kafiristan. Cf BSOS, VI, 443

Wart Yzh, Warto p vill in Lutkoh, Wharth,

'Wayo Mt vill in Munjan.

 $^{1}X\bar{u}\gamma iko$ Yu vill in Lutkoh V. $x\bar{u}\gamma o$.

Xəlar'yar Ysh, 'Xəloryar a pass between Munjan and Sanglech. — V xəlāryo

Yıdg, pl Yıd³gī Mm, 'Id³γ, pl Idγe
Yu, Mtı 'a man from Injıgan', I'd³γ
Yr, sh, Id¹γεf zh, Yıd¹yūn Mm 'Injıgān, the Yidgha-speaking part of

Lutkoh', Yed'yă Yg, u, Mt, Yıd'gânə röi Mm 'the Yıdgha language' — Prob Yıdg < *Hınduka- Yed'yā < *Hındukaka- Cf. BSOS, VI, 443, and Baıley, BSOS, VIII, 894, n 2 about T anatkak If this derivation is correct, the Iranian settlement on the south-eastern, "Indian", side of the mountain-range must be of considerable antiquity Cf. § 14 — V. Injigān

Yuy'dāk, v Iy'dek
Ya'mak Yr vill in Kuran
Yakhserighar pass between Upper Munjan
and Upper Bashgal (Survey Map) Cf
lax'sire, yar
Yu'wīm Ysh, I'wim r a side-valley of
Kuran Survey Map Yoim.
Zī'bāk Ysh, 'Zība u Zebak
Zītik the Zidig Pass, near Dorah
Jurm Mm vill. in Badakhshan
Žītr Yzh, Žūt'r u vill in Lutkoh, Jhitur.



INTRODUCTION

1. The first information about Sanglechi was given by Shaw in the short Comparative Vocabulary appended to his article "On the Ghalchah Languages". The 116 words collected by Munshí Faiz Bakhsh and transcribed by Shaw are not very correct, but they have formed the sole base for our knowledge of this important dialect till now, and have been discussed by Tomaschek in his Centralasiatische Studien II, and by Geiger in GIPh.

Of the adjoining and closely related, but slightly more persianized, dialects of Zebak and Ishkashim Sir George Grierson has given, as far as the material at his disposal permitted, excellent accounts in the LSI and in the separate publication "Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami" embodying the material collected by Sir Aurel Stein These works have been my constant guides during the preparation of the present account of this dialect-group.

Finally Zarubin quotes a number of Ishk, words in his Munji vocabulary.⁵

2. The Ishk, and Sgl. material discussed in this volume was taken down in Chitral in May and June 1929 from visitors to the bazar of Chitral Town.

¹ JASB, XLV, 134 sqq

² Note eg yùr (بوز) "fuel'' for *yùz (بوز), zulúk "tongue" for *zuvúk, vurd "brother" for *vrud, etc

³ SWAW, phil-hist Cl XCVI

⁴ R A. S, Prize Publication Fund, Vol V

⁵ Cf above Y-M, § 1

From Ishkashim I had two informants They were, however, both of them so unsatisfactory for my purposes that I did only keep them on for a couple of sittings

- 1 The first was a middle-aged man from Ishkashim (Išk'āsīm) Ishk. proper His mother-tongue was Persian, but he said that his was the only one among the sixty houses in the village in which the local language was not used. He professed, however, to know Ishkashmi, and most of the forms given by him agree fairly well with those known from other sources. In some cases of however, he probably did not know or remember the true Ishk forms and gave Prs ones instead
- 2. The other was Malak Muhammad, a native of the Zebak Zb district, but settled in Iskk ($\check{S}k\hat{a}sim$). He gave me a short list of words in the dialect of Zeb, which in the main appears to be correct But there are some suspect forms and words in his list, (e.g. $volde{o}$ "ear", $n\bar{a}yd$ "night", $m\bar{s}$ "nose"), and he certainly gave Prs words in several cases where native Zeb ones are still in use

From the Sanglech valley I had five informants:

3 and 4 Aziz Bēg and his brother Daulat Bēg were natives of Sgl. p 1 the hamlet of Porogh They were kind, and willing to do their Sgl p 2 best, but even this was rather poor Their pronunciation was rapid and slurred, many sounds disappearing more or less completely in connected speech. Perhaps this is a result of their dialect being used only within a very narrow circle of close relations and acquaintances, who are accustomed to eachother's peculiarities of articulation.

It was also very hard work to get grammatical forms out of them, and they were utterly incapable of telling a story, or of giving any but the most disconnected and fragmentary accounts of happenings in their own village and similar subjects. I managed, however, to prepare a fairly extensive vocabulary during the few days they could be induced to remain in Chitral.

¹ But recruits from Ishk and Zeb, whom I met at Kabul in 1924, denied the very existence of any separate language in their village. Cf. also Skold, Materialien, p 3

- 5 Also Laškar Bēg came from Porogh From his lips I took Sgl p 3 down a short tale
- 6 A fourth inhabitant of Porogh was Gul Mahamad from whom Sgl p 4 I compiled a list of words
- 7 Åš $\bar{u}\delta$ hailed from Iskitul, the village above Porogh From SgI is him I compiled a vocabulary of his dialect, which presents various peculiarities of its own
- 8 Bax'tauār was a quite intelligent young man from Sanglech Sgl. s proper, the uppermost village in the valley. Unfortunately I had only occasion to work with him during one short sitting, and all I could do was to write down a list of words
- 9 The material collected by the late Dr Skold and incorporated Sk. into this work belongs to the Ishk dialect. Nothing further is known to me about his informants ¹

Ishk. or Sgl forms given by a professed Wakhi from Wark are marked "Wkh." "Wkh"

Ishk material quoted from Grierson is designed by Gr., and his Gr Zeb. material by Gr. (Zb.) Quotations from Zarubin are marked Gr (Zb) Zar., and from Munshi Faiz Bakhsh (Shaw, Ghalchah Languages) Zar. MFB

An account of the geography of the country in which Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is spoken is given by Grierson in the Introduction to his book on Ishkashmi.

Ishk is spoken in and around the village of Ishkashim in Afghan territory at the Oxus bend. According to Stein it also extends to a few villages on the Russian side of the river,² and it will be seen below that it is possible that a mixed Wakhi-Ishkashmi dialect is spoken in Wark in Western Wakhan

It is doubtful whether the subdialect called Zebaki is spoken at all in the market village of Zebak (*Izvūk*) itself. My informants, both in 1924 and in 1929, all agreed that Prs was the exclusive language of this place, and it is quite possible that they told the

¹ Cf Materialien, p 3 -I have found no texts among his material

² Acc to Skold it is used in Rind, and by half the population of Namadgut

truth, and that Zeb. is spoken only in some of the surrounding villages. We know that the Zeb. material of the LSI comes from Bāzgīr, a village situated between Zebak and Ishkashim, and it may be that my informant Zb was a native of some village in the neighbourhood of Zebak

Acc to Grierson 1 Sanglechi (or perhaps Zebaki) is spoken also in the valley leading from Zebak to the Nuqsan Pass (the Deh-i-Gul) and in the valley of the Wardoj below Zebak. I have not been able to check these statements.

My informants told me that the true Sanglechi dialect is spoken in the villages of Porogh, Iskitul and Sanglech Sgl s asserted that it was also spoken in Flakhmarik, but p4 denied this (statement).

Acc. to Burlian-ud-Din, Fareg (Porogh) possesses 8 houses, and Isketul' and Sanglič 15 each But Vavilov, who is no doubt a more reliable source, gives 40 houses for "Porx" (60 before the flood in 1923), and 30 for "Isketul". The same author states that Isketul' lies 14—15 km above Zebak at a heighth above the sea of about 2900 mètres, and that Porx is situated a little below Isketul' at a heighth of 2840 mètres Sanglech, the uppermost village of the valley, is 20—22 km above Isketul, and 3280 m. above sea-level

4. As observed already by Grierson,⁴ Ishk, Zeb. and Sgl. "are all slightly varying forms of one and the same language, which we may call Iškāšmī" ⁵

Ishk is clearly distinguished from Sgl in several respects. Thus, in a number of cases, Ishk \bar{o} corresponds to Sgl \bar{a} , Ishk \bar{u} to Sgl \bar{o} and Ishk. a to Sgl o Cerebral n is not known to Ishk., and the use of l is more restricted than in Sgl, while on the other hand Ishk usually has $t < \hat{s}t$, corresponding to Sgl t. Ir. ϑ in

¹ Op cit. p 3

² Op cit. pp 108 sqq, and 517 sqq.

⁸ Op cit p. 519 But 3380 m, p. 111.

⁴ Ishk, etc p 3

⁵ Or, what I would prefer, Sanglechi-Ishkashini

some words apparently results in Ishk s, but Sgl t, and Sgl δ has been dropped or replaced by d in Ishk. Other points of phonetical difference are restricted to individual words among the material available to me. Thus, e.g. Ishk. δ tok "girl", δ otān "comb", $\tau \bar{\epsilon}$ muz(d) "sun", δ orčīn "cock", τ o δ nā "fire", ρ umec-"to dress", fak "thee", but Sgl. δ o δ cāk, āfsān, δ rmōzd, δ curčūn, δ onāī, δ onec-, to δ fak, etc.

In the field of morphology, we may mention the absence of the accusative prefix va in Ishk, the differences in the inflexion of the pronouns and the verb substantive, the opposition between lshk (but also Sgls) 1st sg -m and Sgl. p is -n, and the development of secondary preterites in Ishk.

As regards the vocabulary, Ishk, which on account of its geographical position is more exposed to foreign influences than Sgl, has given up a number of ancient words which are still in use in the latter dialect. Thus e.g. Ishk yōzda "11", dwōzda "12", bīst "20", garm "warm", gardak "neck", safēd "white", mātou, mā "moon", sab "night", lab "lip", but Sgl kodos, dīdus, wīst, yōrm, yorōk, əspēd, wulmēk, fəršōu, rīvlav, etc

5. The variations recorded within Ishk are most of them insignificant, consisting chiefly of slight oscillations in the quality or quantity of vowels. Thus, e.g., from my material: mvt "fist", wuluk "flour", kərčın "cock", ōvd "seven", vərū "brother", Skold mut, uluk, wullak, kričin, uvd wrūd, wru, Grierson: mut, uluk, kurčin, uvd, vrūd, Zarubin: mot, wuluk, ———, (w)ūvd, vərūd.

It is impossible to decide how far such discrepancies are due to real difference of pronunciation of a local or individual nature. To a certain extent they are probably due to the "personal equation" of the recorder But forms such as f "rēt" "asked", awuld "brought", das "ten", as compared with Skold's forast, $av\bar{u}(l)d$, dah and Grierson's frut, avul, dah, etc., point to the existence of certain variations within Ishk

6. Zeb, as described by Grierson in LSI, resembles, perhaps, more Sgl than Ishk. But it shares with Ishk several characteristics.

^{19 -} Kulturforskning

Thus eg: o, å for Sgl. ā, cf also Voc s vv mēn "apple", štåk "girl", rəšnī "fire", pumec- "to dress", atayd "entered", etc

In a few cases the Zb forms of the LSI agree with Sgl, but those given by my informant with Ishk. Cf e.g kərčīn "fowl", rēmōz "sun", tīnen "thy". It is, however, doubtful whether we can rely much upon the forms given by Z, whose vocabulary was interspersed with Prs., Wkh, or simply incorrect forms It is, of course, only natural that the villages of the Zebak district should form a transitional zone between Ishk and Sgl

Sgl itself is not an altogether homogeneous dialect, but presents several variations in the three villages from which material is available. And even the forms given by the different informants hailing from Porogh are not always absolutely identical ¹

It is doubtful whether there are many other places in the world where local linguistic division has been carried so far as among the inhabitants of the handful of houses in the Sanglech Valley hamlets

Thus e.g. Sgl p. has wərvēs "fox" (Ishk wurvēs etc.), but Sgl. p. s. vərvēs, Sgl p. mokodok "frog" (Ishk. mukuduk, etc.): 18, s. moydōk, Sgl p. nəmē(d)k "salt" (Ishk namulyāk, etc.) Sgl is s. nəmēyd, etc., Sgl. p. wužinjak (Z. wujinjak) "woman": is s. wuzinjak, Sgl. p. kul, kud "did": is s. kul. Cf. also: Sgl p. xwār- "to eat": s. xor-, Sgl p. wāl "trousers". is. wāl, p. rig/vlav "lip" is s. rīvlav, p. wənīst, wunīžd "turned round": Sgl is. wənıyd, s. wunīžd

Sgl p 3 shows a specially pronounced *tendency towards diphthongization of \tilde{e} Cf e g · $t^i\tilde{e}\gamma m$, $m^i\tilde{e}l$, $d^i\tilde{e}r$, $r^i\tilde{e}\gamma n$, etc Sgl p and is agree as against the uppermost village of the valley in the following words · $wu\dot{z}i\dot{z}ir$ "partridge", $\check{z}\bar{a}n\check{z}^jk$ "entrails", $\check{z}an$ —"to kill", $\check{z}an\bar{e}i$ "fire", 1st sg -en, 1st pl. -em, but s $wu\check{z}ir\dot{z}ir$; $\check{z}an)\partial k$, $\check{z}an$ -, $r\partial sn\bar{a}i$ (cf Ishk Zb $r\partial sn\bar{i}$, etc.); -em, -en (= Ishk., Zb.) Cf also Sgl. p $pov\delta$ "drank" (Ishk povd) Sgl s $p\bar{i}\delta$

In some other cases it is Sgl is alone which differs as well from

 $^{^1}$ Cf the vacillation in the use of the personal endings \mathfrak{m} and \mathfrak{m} (v. § 132), and in the preterital stems

the villages below as from s Most characteristic is the transition of \check{z} to γ in wənıyd "turned round", woydan "millet" and vəydāk "long' We also find Sgl is $f^{9}r\bar{o}s$ - "to ask" and yəxōaı "sister" corresponding to p s $f^{9}ras$ -, $fr\bar{a}s$ - and $ixw\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$, ${}^{9}x\bar{o}a\imath$. In Sgl is there is moreover a certain tendency to lengthen vowels, cf Voc eg s vv $c\bar{a}m$, kužuk, astamayzək, sað, jāndār

The situation is rendered still more complicated through the possibility of a dialect of the Sgl, not the Ishk type, existing in western Wakhan My informant from Wark in Lower Wakhan, not far from Ishkashim, professed to speak Wkh, but of the words given by him the majority was of Sgl.-Ishk, not of Wkh. origin

Some of them are typical Ishk words Thus, e.g. pəšir "cheek", mukuduk "frog", vuks "snake"; kurust "bark"; cuuīn "apricot", rəxnī "fire"; nic "nose"; posk "hide", dkīk "egg", ōxik "tear"; cōm "eye", zōl "yellow", and others with d, ō corresponding to Sgl. ā But more often the Wark forms agree with Sgl Thus eg · ōrmōzd "sun", b²rež "birch", fərxa "night", fīsē "nose", yīc "coal" (Sgl. žīc, I zīč), yōruk "neck", kiskūð "roof", məryōk "sparrow"; hari "work", puðf "meat", sūi "hare", spēð "white", xau "horn", xūi "black", tīwde "burnt" (Sgl. təv., Ishk. sav-), wuyden "millet", wulmē "moon", wužerzer "partridge", etc, etc. Cf also kenen "I do" and t²fak "thee". "Wkh" of Wark employs the fricative δ, and it changes ž into γ (besides š into x, x), just as is the case in Sgl. is Note also fərγəmč "kid", which looks like an archaic form of Sgl. fəryəm, and the curious (hybrid?) form hīb²δ "7"

It is, of cource, quite conceivable that Wkh of Wark is no genuine dialect at all, but only a mixture of Wkh, Sgl and Ishk. forms made up by one who did not know any of these languages properly. But each of the theoretically possible explanations present difficulties of its own, and it would be quite idle without further knowledge to enter upon speculations about the possibility of a mixed dialect being spoken in the border villages of Ishkashim and

Wakhan 1 The question is not, however, devoid of a more general interest and ought to be investigated on the spot

9. On the whole Ishk—Sgl. is, however, a well defined dialect group, which is clearly distinguished from all its Ir. neighbours in the Pamir Especially Ishk in its vocabulary frequently presents points of resemblance with Wkh But this may be due just as much to recent contact as to any special, inherited relationship ² The same may be said about the lexical accordances with Yd—Mj

A survey of the historical phonology and morphology of Sgl—Ishk will show the originality of this dialect-group on several points, but also its connection with the rest of the Pamir dialects

The general appearance of the language, phonetically and morphologically, is less aberrant from the Ir normal than that of other Pamir dialects. This is probably due to its geographical position on, or close to, the ancient trade route from Faizabad to the Dorah Pass.

We do not know anything about the ancient history of the small Sgl—Ishk (speaking) communities ³ But nothing prevents us from believing that it has developed during a very long period in the districts where it is now spoken—It is likely that it once extended further down the Kokcha Valley, bordering somewhere upon Saraghlani.

The future of Sgl—Ishk is probably more immediately threatened than that of Wkh, Yd—Mj and the Shgh group, both on account of the small number of speakers and through the proximity of and comparatively easy access to the central, Persian-speaking parts of Badakhshan

¹ Acc to Skold, p 2 sq, Namatgut, just below Wark but on the Russian bank of the river, is half Wkh and half Ishk

² Cf, however, $\delta t > t$, t in both dialects, and e.g. pav- 'to drink'

⁵ Herzfeld's identification of Paikuli sxwlšn, sxwlč³n with Sanglech (AIM, VII, p. 58) is not convincing

PHONETIC SYSTEM

10. Any attempt to determine the exact phonetic value of all the sounds of the different dialects of Sgl—Ishk, without a prolonged study of the language can, of course, only be quite provisional, and in a still higher degree this applies to the construction of the phonological system. About the phonology of Ishk I do not venture to make any assertions

Consonants.

ì	

		Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glotta
Plosive .		 p, b	t, d	t, d		k, g	q	
Affricate			c		è, j			[
Fricative .		$\int f, v$	(x, γ		h
Sibilant		Ì	s, z	š, ž	δ, [ż] ¹			
Nasal .		m	n	ņ		(3) 2		{
Lateral		1	l	ı				
Rolled			r		1			ŧ
Semivowels		lv			y			

The consonant system of SgI appears to be based upon the following correlations \cdot

¹ ž is probably a variant of j, v below

 $^{^{2}}$ η is a variant of *n* appearing before velars, and not a separate phoneme. When appearing alone it is probably a variant of ηg .

1. Voiced $b, d, \dot{q}, g, \dot{j}, v, \dot{j}, z, \dot{z}, \dot{z}) \dot{z}$ $p, t, t, k, \check{c}, f, x, s, \check{s}, \check{s}$ Surd ·

The surd sounds c, q and possibly \tilde{s} have no voiced counterparts

- p, b, k, g2 Plosive: Fricative f, v, x, γ .
- 3. Plosive: t, d, t, dSibilant s, z, š, ž
- 4 Oral. b, d, d, g
- Nasal. m, n, n, (n)
- 5) Plosive: d, d, or, perhaps, Nasal: n, n.Lateral l, l. Lateral.
- 6 Labial p, b, mf, v
 - t, d, nDental 8,.2 š, ž Retroflex: t, d, n
 - Palatal E, j

13

Velar k, g, (n) x, γ

12 The uvular q, the glottal h, and besides r and w, y are disjunct phonemes.

Of the above sounds q, h, d, b, g (except in sandhi for k) and possibly \check{c} are found only in loan-words

Aspiration of surd stops, especially of p, is heard, possibly more markedly in Ishk. than in Sgl

While n is a variant of n, the cerebral n must be considered as a separate phoneme, when it occurs unconditioned by a following t or d

Labrals f and v are labio-dentals 2 Sk does not always distinguish between v and w

Dentals: In Sgl postvocalic d is usually sounded as a δ p 1 frequently pronounced $d\delta$, while p 2's δ approached, and often was mistaken for, l (e.g. in $\tilde{s}il\tilde{o}k = \tilde{s}i\delta\tilde{o}k$ 'become', $kolos = ko\delta os$ '11', $Iskit\bar{u}\delta = {}^{o}\bar{u}l$) Also Sk. gives δ in a few words. Note $\delta > \vartheta$ in p 2 $d\bar{a}n$ - $p\partial \theta f$.

¹ Cf. below regarding v.

² Bilabial φ was, however, noted in c²φūr '4'

t and d are nearly, and δ quite inter-dental r is alveolar, and in some cases it is pronounced even further back. In a few words Sk writes rd for rd, cf. the similar tendency in Psht, Bal. and other Ir. dialects of the East. Postvocalic n is sometimes retracted towards the position of n

Palatals It is possible that j and z are distinguished in initial position, j being used in some loan-words in preference to z. But in postvocalic position z is used always, or nearly always.

From the phonetic point of view initial y is a fricative, not a semi-vowel But it forms a pair with w

Cerebrals: t and \dot{q} are really post-alveolars. In genuine Sgl. words t easily becomes t. § and ž are usually readily distinguishable from § and \dot{z} in Sgl, but perhaps not in Ishk. Note Sgl is $\dot{z} > \gamma$.

l is not always clearly distinguished from l It has no flap, and is articulated with the tongue in a more advanced position than Psht r Regarding the situation in Ishk., cf § 4

Uvulars: It is doubtful whether q is always distinguished from k in ordinary, careless pronunciation, and whether it is felt to be a foreign sound But I always heard $q\bar{\imath}v$. 'to call'. Sk and Gr give q in several Ishk words.

14 There seems to be no gemination of consonants in Sgl But Sk has noted geminates in several Ishk. past stems and also e.g in albatt, yalla, kull, etc

Final consonants are articulated weakly and sometimes disappear Thus, e.g. $t\bar{a}(t)$ $b\bar{e}$ 'to the father', $Iziv\bar{u}(k)$ $b\bar{e}$ 'to Zebak', $x\bar{a}(n)$ 'house', $nilost\bar{o}(k)$ 'is sitting', $m\bar{\sigma}'mi\bar{s}$ $x\bar{a}$ ' $r\bar{o}$ -tana = ma ' $mi\bar{e}$ $x\bar{a}n$ ro $tan-\bar{a}n$ 'there are three persons in our house', $ko^e = ku\bar{o}$ 'did', etc. Note also the sandhi in $aw\bar{a}$ $\delta u\bar{o} = aw\bar{a}$ $d\bar{u}\bar{o}$, etc

¹ Cf § 7

Groups of Consonants.

15. Through borrowing from Prs, recent elision of vowels, composition, suffigation and analogical formation of past stems in t nearly every kind of consonant group have found their way into Sgl

Those appearing only in compounds (e.g. af-mahā, am-dak, dān-pə ∂f , $\gamma \delta$ b-naduk, γ am-gīn, γuw ān-mardī, tōk-sarī, uv-l-vōš, $x\delta$ n-bərs, etc.) are not on a line with groups occurring in uncompounded words Also before recent suffixes we find unusual combinations (e.g. ifč)

Through elision there arise—especially in Skold's material—groups such as $\partial \tilde{s} c a k$, $\tilde{c} p \tilde{o} \tilde{s} t$, $\tilde{f} n \tilde{u} b$, $p \tilde{s} a d$, $p \tilde{c} k$, $p \tilde{s} a m \tilde{a} n \tilde{t}$, etc. Cf. also $f s \partial k$. f u s c k, $p \tilde{s} u r$ $p \partial \tilde{s} u r$, etc. Such combinations are probably not true, 'phonological' groups. More doubtful is the case of k r, p r, etc., e.g. in Sk. k r u s t: Sgl k o r o s t—In secondary preterites the combination of any consonant with t or d seems to be possible. Thus, e.g. k r m d, k u r t, $k \tilde{c} u r d t d s e c c$.

In words of Sgl. origin the more important groups of consonants are dk ($n \ni m \in \delta k$), df ($p \ni \delta f$, etc.), dm ($x \ni d/\delta m$), vd/δ (passim), vz ($\bar{v}vz\bar{u}v$), vr- ($v \ni r$ -), xs, $x \nmid s$, $y \nmid s$)m, $y \nmid s$)m, $y \nmid d/\delta$, $f \nmid s$, $f \ni r$, st, sk, sp, $\dot{s}t$, $\dot{s}k$, $\dot{s}p$, zd, $z \mid s$), zd, $z \mid s$, zd,
In initial position we find $b(\mathfrak{d})r$ -, $d(\mathfrak{d})r$ -, $f(\mathfrak{d})r$ -, $[\mathfrak{H}-]$, $t(\mathfrak{d})r$ -, $\iota(\mathfrak{d})r$ -, $\iota(\mathfrak$

Vowels.

16. As far as I have been able to make out, Sgl. possesses the following vowel phonemes \tilde{d} , \tilde{e} , \tilde{i} , \tilde{u} , \tilde{o} and, possibly, \mathfrak{I} .

 \check{a} is usually palatal [a].

e is most frequently a comparatively low [e], but e tends to be raised into [e] and is sometimes diphtongized into [ee].²

i is usually open [i] and may even approach the position of [i], [i] or [i].

¹ V. Voc. s vv

² Cf § 7.

Similarly u [v] frequently merges into the neutral vowel [θ], or even into [θ].

It is impossible without further investigations to determine, in all cases, the phonological value of $[\vartheta]$, $[\vartheta]$, $[\upsilon]$, etc. These sounds vary with the speaker, and there appears to be some vacillation even in the speech of a single individual. Cf e.g. Sgl p 1 yir 'stone', $\check{s}\vartheta t$ 'dust', $m\upsilon t$ 'fist', $y\varepsilon x$ 'ice', p 2 yir, $\check{s}\imath t$, $m\vartheta t$, $y\vartheta x$, p 3 $y\vartheta r$, $\check{s}\imath t$, $m\imath t$, $y\imath x$, is $y\imath r$, $\check{s}\imath t$, $m\imath t$, $y\imath x$. Some of these variations may be due to the influence of surrounding consonants, others are perhaps merely the result of inexact notation.

An overshort svarabhaktı or prothetic vowel appears e.g. in $b(\hat{r})v\bar{u}t$ *stən, etc

Sgl \check{o} is usually articulated near the cardinal point, or a little lower. It shows, however, a tendency to move slightly forward towards the mixed vowels [2]

Diphthongs are ou [\mathfrak{su} , \mathfrak{su} , \mathfrak{su} , \mathfrak{su}], or and $\mathfrak{a}i$. They are, however, probably to be considered as combinations of two sounds $\mathfrak{a} + \mathfrak{y}$, etc

17. Although there can scarcely be any doubt that vowel length is of phonological significance, secondary lengthening of stressed short vowels and abbreviation of unstressed long ones appear to be quite frequent. The problems raised by these apparently conflicting facts are not peculiar to Sgl and will need a special study, which takes into consideration the conditions in a great number of modern Ir dialects ¹

¹ Cf Y-M § 35

HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Consonants.

Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

18. Initial k-, t-, p- remain unchanged. Thus, eg · kaðī 'when', kīf k-, t-, p- 'hump', kas- 'to see', tu 'thou'; tovōr 'axe', t'ēym 'seed', pōī 'sour milk', pū- 'to become rotten', pac- 'to cook', pəðf 'meat', etc, etc, v. Voc s v

Acc to Grierson, § 21,1 an initial surd is sometimes changed into a fricative Of the two examples given xafuk 'foam' has x in all neighbouring dialects, while fei 'shovel' has original f-, of $f\bar{u}k$ 'shoulder-blade'.2 Ishk. sav/w 'to burn' (Sgl $t \ni v$ -) is probably derived from a form in ϑ -, of Wkh $\vartheta \bar{a}w$ - and v. § 37

de 'a particle denoting existence' and dunda 'so much' probably have d < t in unstressed position Cf. Psht de encl pron. 2 sg < tau, etc

19. Ancient è regularly becomes c, just as in Y—M and Wkh Thus èce 'what', cəmənd 'how many', ca'môk 'winking'; carx 'spinning wheel' (but čarx borr from, or influenced by Prs). The majority of words in ě- are lw s. Thus, e.g. čɛl 'forty', èišmē 'a spring', èət 'small', čūl 'penis', čuwēl 'apricot' (Gr. cwēnd), čudan 'cookingpot', čōl Z 'multicoloured' is prob borrowed from Shgh. ċūž (Sar. čiēl) with č- regularly from k-, cf. M kaš, Yazgh. k'āw. čūt 'shegoat' may be somehow connected with Werchikwar čūt, and also

¹ Cf also Geiger, p 299

² V. Wkh

čumol 'basket' appears to be a migratory word The origin of čov 'httle' and čos 'fart' is unknown.

As there is no other certain instance of \check{c} in any other genuine Sgl. word than $\check{c}\bar{a}m$ 'eye' (poss with \check{c} from Prs.) it seems probable that also $\check{c}en$ - $\check{c}i\delta$ 'to pick' is a Prs. lw. Reg $\check{c}i\check{s}$ 'urine' v. Voc. s.v.

Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates

20 In the -ka- suffix, -k- is retained unchanged. Thus, e.g. ostok -k- 'bone', ust'ruk 'star', wok 'one', durk 'wood', and reduplicated in worokok 'lamb', ākik 'egg'. I heard g in kīrūg 'plough', and once in yorōg 'neck'. These are probably sandhi forms. Also wulākī 'first' and wulyēka 'alone' contain the ka- suffix.

Other instances of intervocalic -k- in genuine words are not available. $ko\delta os$ 'eleven' < *auvakadasa has lost its initial syllables irregularly in unstressed position. In $(o)k\delta \iota \delta$ 'boot' it is very doubtful whether the initial vowel is ancient. $v\delta k\delta \iota l\bar{u}n$ 'the day before yesterday', $l\bar{a}k\bar{\imath}n$ 'belt', and $\check{c}uk\bar{a}n$ 'a kind of dye' are of unknown origin, and $pa'k\bar{o}l$ 'cap', $bak\bar{o}l$, $bak\bar{e}nd\imath$ 'calf', and $\check{c}uk$ - 'to beat' are lw.s

On the whole it seems probable that the retention of -k- 1s phonetic ally regular, cf. the parallel development in Orm. 1 and Y—M 3 šayor 'hedgehog' is certainly a lw., and in $moy\delta ok~(moko\delta ok)$ 'frog' and $n \ni m \bar{e} \gamma \delta~(n \ni m \bar{e} \delta k)$ 'salt' γ is due to assimilation with δ .

21. Intervocalic -t- regularly results in Sgl -δ-, thus coalescing with -toriginal -d-. Examples of -t- are · ογοδ 'came', aδ(a), iδ 'that', diδ
'smoke', dūδ 'gave', kuδum 'which', kuδ 'dog', kiskūδ 'roof'; kōvīδ
'pigeon', numōδ 'felt', pīδ 'drank'; 'spēð 'white'; šīδ 'went'; xuδān i
'watermill'; zəmūδ 'son-in-law', zənūδ 'washed', ἐδδ 'killed', etc
In sað '100'; aštūδ '80', amēδ 'hope', māðar 'mother', etc, δ has
been substituted for Prs. d. Čatråδ 'Chitral' has probably been
borrowed from a form in -δ.³

¹ HFL, I, p 330

 $^{^{2}}$ With -t-, -p- > -y-, -v-, but k- > -g- $\,$ Cf. Y—M §§ 45 sqq

³ V. Voc s v

22

In Ishk we in most cases find d corresponding to Sgl. δ Thus $\bar{\delta}\gamma ad$, $d\bar{\delta}d$ $(d\bar{u}d)^1$ 'smoke'; $d\bar{u}d$ 'gave', kudum, k'ud, $k\bar{\delta}sk\bar{u}d$, $kov\bar{u}d$; $v\bar{\sigma}r\bar{u}d$ Zar; $x\bar{\sigma}d\bar{\sigma}r_1$, $zen\bar{u}d$, $\bar{z}ad$. Cf. also $w\bar{e}d$ 'willow', $d\bar{e}d$ 'fight', etc Ishk. d does not represent a stage of development intermediate between t and Sgl. δ, but is due to the influence of Prs, which is much stronger in Ishk and Zeb than in Sgl.² Regarding the possible Prs influence on initial d-, cf. § 29

Apart from the intrinsic probability of this explanation we also have evidence of the previous existence of δ in Ishk. Thus Wkh $kowi\delta$ 'pigeon' must have been borrowed from Ishk and not from the more remote Sgl., $kri\check{c}$ Gr 'hut' is derived from $*k(a)\delta i\dot{c} =$ Wkh $kti\check{c}$ Gf also $porni\check{c}$ 'threshold' $< *pa\delta(a)ni\check{c}$ (Orosh. $pa\delta in$ $< *pa\delta ani\cdot$) and $pr\check{e}\check{s}t$ Gr 'wrist' $< *p(a)r\delta\check{e}\check{s}t$ (Sar. $par\delta ust$). Also Ishk. $x\bar{o}dm$ 'dream': Sgl $x\bar{o}\delta m$ proves a secondary change of δ to d

In Sgl $p \partial \delta it$ 'kindled', $wu\delta it$ (-d Zar) 'span' the sequence * δ - δ - has been dissimilated into δ --d (-t) * But notice $p\bar{a}rd\bar{u}\delta$ 'sold' ($p\bar{a}i\delta\bar{e}$), which has been influenced by the uncompounded form $d\bar{u}\delta$ and other preterites $d\bar{u}\delta$ 'gave' shows that the initial voiced stop is at any rate older than the dissimilation δ - δ > δ -d. In Sgl. $wu\delta \partial \gamma \delta$ 'daughter' (Ishk wudugd) the intervening γ has prevented the dissimilation.

23. A further reduction of $\cdot \delta$ - has taken place in the unstressed suffix pres 3 sg $\cdot \bar{u}$, $\cdot \bar{o}$ in $ko = ku\delta$ 'did', and in $\hat{s}\bar{\iota}\bar{a}n < \hat{s}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{a}n$ 'they became', $\hat{s}u\bar{o} = \hat{s}u\delta\delta k$ (and $\hat{s}\iota\bar{l}\delta k = \hat{s}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{o}k$). Cf also $t\partial \cdot v\bar{o} = t\partial \cdot \partial/d\bar{o}$ 'thou art' In Ishk. the reduction takes place even in some stressed words, e.g. in $v\partial r\bar{u}$, wru (and $v\partial r\bar{u}d$) 'brother', $x^{\hat{u}}(d)\bar{o}r\bar{\iota}$ Sk. 'watermill', ef $p\bar{u}$ 'foot' $< p\bar{d}da \cdot \delta$

¹ Gr $d\bar{t}t$, with unvoicing of final d, not with retention of original t (Grierson § 22) Cf also $p^{o}\delta\bar{t}t$ 'kindled', $wu\delta\bar{t}t/d$ 'span'.

² Cf § 4

⁸ Prs kurīč, kurīz, etc 'hut, protecting roof' might perhaps be a dialect form related to the Ishk word. Cf Prs lex yōl 'ear', which is an Ishk, form

⁴ Cf Y-M, §§ 52, 136

⁵ Once I heard 18yūδ 'may he come'

⁶ Cf. § 14

In iēčik Gr 'entrails' of has been elided before -čik

As is the case in other Ir dialects the prefix pati has been reduced to $p\bar{r}$, etc., e.g. in $p\bar{r}$ nec-, pumec- 'to dress', $p\bar{r}$ o \bar{t} n- 'to light a fire', $p\bar{r}$ z \bar{t} n- 'to recognize', pa 'with, on'. Cf $pot\bar{u}n$ 'thigh' < *pa- $t\bar{t}$ n, or *pat- $t\bar{t}$ n < pat $t\bar{t}$ ana-.

Reg p 3 $\delta > l$ v § 13.

The preservation common to most Ir dialects, of t in wīšt 'twenty' is due to early syncope. Cf also yōtuk, yetik 'bridge' '< *ētk, or 'ēdk < *hatuka-, and v Voc s vv wōtuk 'feast', pātik 'eyelashes'.— wēţduk 'high' is derived from *brzataka-.

atiy- atiyd Zar 'to enter' (SgI axtob, with metathesis) may have got its t from a form corresponding to Sogd. tys- tyt. $\bar{\imath}t$ 'arrived' $\bar{\imath}t$ ' ($\bar{\imath}t$ ') goes back to a secondary past stem " $\bar{\imath}t$ -t, cf Or yat(t) (from yab-) and the numerous Wkh preterites in -tt

Regarding $z\bar{o}t$ 'son' and 'wuter' ashes, cf § 37 Final -t is found in lws, corresponding to Prs. -d/-t

25. Ancient -p- shares the fate of -t- and results in a voiced fricative As -v- is a sound which is not foreign to Prs, it remains also in Ishk. Thus, e.g. kōvīð 'pigeon', təv- 'to burn', tovōr 'axe', vərvēs, etc 'fox', vīn 'beard' (< *upāna-), vēk 'water', va a particle denoting the acc (< upa), rīv (-lav) 'lip', yuv-, yev- 'to spin'. Cf. also ōvzuu 'heart' (v Voc.) and Izīvūk 'Zebak' šab Gr 'night' is a lw., but fəršōu may be derived from *fra xšapā-, with secondary change of -ōv > -ou. The etymologies of šōvōk 'weeding', šoval, šāual 'road', šāvī 'shirt', and nīv- 'to bring' are unknown

kapāl Gr 'skull' is a lw. But api- 'to be lost', apams- 'to lose', apaxs- 'to hear', apčūn 'winnowing fork' suggest the possibility of pretonic -p remaining unweakened (cf. aliy-, § 24), an unstressed vowel having less assimilation force than a stressed one

26. The regular outcome of -è- is -c- as in Wkh.3 The affricate -è-

·γ)-

¹ Yaghn Itk

² Cf. \$ 25

But note Sk ptz- 'to boil'.

evidently had greater power of resistance than t and p^1 Examples are: pac- 'to cook', $wurc\bar{u}n$ 'smoke hole', $c\bar{\sigma}$ 'from', $2 k\bar{\sigma}c\bar{\iota}$ 'anybody', $p\bar{\sigma}nec$ -, pumec- 'to dress'. The ancient suffix - $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$ appears in $vr\bar{\iota}c$ 'eyebrow', $\bar{s}\bar{\sigma}c$ 'female', $n\bar{\iota}c$ 'nose', $w\bar{\sigma}rc$ 'quail', $w\bar{\sigma}n\bar{\iota}c$ 'female calf', $\bar{z}\bar{\iota}c$ 'coal', $f\bar{\sigma}c$ 'mouth' (?). Cf also $d\bar{e}c(\bar{u}k)$ 'skin-bag'· Wkh $d\bar{d}ck$, $m\bar{u}rc\bar{\iota}k$ 'ant': Orm $marc\bar{\iota}v$, etc., $v\bar{\sigma}c\bar{\tau}r\bar{\iota}n$ 'three days ago' (?) < * $upac\bar{\iota}a\bar{\sigma}r\bar{u}mac^2$. vuc- Zar 'to find room', vuc Gr 'uncle' and koc- 'to copulate' are of unknown origin.

A differentiation has taken place in "stən 'needle' ($<*\dot{s}(u)\dot{\epsilon}$ ən) and in Ishk stok 'girl', Sgl əscāk ($<*\dot{s}$ icak $<*strī\dot{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}+ak\bar{a}$).

A suffix - \check{c} , which occurs in $if\check{c}$ 'spindle', $kri\check{c}$ 'hut', $p \ni rni\check{c}$ 'threshold', $wu\check{c}$ Gr. 'moth', $wal\check{c}$ 'rafter', $yar\check{c}$ 'avalanche'; $y\check{e}\check{c}a$ 'nest', and, with sonorization, in $xin\check{j}$ 'whey', $j\bar{a}n\check{j}$ 'woman' and possibly in $\check{z}\check{a}n\check{z}\ni k$, etc. 'entrails'. It might, of course, be borrowed from some unknown dialect, but a more probable derivation is from the genitive *- $\check{c}y\bar{a}h$, cf. Konow, Saka Studies, p. 25 Cf. also $mi\check{c}$, $m\bar{c}\check{c}$ 'us', § 111

Gauthiot, MSL, 20, p 70, derives $k \partial r \tilde{c} \bar{i} n$ ($kur \tilde{c} u n$) 'fowl' $< {}^{\dagger} kar k' \tilde{i} n$. More probably it contains a suffix $-\tilde{c} u n$ ($< {}^{\ast} - \tilde{c} y \bar{a} n \alpha - {}^{\wp}$) cf. $p \partial c u n$ 'bullet'. Note Sgl. $p e \tilde{c} u k$, but Ishk $p u \tilde{c} u k$ 'worm'

Initial Voiced Stops and Affricates.

- 27. Ir. g- is represented by Sgl—Ishk. γ. Thus, e g γōl 'ear'; γōndom g- 'wheat', γenōk 'hair'; γōrm 'hot', etc.—γərðāv, go 'whirlpool' and γort- 'to wander about' are of Prs. origin, but have been adapted to Sgl. phonology Reg uyūι 'cow', ef § 92. Before t ancient g- has become y- in yır, yər 'stone', yiw- 'to spin' (Y γō(w)-), yıvðōk 'thread'. yōz 'firewood' is probably borrowed from Wkh γūz, with substitution of y- for the foreign sound γ.
- 28. Also Ir. b- results in a voiced fricative. Thus, e.g. 120 'was', b-vānd- 'to bind', vār 'burden', voš 'rope', 122 'goat', etc

¹ Cf Parachi -č-, IIFL, p 34.

³ But Sk čpošť behind.

Most words beginning with b- are borrowed, from Prs. or from IA, but some are of unknown origin

Sgl—Ishk. has no initial δ^1 It is possible that this sound has dnever existed in the language, but it seems more probable that Sgl—Ishk. at one time had δ - in accordance with other E.Ir languages, and that the voiced stop has been substituted for the fricative through Prs. influence. Cf Voc s.v $\dot{s}\bar{o}\delta x$ 'goat's hair' <* $\delta\bar{o}\dot{s}x$ (?).

Examples of d- are e.g. $d\bar{o}u$ 'two'; $d\bar{u}nd$ 'tooth'; $d\bar{v}r$ 'far', $d\bar{u}r$ 'sickle', etc., etc. Sgl. $wud\partial \gamma \delta$ 'daughter' either goes back to 'huduydā, or to a form with early prothetic vowel.²

 $l\bar{e}w$ Sk. 'idiot', Gr. 'night-mare', leu, $l\bar{e}v$ Gr. 'stupid' are of Mj. origin. Reg $t\bar{e}u$ 'brother-in-law' v. Voc s v.

30 Ancient j. results in ż., j. Thus: žan., jan. 'to kill', žōnj, jōnj j. 'woman'; * żəšt 'big' (if = Skr. jyestha.) jnh. 'to flee' is probably a Prs lw.—ža 'before', žūōk 'male markhor' (ž.?), žūnžək 'entrails', žwondok 'hungry' are of unknown or uncertain origin.

The variant j for \dot{z} is probably due to Prs. influence. Ancient \dot{j} became \dot{z} too early to be dentalized into j. Gr. gives j in a few words, chiefly lws, corresponding to Zeb, Sgl \check{j} Thus, eg $j\hat{a}$ 'place', $jub\bar{a}r$ 'canal'.

Intervocalic Voiced Stops and Affricates.

31 Ancient -γ- (-g-) is retained Thus ογοδ 'came', ⁵ yəγ, fəryaγ 'yoke', g-zūγ 'raven', and, possibly, Pōroγ 'n. of a village', Parōγ 'Kafir'.

Palatalization takes place after *ai in $m\bar{o}i$ 'cloud' and after r (in secondary contact) in $f\bar{o}ry\bar{o}m$ 'kid' In $f\bar{o}r\gamma\bar{o}rt$ - 'to wander about' the association with $\gamma\bar{o}rt$ - has apparently prevented this development.

29

¹ Zar's $\delta \bar{e}c = d\bar{e}c(\bar{a}k)$ 'goatskın' is scarcely correct

² Cf § 92

⁸ Cf wužinjak 'woman' with *hu, or prothetic vowel

⁴ But Psht. j > j, j- $> -\tilde{z}$ - (- \tilde{c} - > j-).

⁵ But Sgl ὄγὄδ, Ishk ågad 'brought' (½īm-)

 $ar\partial k$ 'eructation' is borrowed from Prs $\bar{a}r\bar{o}q = \bar{a}r\bar{o}\gamma$.

32 We find Sgl -δ- in mēδ 'waist', mōδ 'here', wōδ 'there', nīδ- 'to -d-sit down', pūδ 'foot', käδι 'when', koδος (kolos) 'eleven', nuδīd 'span', zīδ- 'to flow', pɔδīn- 'to kindle', īδ- 'to arrive' (Orosh. yaδ-), par-δē- 'to sell'

Ishk. has -d- in $m\bar{e}d$, etc. Note $p\bar{u}$, but Zeb, Zar. $p\bar{u}d$ As to ma 'in', see § 107 a. xair 'perspiration', given by Gr, is not supported by other sources

 $n\dot{s}t\bar{i}n$ 'hay-stack' is derived from * $w\bar{u}\dot{s}$ - $d\bar{a}n < {}^{\dagger}vv\bar{a}stra$ - $d\bar{a}na$ -, and votuk 'feast' possibly $< {}^{\dagger}waduka$ -.

As to the special treatment of - δ - in $p \partial r n \tilde{i} \tilde{c}$ 'threshold', $p r \tilde{e} \tilde{s} t$ 'wrist', cf § 22

33 Ancient -b- occurs as -v- in pov- 'to drink', nav- 'to rain', xav- -b- 'to descend', possibly also in $n\bar{u}v$ 'rhubarb', $\gamma\bar{o}v$ 'cornbin' Reg $\bar{u}w\bar{i}r$ -, $av\bar{i}r$ - 'to find', v Voc s v.

The obl pl in -of is derived through *-ov from *-abis.

We find $\check{z} < \check{y}$ in $\check{z}wondok$ 'hungry', if $< \check{a}\check{y}iwantaka$ -

34 The derivation of $i\bar{z}im$ 'to bring (a thing)' is not certain, -j-but it is probable that the word contains ancient $j - \gamma \bar{e}\dot{z}$ 'to say', $pi\bar{z}in$ 'clay-pot for milk', rizuk 'male kid', $wu\bar{z}i(r)\dot{z}ir$ 'partridge' are of more or less uncertain origin $-b^{2}i$ $e\ddot{z}$ 'birch' is borr from IA

Cerebrals.

35 In words of Ir origin we find, at any rate with some speakers of Sgl—Ishk, cerebrals developed from $-\dot{s}$ -, $-\dot{s}t$ -, -rt/d and $-rn^{-1}$ As to rd for rd v § 13

Sgl čət 'small', kut 'short', mānḍ- 'to rub', bakendī 'calf', nat 'play', kundār 'destroyed' are probably IA lws In hət 'open' (cf hate 'loosened'), bētāk 'sheep-skin coat', šōt-1-pəðf 'calf of the leg'; xamənḍak 'tick'; patək (Sk patuk) 'lentils' the origin of the cerebrals is unknown to me.

¹ Cf §§ 41, 64, 70 and 73

Surd Fricatives.

Ancient x- occurs in $x\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh', $x\bar{o}r$ 'ass', $x\bar{a}z$ - 'to rise', x-xav- 'to descend', $x\bar{u}r$ - 'to scratch'. $x\bar{o}f$ 'scum, foam', and $xa\bar{s}$ 'to pull' have x- instead of k- also in other Pamir dialects.

Intervocalic -x- remains Thus amax 'we', tomux 'you', pex -x'span', wex 'root'; with an ancient suffix -xa also: alax 'hill',
wolox 'rib', sorox 'ear of corn'; soox 'goat's hair'. Other words
with -x- are box, bok 'vomiting', mex 'table' (?); sox 'hard, locked',
yarx 'animal's droppings', and the lw. malax 'locust'

37. It seems probable that the fricative θ existed in common Sgl.— θ Ishk, and resulted in Sgl t, Ishk s. Thus Sgl. təv., Ishk. sav- 'to burn' (Wkh., Shgh. θāw-), Sgl wuter, Ishk wusīr 'ashes' (Orosh. aθīr, etc.), Sgl. zōt, Ishk. zus 'son' (NW Turf. zhg 'child')

In $y\bar{e}\dot{c}a$ 'nest' (Wkh. $yo\vartheta$, etc.); $p\partial c\bar{c}un$ 'bullet' (Shgh. $p\partial d\vartheta$) ϑ has been elided before a suffix — $m\bar{e}\imath$ 'day' may be derived from ${}^{\dagger}m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ -, and the exact form from which $n\partial m\bar{e}\gamma\delta$, $n\partial me\delta k$ 'salt' is derived, remains uncertain (${}^{\dagger}nama\delta ka$ - †) The relation between $\gamma ud\bar{a}r\gamma a$ Gr. 'dung' and Av. $q\bar{u}\partial a$ - is doubtful

38 Ancient f- before a vowel occurs only in fi 'shovel' and $fi\bar{u}k$ f 'shoulder-blade'. The derivation of $f\bar{o}c$ 'mouth', fusek 'nose', etc. is uncertain

In intervocalic position we find $\bar{i}f$ - 'to weave', $k\bar{i}f$ 'hump'; $r\bar{e}f$ 'broom', 2 xof- 'to cough', $x\bar{o}f$ 'foam', t^3ruf - 'to steal'; puf- (and pb-, $v \leq 130$ g) 'to blow'.— $k\bar{u}^h$ 'mountain' is borrowed from Prs.

Sibilants

39. Ir s remains unchanged m initial position before a vowel, and s between vowels Thus, e.g. sūi 'hare', sōr 'head'; səvd 'shoulder', etc., apanis- 'to lose', is- 'to come', dos 'ten', fərnis- 'to forget', fəras- 'to ask'; kas- 'to see', nas- 'to take', rvs '30', vərvēs 'fox',

¹ Cf. §§ 59, 91

² Cf Yd -- MJ rūfo.

^{20 -} Kulturforskning

vən vəs 'barley', vəsīn 'whetstone', wosōk 'calf', etc.—čos- 'to break wind', dəsīn 'oats', wusūk 'elbow', wasē 'wide'; wūs- 'to take away', wōsı 'cotton thread' are of uncertain derivation

Note the early syncope in wist '20', cf § 24.

- 40 Examples of ancient (Av) š- are ŝ-· ŝīδ- 'to go', and šūrm 'horse- ŝ-dung' ŝ- also appears in a number of words—apart from Prs lw s—most of which are of unknown origin Cf Voc s vv., and v also s.v. xom
- Intervocalic - \dot{s} -, whether derived from IE $\dot{\tau}_s$ or \dot{k}_s , results in l/l, - \dot{s} -the intermediate stage no doubt having been \dot{z} Cf the parallel development in Sar

I always heard l (<- \dot{s} -) in Ishk and Zeb, and the same sound is given by Grierson and Sk¹ The rules determining the distribution of l and $l < -\dot{s}$ - in Sgl and in the 'Ishk' dialect recorded by Zar are far from being clear But at any rate the treatment of ancient *- \dot{s} - differs from that of ancient *- \dot{s} -to two respects

1) In words with ancient rt/d Sk. in several cases gives l 2) In such words Zar. and Sgl always have l³ In Stein's and my own Ishk and Zeb records rt/d and \dot{s} have coalesced into l

It is at present impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that in Sgl. (including Zar.'s Ishk) $l < *\dot{s}$ is liable to change into l, while l < *rt/d usually remains. Possibly the stage *r was long retained in the case of ancient $^*rt/d$ 4

Owing to the above-mentioned vacillation l has also penetrated into some Prs. lws in Sgl. Thus, eg: $kal\bar{\imath}$ 'key', \grave{soyol} 'jackal', gol 'dumb', $\check{c}ang-\check{\imath}-l/ring$ 'hamstring' It is also heard as a variant of final r in $c\hat{\sigma}f\bar{\imath}l$ 'four', $ang\bar{\imath}l$ 'grape', etc

¹ But note Sk vol 'ear' besides vol

² Cf. § 70

^{*} Written r(h) by Mulla Faiz Bakhsh in ghùr 'throat', kirh 'kmfe', var 'trousers' But also ghoiar 'ear', khoàr 'six' (dulmik 'moon', valvàsh 'trouser-band')

⁴ I once noted may 'died'

The presence of l in some of Sk's words with ancient rt/d is curious Either Sk has happened to get hold of a speaker of Ishk, whose pronunciation was more archaic than that of other informants; or his informant came from a village between Ishkashim and Sanglech

Examples of $l/l < .\check{s}$ are 'Sgl. $\gamma \check{o}l$ (Zar. l, Sk. l/l, Ishk. l) 'ear', $xu\bar{a}l$ (Zar, Sk, Ishk l) 'six'; $vr\bar{e}l$ - (Zar, Ishk l) 'to break', $\gamma \bar{o}l\bar{a}k$ 'plough-handle', $\bar{a}luzd$ (Sk, Gr. l) 'to-morrow', $k\bar{o}l$ - (Zar l, Sk. l) 'to kill', $nil\bar{o}st$ (Zar. l, Gr. l) 'sat down' With l in all dialects: $m\bar{e}l$ 'sheep', 'sp $\bar{o}l$ 'louse', $t\bar{u}l$ - 'to shave', wuznel 'daughter-in-law'; $wulm\bar{e}k$ 'moon'. Cf also Zar $c\bar{o}l$ 'multicoloured', l0 numul- 'to shut the eyes', l0 l1 l1 l2 l2 l3 l3 l4 'wet' is derived from * $a\bar{s}u\bar{s}aka$ -, the sonorization of l3 is later than the loss of initial a-

Words of unknown origin containing -l- are, e.g.: wulo 'before', wulākī 'first', wulyēka 'alone', flāvuk 'breakfast'

Internal \check{s} occurs in lws ($ka\check{s}vi\check{s}$ 'armpit', * $k\partial rvi\check{s}ik$ 'lizard', $n\bar{\imath}\check{s}orm$ 'shady side of a valley'), onomatopoetics ($t^{\imath}ri\check{s}$ - 'to sneeze'), and in words with original *(x) $\check{s}y$ ($d\check{e}\check{s}$ - 'to milk').

42 Ir. z remains unchanged Thus, e.g. zəmūδ 'son-in-law'; zūl z 'yellow', zūng 'knee', etc.; and az 'I', araz- 'to fly', pəzīn- 'to understand', vəzōk 'fat', vərāz 'above'; vəz 'goat'; waz- 'to fall', xūz- 'to rise'; yōz 'firewood'

Reg. zöl Zar. 'sleeve' (<*zuša-<* δ uša- $^{\varrho}$), and zenz- 'to seize, lift', v Voc s vv

The etymologies of joz 'mosquito', vəzōk 'branch' are unknown. Reg. Sgl. s, p wənīż-, Sgl is wənıy- 'to walk about', v § 7.

¹ mai Zb, given as a side-form of mēl, is prob a Wkh. word.

² Cf. § 55

³ Lw from Shgh, with $l < \check{z}^{\,g}$

⁴ But Wkh kalbun from Ishk?

⁵ Cf. § 55

Nasals

43 Ir antevocalic m-, n-, and intervocalic -m-, -n- remain unchanged. m, n Examples of m-, n- are mon 'cloud', meδ 'waist', mal 'husband', mst 'fist'; nou 'nine' nic 'nose', niδ- 'to sit down', etc

Examples of -m, -n- are $n\bar{n}m$ 'name', $m\bar{o}\delta$ 'here' (* $\imath mad\check{a}$), $f \ni ry \ni m$ 'kid', $n\bar{a}n$ 'mother', $\imath \bar{\imath}n$ 'beard', ken- 'to do', $p \ni \delta \bar{\imath}n$ - 'to light a fire'; $pot\bar{\imath}n$ 'thigh'; $p \ni z\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to understand'; -en suffix of the obl. sg. In Sgl $p \ni nec$ - 'to dress' (Ishk. pumec-) n is probably due to dissimilation, cf Shgh., etc penij- Final -n is occasionally dropped in $x\bar{\imath}a(n)$ 'house' —Note n in Sgl. $-sp\bar{\imath}on/n$ 'iron', -skonok 'puppy'

As for the verbal suffixes 1 sg -em, -en, 1 pl -un, -um, cf § 132

Liquids

Examples of initial r- are \cdot $r\bar{e}f$ 'broom', $r\bar{e}\gamma^o n$ 'ghee', $r\bar{o}sk$ 'truth', r $r\bar{u}v$ 'rhubarb'; $r\bar{i}v(-lav)$ 'lip'.

Intervocalic -r- occurs in · mur- 'to die'; mūr 'centipede', vūr 'rain', par-dē- 'to sell', sōr 'head', turkī 'darkness', tar 'into', worok 'male lamb', xōr 'ass'

 $\xi^{3}n\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ 'fire' is derived through ***r\$\cdotn\bar{a}\bar{i}\$ from \$r\pi\$\cdots\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{i}\$ (v Voc), with a metathesis of \$\int u\$- similar to that found in \$vurc\bar{u}n\$ 'smoke-hole', $v/v = v \cdot \xi$ ' fox'.

Apart from the cases mentioned §§ 41 and 70, l occurs only in l lw.s, or in words of uncertain origin $v^2l\bar{e}l$ - is dissimilated from $vr\bar{e}l$ - 'to break'. As for $avz\bar{a}l$ 'headstall of a horse', v Voc. s.v

Glottal

45. Initial h- is lost as in most other E Ir. dialects. Thus, e $g \cdot \delta v \delta h$ 'seven'; andərv- 'to sew', ambol 'moraine' (*ham-), and, possibly, $u\gamma \bar{u}i$ 'cow', $wu\delta \gamma \delta$ 'daughter' (*hu-?) In Prs lws h is usually
retained, but a glance at the Voc will show that it is a very

1 Cf. § 92.

unstable sound Cf., e.g. ammåm 'bath', avvån 'animal', amin 'this'. Evidently h- in Sgl—Ishk. is not a real phoneme, but a more or less foreign ornament devoid of any phonological significance ¹ In (h)ot 'eight' h- has been introduced from Prs

No trace of intervocalic -h- remains. Cf, eg ormōzd, rēmuz -h- (anc. lw.?) 'sun'; nīc 'nose' (*nāhačī-), nīd- 'to sit down'; sūt 'hare', vīn 'beard' (*upāhana-, or *upāna-?), wul-mēk 'moon', wēn 'blood', xūy- 'to thresh', yəxōat 'sister', ken-ī 'thou dost', etc Cf also kō 'whom' < kahya

 $j\bar{n}h$ 'to flee', $k\bar{u}^h$ 'mountain', $r\bar{a}^h$ 'road' are Prs lws $k\bar{u}$, $r\bar{a}$, $m\bar{a}$ 'month', $p\bar{a}d\bar{s}\bar{a}$ 'king', etc may have lost their h already in the Prs. dialect from which Sgl. has borrowed these words

Semivowels

46 Initial w- is preserved as a sound closely resembling Engl. w in wa great number of words, e.g. $w\bar{e}d$ 'willow', $w\bar{i}n$ - 'to see'; $w\bar{e}rk$, wurk 'wolf', etc, v Voc.— $\bar{i}f$ - 'to weave' is derived through *(w) $\bar{u}f$ from * $w\bar{a}f$ -, cf Sk, Gr urk 'wolf'

Ancient intervocalic -w- occurs in wa $(\bar{o}, a\bar{u})$ 'that', $w\bar{o}\bar{o}$ 'there', -w-wok 'one', 2 nou, naw 'nine', nowodos 'nineteen', nowok, nōu 'mill-race'; nuwōk 'new'; you 'grain', $t\bar{e}u$ 'husband's brother', $t\bar{e}w$ - 'to stir'. In unstressed position we find $t\bar{o}$ 'thy', etc

Reg. $aw\bar{v}$, avvr 'to bring', v Voc—The derivation of $s\bar{a}w$ Zar 'to chew' is unknown, and $\bar{a}kvk$ 'egg' contains ancient * $\bar{a}wya$ -

47. Ancient y- is retained in you 'grain', $y \ni \gamma$ 'yoke'; $y \bar{u} \delta$ 'husband's y brother's wife' Reg. $y - \langle g - \rangle$, v § 27

Intervocalic -y- remains in present stems, such as $d\ddot{a}y$ - 'to give', $zen\bar{e}y$ - 'to wash', api-, apay- 'to be lost'. It forms a diphthong together with the preceding vowel in $r\bar{o}i$ 'three', $p\bar{o}i$ 'thick milk', cf -ou < -aw-.

¹ Cf Yd.-M₁ § 80.

² But kodos 'eleven' with complete loss of *aiwa-

Prothetic y- and w.

48. Prothetic y- is found not only in yōtuk 'bridge', but also in y-yūn- 'to grind', yūnek 'marten', yəxōaı 'sister', yēča 'nest', and, possibly, in (y)ārè 'avalanche', yarx 'animal's droppings'

Yet it is much less common than prothetic w-, of which numerous w-examples will be found in the Voc.

Prothetic w- appears chiefly before u (or $\partial < u$), e.g. in: $wu\partial \partial \gamma \delta$ 'daughter', $wul\bar{\partial}k$ 'flour', $wur\check{c}\bar{u}n$ 'smoke-hole', $wu\check{z}dan$, $\bar{u}\check{z}d\partial n$ 'millet'; $(w)us\bar{u}k$ 'elbow', etc. But note, on the one hand, Ishk wastuk 'bone' (Sgl. $ost\bar{o}k$), and, on the other, $y\bar{u}n$ -, $y\bar{u}n\varepsilon k$ mentioned above, with prothesis of y- before the change of $*\bar{a}, *\bar{o}$ to u.

The tendency is the same as in Yd—Mj. and Wkh., but it has developed in an independent manner in each dialect. In some of the words mentioned above the initial *u- is of secondary origin (e.g. in wul"ok, $wurc\~un$).

There are several words of uncertain origin beginning with wu-Here w- may, or may not, be prothetic Such words are, e.g. wudst 'dung' (*wi-2), wulo 'before'; wurmēk 'poplar', etc

Groups of Consonants.

First Component an Affricate.

49 If we are to judge from fəris- 'to remain' < *fra-rıčya- and mus čy Gr. 'clothes' < *muċya-(?), the affricate has lost its occlusion before y in cy < ċy In that case mōč, mič 'us' must be derived from *ahmačiya-.

First Component a Voiced Stop

50. We are not able to decide whether $\gamma\delta$, e.g in $\omega\omega\delta\gamma\delta$ 'daughter', gd goes back to gd (γd), or to xt any more than in the case of the corresponding words in Yd.—Mj and Wkh.³

¹ Cf. Grierson, § 19

² Reduced to maš, miš before a consonant.

⁸ Cf Yd.--Mj § 87

No example is available of ancient gr or initial gn, but we find gn-gn-gn- in $r\bar{e}\gamma(u)n$ 'ghee'

Ancient dk appears in $nome\delta k$ 'salt' $< noma\delta ka$, with transposition dk into a more usual group in $nom\bar{e}\gamma\delta/d$, and, with dissimilation of the first of two fricatives, in Sk. $namur/l\gamma\delta k$.

Ancient dr occurs in deray 'to reap', $d\partial rn\bar{a}k$ 'bow-string', dr 'arrow'(?), and, possibly, in $d\partial ram$ 'pine-tree'.

In $c\bar{a}m$ - $m\bar{a}r$ dikig 'pupil of the eye', which is probably an ancient lw., rd goes back to -dr-

52 In $v\bar{v}r$ 'door', $v\bar{v}z\bar{v}k$ 'fat, thick' we find a development of dw- dw corresponding to that of Psht, but differing from that of the surrounding dialects Yd —Mj l^3v -, Wkh b-, Shgh d^4v - The common starting-point, however, must have been $*\delta v$ - 1

 $d \partial v \bar{v} n$ 'to winnow' may have been borrowed from Shgh $d e v \bar{v} n$. It is at any rate difficult to detect any reason for a different treatment of d w in this word $d \bar{o} u$ 'two' is derived from $^* d u v \bar{a} u$, of Y l o h, etc., Or $\delta a u$

The development of -dy- is shown by $m\bar{e}\delta$ 'waist' and $z\bar{i}\delta$ - 'to dy flow' $< *yza\delta ya$ -.

53 Ir. br- results in $v(^{\flat})r$ - in $v(^{\flat})r\tilde{\imath}c$ 'eyebrow', $v(^{\flat})r\tilde{\imath}\delta$ 'brother', $^{\flat}vr\tilde{\imath}l$ - br (and $v^{\flat}l\tilde{\imath}l$ -) 'to break', $v^{\flat}r\tilde{\imath}z$ 'above' <*barz-—Sgl $ar\iota\tilde{\imath}sum$ 'silk' is a lw, cf Ishk. (a) $br\tilde{\imath}sum$.

First Component a Surd Fricative

54. In Sgl. xt and ft develop into $y\delta$, $v\delta$, and do not remain, through preventive differentiation, at the stage -yd, (-id) and -vd found in Yd—Mj., Wkh. and Shgh ⁴ Ishk. yd, vd are not more archaic forms, but are due to the general change of δ into d in this dialect

¹ Regarding woxs, vuxs 'snake' v. Voc

² Sk and Gr Zeb. give the scarcely correct form $w(a)r\bar{u}d$

⁹ Cf. Yd.-Mj, § 90 sq.

⁴ I heard, however, ūvô 'seven', etc., from one Shgh. informant.

56

Examples of ancient xt are: $t\bar{o}yd$ Gr. 'he went', $at\bar{o}yd$ (Sgl., with xt metathesis axtad) 'he entered', δayd 'milked'; panayd 'dressed'; $v\bar{a}yd$ Gr. 'nightmare', zuyd 'took' (zanz-), probably also wudayd 'daughter'.

Ancient $ft > v\delta/d$ occurs in: $\bar{o}v\delta$ 'seven', $s \bar{s}v\delta$ 'shoulder', $okov\delta$ ft 'boot'; $yev\delta$ 'spun'; $and\bar{o}v\delta$ 'sewed', $n\bar{v}v\delta$ 'brought'; xavd 'descended'; $belav\delta$, belavd 'said', $pov\delta$ 'drank'. This last form is of secondary origin, and the same may be the case with some of the other preterites of verbs in v-

Reg. ift 'wove', toδ 'burnt', etc, v § 138, IV.

55 Ancient xs is retained in apaxs- 'to hear' (*apa-uxs-), with the xs secondary forms apaxs- and apux-. Cf. also Voc s vv. saxs- 'to cross' and woxs 'snake'.

šī δ -, šīn 'to weep' ('Yd xš \bar{i} -) is a fairly certain example of the xš transition of Ir xš-> š-. Cf also suwin Gr. 'cradle', if connected with Av. xšaob-. In internal position we find f ∂r š δu 'night' < *fra-xšap \bar{a} -, and de \bar{s} - 'to milk' < *daux\$ya-(?)

 $xu\bar{a}l$, etc. 'six' goes back to * $xwa\bar{s}a < x\bar{s}wa\bar{s}a$. Possibly also xum 'milk' $< x(\bar{s})waudman < x\bar{s}aodman + x\bar{s}vvpta$

The group $x \check{s} m$ was reduced to $\check{s} m$ at an early date, ${}^*u(x)\check{s} \cdot mahya \cdot ka \cdot x \grave{s} m$, $x \grave{s} n$ resulting in $wulm \bar{e} k$ 'moon' $\check{s} \partial n \bar{a} i$, $r \partial \tilde{s} n \bar{a} i$ 'fire' is an early lw

The only possible, but very doubtful example of Ir. -fs- is mis- fs 'to sleep', if < *ham-(h)ufsa-.

In the group $f\hat{s}$ followed by another consonant f is lost: ${}^{\circ}\hat{s}k\bar{o}\delta f\hat{s}$ 'cattle-shed' $< {}^{*}f\tilde{s}u\text{-}kata$ -, ${}^{\circ}\hat{s}t^{\circ}n\bar{o}k$ 'new-born kid' $< {}^{*}f\tilde{s}tanya\text{-}ka$ -(?), and in $p\bar{e}\hat{s}t\bar{o}n$ 'udder' $< {}^{*}paya\text{-}f\hat{s}tana$ -. But it remains, or is transposed, in Sgl. $\tilde{a}f\tilde{s}u\bar{n}$, Ishk. $\hat{s}^{\circ}f\bar{u}n$, etc 'comb' Yd $\hat{s}f\bar{u}n$.

57 Initial xr- occurs, with svarabhakti vowel, in xərīδ 'bought' xr (pres xərn-, with metathesis), cf also xrēseg n. of a mammal. Intervocalic xr is subject to metathesis. Thus: carx 'spinning wheel'; sərx 'red', narxōk 'nail'

 $^{^1}$ Reg $\it apaxt$ 'learned', Ishk. $\it puməxt$ 'dressed', Zar $\it d\bar{e}st$ 'mılked', etc , cf § 138, V, b

² Cf Saka gganda < *xrnatı, Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71. (Corr note).

Similarly fr- in fri 'good', $f\partial r y\partial r t$ - 'to wander about', $f\partial r v\partial s$ - 'to fr ask', $f\partial r r is$ - 'to forget' etc (v Voc), but warf 'snow'

In fai 'much, very' r appears to have been lost in unstressed position.

Ancient ϑr , however, has been reduced to *hr and further to r ϑr in all positions Thus: $r\bar{o}i$ 'three' l rvs 'thirty', $d\bar{u}r$ 'sickle', $turk\bar{\iota}$ 'darkness', $w\bar{\sigma}$ - $c\bar{\sigma}r\bar{\iota}n/m$ 'three days ago'

In $t\partial r\partial f$ -, $t\partial ruf$ - 'to steal' tr- is due to a secondary development (v. Voc s.v), $t\partial ru\tilde{s}$ - 'to sneeze' is an onomatopoetic, and $tr\tilde{a}s$ - 'to fear' is either transposed from tars-, or of IA origin.

58. Ir x is sonorized before m in $t^i\bar{e}\gamma m$ 'seed', just as is the case in xm, xn the neighbouring dialects But xn apparently resulted in n in $f^3r\bar{r}n$ -d 'remained' < *fra-rixna-.

The only certain example of Ir. fn is $x\bar{o}\delta m$ 'dream', regarding fn which cf. Benveniste, BSL, 30, 75 sq $-m\bar{i}n(d)$ 'slept' ($<*ham\cdot(h)ufn\cdot^2$) Ir may have been influenced by $f^*r\bar{i}nd$ 'tired'

59 Ir. xw (< hw and Indo-Ir *kw) is retained in xwār-'to eat', cf. yəxōai xw 'sister', xuāl 'six'². But w is lost before a rounded vowel xuδārī 'mill', xōδm 'dream', x(w)ōl 'ate', Ishk xōl 'six', xūy- 'to thresh', cf also pux- 'cooked' It is not clear why w should have been dropped in xē 'own' (unstressed?), and xīr Zar. 'sister's son'

Ir. ϑw probably became ϑf , cf the development of $\delta w > *\delta v$ ϑw ϑf is retained in Sgl. is $p \vartheta \vartheta f$, but Sgl p $p \vartheta \vartheta f$, Ishk. putf, pudf 'meat' $< {}^{t}p v \vartheta w$. $*c \vartheta f \bar{o} v$ 'four' was simplified into $c(\vartheta)f \bar{u} r$, and $*\vartheta f a k$ 'thee' was differentiated into $t^{\vartheta} f a k$ in Sgl, but resulted in Ishk. f a k It is, however, also possible to assume that ϑw regularly became f (as in $c \vartheta f \bar{u} r$, f a k), that $t^{\vartheta} f a k$ has got its t- secondarily from t u, and that $p \vartheta \delta f$, etc. goes back to $*p i \delta^u f < *p i t u \vartheta w a$ -

The only possible example of ϑy is $m\bar{\epsilon}i$ 'day' $< *m\bar{a}hy \vartheta y < *m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$.

 $^{^1}$ Mulla Faiz Bakhsh's $trar{a}\imath$ can scarcely be conject

² Cf § 55,

First Component a Sibilant.

60 Initial sk- occurs only in *skonok, *skonuk 'puppy', and in the sk place-name (I)*skrtūl. The tendency towards the development of a short vowel is shared also by the groups st and sp

In pask 'cow-hide' and rosk 'truth' sk goes back to *-st(a)k-

We find Sgl. *stīn, Sk. stīn, Ishk. ustun (lw?) 'post'', but, with a st full vowel, Sgl ust*rūk, *st-, ust-, Sk, Gr. struk 'star', Sgl astar-, Ishk. sutar-, *star- 'to sweep'

Internal st is retained. Thus, e.g. ast 'is', ast-, ust- 'to stand up', ostōk 'bone', āstay- 'to send', dōst 'hand', korost 'skin', nilōst 'sat down', pəstāk 'bark', vōst 'bound', zūst 'flowed, ran', xēste 'bread', etc. In the lw. bilis 'span' the loss of the t may belong to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

wist 'twenty' is derived from *wis't'(i) < *wisati, 1 and prēst Gr. 'wrist' possibly from *pr(δ)as't'(i) < *pari-dastya- It seems doubtful whether pēštən 'udder' is derived, with palatalization, from *payahstanya- (cf Yd pīstan), or from *-fŝtanya-2-ŝutur Gr. 'calf', which Gr. derives from staora-, must be a sandhi form

61. Initial sp- appears with or without a vowel in Sgl 'spēδ 'white', sp Sgl (²)spēl, Ishk s(²)pul 'louse', Sgl spēr, Ishk. (w)uspīr 'plough'; Sgl. spēr- 'to entrust'. In the lw sspērz 'spleen' Sgl, too, has the vowel inserted between s and p in the Modern Prs. manner.

Sgl $sp\bar{s}$, Ishk. $sp\bar{s}$ n, etc 'iron' goes back to $sp\bar{s}$ n, with palatalization of s after the unexplained \bar{s}

The fate of Ir $s\grave{c}$ is uncertain $pas\check{t}$, $pas\check{a}(d)$ 'after(wards)' is prosably borrowed from, or influenced by, Prs. But cf. $\check{c}a-p\bar{o}\hat{s}\hat{t}$ Sk 'backwards, behind' (< *- $p\bar{o}\check{c}t$ *2), Sgl. $pa\check{c}u'wax\check{s}t$ 'last', and $wu\grave{c}$ Zar. 'high', which seem to indicate that in $s\check{c}$ the palatal character of the \check{c} was retained through preventive differentiation, with subsequent loss of the s 3 Just as in Yd.—Mj. and in Shgh. sn is sonorized

¹ Cf Par. yušt

² Cf § 56.

³ Cf. $\dot{c} > c$, § 19.

into zn. zenē- 'to wash', wuznel 'daughter-in-law', possibly also wuznuk Zar. 'inflated goat-skin'.

62. Ir sr and str are assimilated into ξ , just as in the neighbouring sr,str languages. Thus, with *sr āṣik 'tear', ṣōu 'horn', ṣēn 'podex', xaš 'mother-in-law', ṣud Gr. 'heard' With *str ṣɔc 'female' əṣcāk 'girl' (*strī-cī + ākā), voš 'rope', wūš 'straw', uṣtīn 'hay-stack'

Palatalization of sy appears to have taken place in $t \ni \hat{s}$ Sk (= Wkh) sy 'empty'. But note apains- 'to lose', $s \bar{u} y \bar{u} k$ 'spleen' (*syāwaka-??). $s \bar{u} i$ 'black' presents the same difficulties as Wkh $s \bar{u} i$, Khow. lw $s \bar{a}$

63 moγz 'marrow' and asta-maγz¬k' 'upper arm' are probably lw's, or zg influenced by Prs maγz ziō- 'to flow' is derived through *zyīō- < *zγāō- < *zγāōya- with palatalization of γ before i.¹ The preterite zūst has been influenced by the present. The derivation of z²γōlog 'humble bee' is unknown (*uz-gartaka-?).</p>

Ir. zd remains in Sgl. $\bar{o}rm\bar{o}zd$, Ishk $r\bar{e}muz(d)$ 'sun' But note the zd desonorization in $w\bar{o}st$ 'fat', cf. also Wkh. $w\bar{a}st$ — The preterites γuzd and kozd (γuz - 'to run', koc- 'to copulate') are secondary formations — Sk. gives $zd\bar{a}r$ - 'to sweep' apparently with st- > zd- in unknown conditions, just as in Sar.

āluzd 'the day before yesterday' and $p\bar{a}ruzd$ 'yesterday' contain zn a base *azna-, cf. Av azan-, asn- 'day'. And $v\bar{o}zd$ Zar 'pillow' must be derived from * $v\bar{o}zn$ < * $v\bar{o}rzn$ < *barzn- But zn < sn did not share this development, and rz + n in secondary contact is subject to segmentation in $wu\check{z}d\dot{a}n$, etc 'millet' < * $u(r)\dot{z}dn$ - < * $h\bar{a}rzana$ -.

The derivation of $r\bar{e}z$ Gr 'platform for sleeping', and $r\bar{\imath}zuk$ 'male zy kid, one year old' (cf. $r\imath zy\bar{\imath}zk$ 'small') from forms in zy is uncertain.

A characteristic feature of Sgl—Ishk. is the change of $\hat{s}t$ into t, t. $\tilde{s}t$ This development separates Sgl.—Ishk. both from Yd.—Mj and from the Shgh. group ² Both Sgl—Ishk t and Yd—Mj. $\tilde{s}\check{c}$, $\tilde{s}ky$ presuppose an earlier stage ${}^{*}\check{s}t$, with 'cerebral' t.

¹ See § 27

² Shgh. mut 'fist' is a lw. from Ishk

On the other hand Sgl.—Ishk. t, t < št reminds us of Psht. t (< *t), e.g. in at? 'eight'. But it is improbable that there is any direct connection between the developments in Sgl.—Ishk and in Psht. It might be natural to think of IA influence being responsible for the change of št into a cerebral in an Ir. border dialect, but the neighbouring IA language, Khowar, retains st unchanged. An early adoption of lw's containing cerebrals may, however, have facilitated the development in Sgl.—Ishk, as well as in Psht

It is a curious fact that Ishk., which is in most respect less archaic and more influenced by Prs. than Sgl, has retained the t in some words in which Sgl. has changed it further into t. Thus, Ishk ingst 'finger', at 'eight', mut 'fist' sot 'dust', wat 'fell', and Gr Zeb. ket 'killed', but Sgl ingšt, (h)ot; mot; wat, kut '

Other examples of t, $t < \hat{s}t$ are: put 'parched grain', $pot\bar{u}n$ 'thigh', and the preterites $ar\bar{a}t$ 'ran', etc., of § 138, III

Some verbs have secondary preterites in št (cf. 1 c.), and št appears also in lw's, e.g in novišt 'wrote', angišt 'coal', rašt 'dawn', oštor 'camel', and through secondary development of other groups, cf štonok 'new-born kid' (*fštanyaka-); ošton 'needle' (*sučani-), uštīn 'hay-stack' (*vastra-dāna), etc. The origin of yušt 'fur-coat' and wošt 'juniper' is unknown

It is possible that $f = r \gamma \delta t$ 'walked about' is developed regularly $r \delta t$ from $f = r \delta t$ from $f = r \delta t$ from $f = r \delta t$ is an early lw

65. The only example of $\S p$ ($\langle p \S \langle f \S ? \rangle$) is $trr\S p$ Sk. 'sour milk', cf. $\S p$ $tsrr\S p$ ' 'sour', $awr\S p$ 'ploughpole' (Wkh. $wr\S p$, Y awusp) is of unknown origin.

Ir. $\check{s}m$ is assimilated into m as in Shgh., Yd —Mj, etc. Thus. $\dot{s}m$ $c\bar{a}m$ 'eye'; $p\bar{a}m$ 'wool'; $t \ni mux$ 'you'

No genuine word with ancient $\check{s}n$ occurs $p\check{a}\check{s}n\check{\epsilon}$ 'heel' and $\check{s}n\check{a}i$, $\check{s}n$ etc 'fire' are borrowed from Prs.

¹ In lws we find, however, cerebrals also in Sgl

² Cf. under xšn

žd occurs only in $du\dot{z}d$ Gr 'thief' (Sgl $d\partial zd$ from Prs.), and in $\dot{s}d$ the secondary preterites $\gamma \bar{e} \dot{z}d$ 'said' and $p\bar{e}\dot{z}\delta$ 'wrapped up', cf. $w\partial n\bar{z}d$ 'went round'.

First Component a Nasal.

66 Surd stops preceded by a nasal are sonorized, just as in intervocalic position.

We might expect nk to remain, but there is no instance of another nk in a genuine Sgl.—Ishk word. Song 'stone' and angur 'grape' are Prs. lws, and in $z\bar{u}ng$ 'knee' the contact is secondary.

Examples of ancient nt are: $d\bar{a}nd$ (-nt, - n^d , -n) 'tooth', $\gamma \bar{o}nd\bar{o}m$ nt 'wheat', dunda 'so much', $z\bar{u}vondok$ 'hungry' (an ancient pres. ptc?), awand, etc 'they'. $kand\bar{a}k$ 'thorn' may be an IA lw, and $v\bar{o}nd$ 'stick', $w\bar{o}nt$ 'calf of the leg' are of unknown origin

We find nd also in secondary past stems of the type wind/t 'saw', kōnd 'dug', f 'rind 'left behind'. Possibly punuk 'pass' < *pun(t)k < *pantaka-

In the unstressed ending 3 pl -ūn final -d has been dropped Ishk. ambol 'moraine' probably contains ancient mp, v Voc s v mp for Ir. ng is preserved in ingit 'finger', ingitok 'finger-ring' With rog reduction in final position we find bon(g) 'crowing'. The origin of ingē 'now, then' is unknown.

Ir. nd remains. Thus: $v\bar{a}nd$ - 'to bind', $x\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh', $and\bar{a}rv$ - nd 'to sew' Reg. $\check{c}uw\bar{e}n(d)$ 'apricot' and $m\bar{e}nd$ ($m\bar{e}l$) 'apple' cf. § 73 Also soyond 'hair, curl' may have secondary d

Reg. nd v. § 35

nd

Ir. mb remains. Thus. dəmb- 'to card', dəmb 'tail', sumb 'hoof' (lw.?), sumbōk 'hole', namb 'wet' gāzdəmb, gożdum 'scorpion' is a lw. (borrowed twice) Ishk ambi 'cave' is of unknown origin, and sāmb- 'to smear' has no exact parallel in other dialects — The lw. sambaka 'tortoise' (< sangbaqa) has mb also in Tajiki

¹ Cf. § 20.

² Cf. § 116

68. The only certain example of Ir not is ponz, ponz, ponz, etc 'five', not/j ponzodos 'fifteen'. The etymology of zenz- 'seize' is uncertain. — In jonj, etc 'woman' there is secondary contact

In lw s we find nj Thus: borenj 'rice', Injugān 'Lutkuh' Reg Mandežān 'Munjan' cf. BSOS, VI 439

A possible example of $Ir nm is \dot{s}\bar{u}rm 'dung' < *\dot{s}\bar{a}nm < \dot{s}\bar{a}m(a)n$

First Component a Liquid

We might expect k to remain after r, just as it does after a vowel. rk And in fact we find this to be the case in $w \ni rk$ 'wolf', and, with secondary contact, in dw k 'stick', $n\bar{u}_l k$ 'male', $p\bar{o}rk$ 'mouse', park 'ashes'; $tw l\bar{u}$ 'darkness' The etymology of karksang 'handmill' is unknown.

On the other hand k has become voiced and palatalized in arr 'work' $< *ary < *arg' < *ark; koryos 'vulture', <math>xu\delta\bar{a}ri$ 'water-mill', of $kur\check{v}\bar{u}n$ 'fowl' < *kury or $*kurk + *\check{v}\bar{u}n$.

work can scarcely be a lw. But it is possible that k remained after vocalic r, but not after ar. This would presuppose a very early date for the change of ark > arg' On the other hand -rak, -rukwould regularly result in -rk, and $xu\delta\bar{a}rr$ might be borrowed from an early Shgh $*x^wad\bar{a}rg'$ (from which Shgh. $xed\bar{a}rj$). It is very improbable that also koryos and ari are early lw.s from Shgh.

A similar difficulty arises with regard to the development of rg. rg $m \partial r \gamma \partial k$ 'sparrow' goes back to a form in r, cf. $w \partial r k$, but $m \partial r \gamma$ 'meadow' appears to be derived from ' $m a r g \gamma \partial \bar{d}$ '. There is no example of ancient rg resulting in r y / i, but note $f \partial r \gamma \partial m$ 'female kid' $< f a r \gamma i m$ (?) $< f r a \gamma a m \bar{i}$

 $\check{c}ir\gamma azek$ 'spark' is not a genuine Sgl word (v Voc. sv), and $daig\bar{a}v$ 'valley' is also probably a lw

70 In contradistinction to all other Pamir dialects, but in accordance rt with Psht, Par, etc, Sgl.—Ishk has obliterated the difference between

¹ Wkh has \check{sapt} But Burushaski urk may have been borrowed from early Wkh *(w)wk, and not from the more remote Ishk

ancient rt and rd, both groups resulting in l/l. There is evidently some connection between this development and the fact that both -t- and -d- result in Sgl—Ishk δ/d Ir rt and rd coalesced in rd, which changed further into rd, from which ultimately l/l Regarding the distinction between l and l see above § 41.

Examples of Ir it are Sgl, Sk $\gamma \bar{a}l$, etc., MFB $\gamma \bar{a}r$, Ishk, Zeb Gr $\gamma \bar{o}l$, etc 'throat', Sgl $k\bar{\imath}l$, MFB kirh, Ishk, Sk, Gr kil, etc. 'knife'; Sgl kul, ³ Ishk, Sk, Gr. kul, etc. 'did', Sgl, Sk. $m\bar{a}l(\bar{o}k)$, Ishk, Gr. $m\bar{o}luk$ 'husband', Sgl, Zar $m\bar{o}l$, Sk $n\bar{o}ld$, Gr (Zb) mul 'died', Sgl, Zar $uu\delta il$, etc. 'dung' ($<^*d\gamma ti^{-2}$), Sgl Zar. $uu\bar{a}l^4$ 'trousers', Sgl. $u\bar{a}l$ 'roof-beam', 5 Sgl woll, Zeb woll 'kidney', 6 Sgl, Zar $wul\bar{o}k$, etc. Sk.; Gr $wul\bar{a}k$, etc. 'flour', Sgl $w\bar{o}l$, Gr aul, etc., Ishk, Sk $\bar{a}wuld$, etc 'found' $(\bar{a}w\bar{i}r$ -), Sgl., Zar $x(w)\bar{o}l$, etc. Ishk., Sk $x\bar{u}l$ 'ate', Sgl. $z\bar{a}l$ (Wkh lw. $z\bar{o}l$) 'yellow', with secondary rt.

The etymology of Sgl $\dot{c}um\bar{o}l$ 'basket' is unknown, but it corresponds to Shgh.—Orosh forms with ancient rt. Sgl $g\bar{o}l$, Gr $g\bar{u}l$ 'collected', etc, is an ancient lw from Prs, while Sk. dar(d) 'pain' and $juw\bar{a}n$ -mard \bar{i} 'courage' are recent borrowings.

In wore (Wkh. $w\bar{o}lc$) 'quail' < 'wartwi there was an early elision of i, and 'warte resulted in wore Reg. $sp\bar{a}rd$ 'entrusted' ($sp\bar{a}r$ -), kurt 'ploughed' ($k\bar{i}r$ -), etc cf § 138, 1, II a. yort-, and fəryərt- 'to walk about' appear to be very early lw s from Middle Prs gart-

Examples of rd are: Sgl asal 'this year'; persal, Sk persol 'last rd

 $^{^1}$ Prs. rd $\ l;$ Shgh $\ \ {\rm group}\ \ d/g$ $\ r\delta,$ Wkh. rt $\ \imath\delta,$ Yd —Mj $\ \jmath/r$ $\ l,$ but Psht , Par $\ r$ $\ r$

² As -š- and -1 t/d- have not yet coalesced completely in Sgl —Ishk , we are not entitled to assume that rt/d ever passed through the stage *ž. Wkh $k \ni \check{z}$ 'kmfe' may have been borrowed from early Ishk with substitution of \check{z} for r

³ Sgl p also kvl, kvd, pf $kv\bar{o}$, probably because this word was frequently unstressed. Of Yghn. ikta, Chr. Sogd qt-

^{*} Sgl p 1,2 $u\bar{a}l$, probably in order to distinguish this word from $w\bar{a}l$ 'roof-beam' Cf also $w\bar{a}l$ $w\bar{a}s$, etc 'trouser-string'

⁵ But deminutive walč 'rafter', with $l\tilde{c} > l\tilde{c}$?

⁶ Wkh wolk from an early Ishk form?

year', ¹ Sgl wolox 'rib', Sk ålax, Gr alax 'hill' (< 'side, flank'?) A derivation of al- 'to stand', Sk āl- 'to wait' ² from $\partial r \partial \delta w a$ - is improbable — $g \bar{o} l a$ 'bread' may be an ancient lw, cf. Shgh. $g a r \delta a$

71. Ir. rp occurs perhaps in Sgl vərvəs, Sk. urvəs, etc. 'barley', and rp in kərvišik 'lizard', if this is not an early lw.

The only example of rb is warv- 'to boil' < *warb- (Par yarw-, rb etc.), with early metathesis from *barw-

72. There is no certain example of the development of Ir. rs, but rs there is a possibility of $\tilde{so}\delta x$ 'goat's bair' being derived through $\tilde{so}\delta x < \tilde{so}sx$, cf Sar. δors , etc.

Nor do we find ancient r_i in any Sgl.—Ishk. word, except perhaps in $x \tilde{a} \dot{s}$ 'to pul'.

andərz- 'to sew' (v. s v andərv-) is a doubtful form, and in $v \ni r \bar{z}$ 'above', etc ($<*\beta arz$ -) an early metathesis has taken place. Regarding Zar $v \bar{o} z d$ 'pillow' $<*\beta arz n$ - cf § 63. The regular outcome of intervocalic rz appears to have been \dot{z} . Thus, Sgl $v \ni \dot{z} \cdot du k$ (Sgl is $v \ni \gamma d\bar{u} k$) 'long' <*b r z ata ka -, $v u \dot{z} da n$ (Sgl is. $v \circ \gamma da n$) 'millet' $<*\delta \dot{z} n <*h(\bar{u}) r z ana -$, Gr. $v \cdot z \cdot du k$ 'sweet' $<*v \cdot v \cdot du k$ ' $v \cdot v \cdot du k$ 'pāz 'to wander about' is unknown

Ir. rm remains in $\gamma \bar{o} rm$ 'hot'. The etymology of $wurm \bar{e} k$ 'poplar' rm is unknown, and wur- may go back to $r\bar{u}$ -. ²

73 Ir rn developed into *n, from which Slg ~l, Ishk. n, nd. rn Thus: Sgl. mel, etc., Zeb men, Ishk mend 'apple' < *marnyä, ef čuwel, ċuwen(d) 'apricot', of uncertain origin, but probably influenced by mel; Ishk. wanji 'coat' < varənā. In Sgl yūn., yūn., yūl., Ishk yūln., Zar yurn. 'to grind' the development has been troubled through the influence of the preterite Cf also Sgl yūnək 'pine-marten': Y. wūn, etc.—ken- 'to do' had lost its r at a very early date, ef Anc. Pers. kun., etc. It is possible that

¹ But sāl 'year' probably from Prs

Also in Wkh

⁸ Cf. § 88.

⁴ Cf. § 130 g.

 $z\bar{a}n\dot{z}\partial k^{1}$ 'entrails' contains the same word *zarna- which survives in Psht $z\bar{a}na$ - 'catgut'.

In xain 'raven' and xain- 'to buy' rn is of secondary origin, v. s.vv. Grierson (§ 30) considers r to be the regular outcome of rn. But, of the two examples given, waruk 'lamb' shows no trace of n in most Ir. dialects, and dir 'ravine' can not with any certainty be derived from dain

Reg hy (in $x\bar{e}$ 'own' < *hwahya) cf. § 89.

hy

Assimilation

74 A very great number of the sound-changes discussed in the preceding paragraphs are due to assimilation of some kind. Only a short recapitulation of the more important ones will be given here.

The surd stops t and p have been sonorized after a vowel, nasal, or r ² Similarly intervocalic - \check{s} - has passed through the stage *- \check{z} - ³ Also implosive, postvocalic x and f have been sonorized in the groups xt, ft ⁴

Intervocalic *-b-, -d-, resulting from -p-, -t-, have been opened into -v-, -\delta-, thus coalescing with ancient -b-, -d-, which had probably been opened at a very early date. 5

Ir sn was assimilated into zn while $\dot{z}m$ ($<\dot{z}m$) was reduced to simple m owing to the articulatory weakness of \dot{z} . Also \dot{z} (< rt) was assimilated further into l, l

Complete assimilation of groups of consonants has also taken place in the case of $x\check{s}$, rs, rz, sr, str and ϑr . ⁶ Cf also s.vv. $n \ni m \check{e} k$, $p \check{e} \check{c} u k$, $p \check{e} \check{c} i k$, $\check{s} \ni n \check{a} \check{i}$, $w \check{o} rc$. An assimilatory loss of nasality is entailed in the change of $zn > zd^{-7}$

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<sup>1</sup> From \check{z}\bar{a}n + \check{j}\imath k < \check{z}arna\check{c}\bar{\imath} + k\bar{a}?
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² Cf §§ 21, 25, 66, 69 sq.

⁵ Cf § 41

⁴ Cf. § 54

⁵ Cf § 32 sq Note the regression from $\delta > d$ in Ishk.

⁶ Cf §§ 55, 62, 72, 57

⁷ Cf § 63

^{21 -} Kulturforskning

Palatalization of consonants is comparatively rare, but occurs in $\gamma i > yi$ and rk/g > *ry, as well as in sy > s, of also wist < wisati '20' ²

Assimilation at a distance occurs sporadically. Thus, e.g. $v^{\vartheta}r\bar{e}l$ - 'to break', $j\bar{a}nj$ 'woman' $< \bar{z}\bar{a}nj$, $n\vartheta sm$ 'half' $< *n\vartheta sf$, $v\vartheta rv\bar{e}s$, $v\vartheta rv\bar{e}s$ 'fox' $< *v\vartheta rv\bar{e}s$, $s\vartheta u\bar{z}\bar{u}$ Shgh. $s\bar{e}v\bar{z}e$, etc

Dissimilation and Differentiation.

75. Examples of differentiation are: Ishk. štok < əšcāk 'girl'; əstən 'needle' < *sčən; šūrm 'dung' (also Wkh) < *šūnm, šagnam 'dew' has probably been borrowed in this form, cf Mj šaklam.

Dissimilation at a distance occurs in ponec- < pumec- 'to dress', riglav < rīvlav 'lip', wuzinjak < wuzinjak (with assimilation wujinjak) 'woman', lakmax < lambda axamax (?) 'fire-stone', doldor ok 'thunder' < †dordorok (?), Folaxmarīg < Fraxmarīg Cf also polit, wudīt for *polit, etc. **

Metathesis.

Peculiar to Sgl —Ishk is the metathesis of initial $r\tilde{n}$ (< *rau-) to (w)ur-, w r- Cf § 88

In $n \partial m \bar{e} \gamma \delta$ 'salt' $< n \partial m e \delta k$ and $b \bar{u} l \gamma \bar{e}$ 'beans' $< b \bar{u} \gamma l \bar{e}$ easier sequences of consonants have been substituted for heavier ones.

¹ Cf. §§ 27, 69

² §§ 62, 60

³ Cf § 22

^{&#}x27;Cf §§ 51 sqq, 57 But note lw Ishk. čabrū 'fat'.

The remaining cases of metathesis can hardly be classified or arranged according to general principles. The following ones have been noted, sometimes only in one dialect.

axte δ < atayd 'entered'. kiskūd 'roof' < *əsk-ku δ . $v^2r\bar{a}z$ 'hill', 'tall' < *varz- (?) amāsyē 'neighbour' < *(h)amsāye šō δx 'goat's hair' < * δ ōšx (?). zīč < žīc 'coal'

Vowels

Ir. a

- 77. When we try to trace the development of Ir 'a' in Sgl—Ishk we are faced with the same difficulties that we encounter in Yd—Mj. and Wkh, viz our ignorance of the phonetic value of the original Ir sound, the extreme variability and complexity of the changes of 'a', and the impossibility of deciding in all cases which words have been borrowed, and at what date
- 78. The different developments of 'a' may be arranged in the following groups:
 - a) In a great number of words Ir. 'a' is represented by Sgl. \overline{o} , Ishk usually u

Thus, before a group of consonants, modern or ancient, we find o/u in. Sgl $\bar{o}v\delta$ · Gr, Sk., Zar $\bar{u}vd$ (but my Ishk, Zb $\bar{o}vd$) 'seven', Sgl. $ok\bar{o}v\delta$: Sk $k\bar{u}vd$ (but Gr, Zar $k\bar{o}vd$) 'boot', Sgl $d\bar{o}st$: Ishk, Zb. $d\bar{u}st$ 'hand'; Sgl korost· Ishk kurust 'skin', Sgl $\gamma\bar{o}nd\sigma m$. Sk, Gr. Zar $\gamma undum$ (but my Ishk, Zb $\gamma ondum$) 'wheat', Sgl $\bar{o}rmozd$ Ishk. $r\bar{e}muz$ 'sun'; Sgl $mo\gamma d\bar{o}k$ Ishk. mukduk, etc. 'frog', Sgl song Ishk. sung 'stone', Sgl $p\bar{o}nz$ Ishk $p\bar{u}nz$ 'five' Cf also Voc s.vv. $p\bar{o}rk$ 'rat', $v\bar{o}s$ 'rope'; xos 'mother-in-law', and the preterites $f^{2}r\bar{o}t$ 'asked' ($f^{2}r\bar{o}s$ -), $k\bar{o}nd$ 'dug' (kan-), kot 'saw' (kas-); $nul\bar{o}st$ 'sat down' ($n\bar{u}s$ -), $v\bar{o}st$ 'bound' ($v\bar{u}nd$ -); $v\bar{o}st$ 'rose' ($v\bar{u}s$ -).

The same narrowing of the vowel has apparently also taken place in unstressed syllables (e.g. in Sgl kōvīð: Sk, Gr ků/uwid, but Zar. kovīd 'pigeon', Sgl. tovōr: Ishk. tu'wur 'axe'), and in the ancient masculine suffix *-akah (e.g. in Sgl) v²rōk: Ishk Sk wruk 'horse'; Sgl worok Ishk 'uaruk, Sk u'ruk 'lamb'.

But also Sgl *špōn 'iron', fôc 'mouth', šōx 'hard'; xŏr 'donkey', zōt 'son', and the preterite nod 'took' (nas-) have forms in u in Ishk Sgl yorōk 'neck', yōrm 'hot', kodos 'eleven', koryos 'vulture', *škōd 'cattle-shed', wōst 'fat', and xōdm 'dream' have no known equivalents in Ishk.

In several words Gr (Zb) has \bar{a} , corresponding to Sgl. \bar{b} Thus, e.g., $d\bar{a}st$, $fer\bar{a}t$, $ten\bar{a}r$, $w\bar{a}s$, but $x\bar{u}r$ I heard o/u in Zb. $p\bar{o}nz$, $p\bar{o}rk$, $s\bar{u}ng$, sur, tovor, worok, $x\bar{r}$, etc., and it seems doubtful whether Gr. (Zb.) \bar{a} represents the correct Zb sound

- b) Before a single consonant we find Sgl. o, Ishk a, in Sgl. oyod 'came', dos 'ten', möd(ak) 'here', numöd 'felt', võr 'door', xõf 'foam', wõtuk 'feast', wo/asõk 'calf', żod 'killed' Ishk öyad, das; madak, namad (lw?), var, xaf(uk), watik, wasuk, żad Besides Sgl is. f²rôs'to ask' we find ă not only in Ishk, but also in Sgl s p¹ Ishk mayz 'marrow' (Sgl moyz) may easily be a lw from Prs, and in Ishk wastuk 'rib' (Sk wåstuk, Sgl ostōk 'bone') the initial w-may have had a differentiating effect
- c) A number of present stems have \check{a} in all dialects before a single consonant. Thus, e.g. araz- 'to jump', astar- 'to sweep', kan- 'to dig', kas- 'to see'; pac- 'to cook', waz- 'too fall', xaš- 'to pull', xaz- 'to rise', $\grave{z}an$ 'to kill' Known only from Sgl are nas- 'to take', nav- 'to rain', xav- 'to descend'.

I suspect this development to have been caused by the influence of the following a in $-\bar{a}mi$, $*kan\bar{a}mi$ resulting in $kan\bar{n}n$, cf. Shgh $x\bar{a}rum$ 'I eat', but 3 sg. $x\bar{i}rd$, etc, and the -a- (not $-\bar{o}$ -) of Parachi present stems, e.g. astar- 'to rub', bar- 'to carry', xar- 'to eat', etc.

¹ Cf below sub c

² See NTS, 1, p 84

Cf. also warf 'snow' = Par $\gamma arp < *wafr\bar{a}(h)$ ' tar 'into' might be derived from $*tar\bar{a}$, and mak 'me' has original long \bar{a} , while Zar park 'ashes' might go back to a form in $-\bar{a}$, but I am unable to explain the a in $n\bar{a}rk$ 'male' (infl by Prs?) and $narx\bar{o}k$ 'nail'.

- d) In initial position we find a- in ari 'work'; apanis- 'to lose', az 'I', etc 's Note, however, Sgl ostōk 'bone', etc, and, with vowel harmony, angšt 'finger'.
- e) Before certain original groups of consonants, some of which have been simplified, the vowel has been lengthened into Sgl. \bar{a} , Ishk. \hat{a} , \bar{o} .

This development is, I believe, regular before a group of consonants originally followed by \bar{a} . Thus, we find the verbal stems Sgl $v\bar{a}nd$ - 'to bind', $x\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh'; $w\bar{a}rv$ - 'to boil'. Ishk $v\bar{o}nd$ -, $x\bar{o}nd$ -, $w\bar{o}rv$ - \(^5\) Ancient stems in -an, with nominatives in $-\bar{a}$, \(^6\) are: Sgl. $c\bar{a}m$ 'eye', $p\bar{a}m$ 'wool', $d\bar{a}nd$ 'tooth' and $m\bar{a}l$ 'husband' (Av. $mar\partial tan$ -). Ishk $c\bar{d}m$, $p\bar{d}m$, $d\bar{o}nd$, $m\bar{o}l$, etc Sgl. $w\bar{a}l$: Ishk. $w\bar{o}l$ 'trousers' goes back to * $wart\bar{a}$ (Y woro) and also Sgl. $\gamma\bar{a}l$ 'throat', $p\bar{a}sk$ 'hide', and Ishk $v\bar{o}zd$ 'pillow' may be derived from forms in $-\bar{a}$ "

Cf. also Sgl. $as\bar{a}l$ 'this year', $pans\bar{a}l$ 'last year' < *-surd \bar{a} (cf. Par $s\bar{a}r$ 'year') and Sgl. $j\bar{a}nj$ (but also $j\bar{o}nj$). Ishk $z\bar{o}nj$ 'woman' < * $jan\bar{a}+\bar{c}\bar{\iota}$, or influenced by $m\bar{a}l$ The vocalism of Sgl. $z\bar{a}l$: Ishk $z\bar{o}l$ 'yellow', of Sgl. $zu\bar{a}l$. Ishk $z\bar{o}l$ 'six', and of Sgl. Sk., Gr. $\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{\imath}k$ etc.: Zar $o\bar{s}ik$ 'tear' must be due to special conditions which I am not able to detect.

It is not probable that $a\check{s}(i\check{k})$ goes back to a n pl. *asrwā, nor that xuāl represents an Ir form *xšwaššā, with \bar{a} in contradistinction to $ov\delta < haft\check{a}$ and Psht $\check{s}pa\dot{z} < *x\check{s}waša$

¹ Cf Yd -M_J § 178, and see HFL, I, p 23

^{*} Cf Par. tar 'before' < *tarā

^{*} See Voc s vv Cf Y zo 'I' < *azā?

⁴ Cf above sub c

⁵ Cf Par khan-, yarw-, etc.

⁶ Reg. nom in -ā from neutral stems in an cf Psht. lūma 'snare'.

⁷ Cf Par bān(apai) < *barznā.

A few lws with \tilde{a} have been included in this series Thus, e.g. Sgl $x\tilde{a}n$ 'house', $t\tilde{a}t$ 'father', $xu\delta\tilde{a}ri$ (lw.?) 'water-mill'. Ishk $x\tilde{o}n$, $t\tilde{o}t$, $xud\tilde{o}ri$.

The same development is found also in the fem. suffix *-akā, and in Sgl pl *-akāh, eg, in Sgl əscāk: Ishk štok, etc 'girl', wērāk 'female lamb' (m. worok), etc, 'and opodā 'they have come'; mlēstag 'they have sat down', zəmōnak 'boys'; vərūdār 'brothers' 2 Cf. sub c) Cf also Parachi nērōk 'male' šičak 'female', phōr 'grain'. pl. phar 3

- f) Quite irregular developments of 'a' occur in Sgl (h)ot Ishk. δt , δt , at, at 'eight', and in Sgl. $w \delta k$: Ishk $w \delta k$, g) In unstressed syllables a is reduced to ∂ in Sgl $c\partial$ 'from', $c\partial f\bar{u}r$ 'four'; $z\partial m\bar{u}\partial$ 'son-in-law', $v\partial r\partial k$ 'horse'; $p\partial z\bar{u}n$ 'to know'; $n\partial w\partial k$ 'mill-race' etc. Cf also pa, $p\partial$ 'on'.
- h) In Sgl kudum, Ishk kudum 'which' $< *k \partial \bar{u}m$ the u is due to vowel harmony Cf. $ing\bar{i}t$ 'finger' sub d). In am unable to explain the u in zust 'flowed' $(z\bar{i}\partial)$, and in γuz 'to run' Cf. also -uk for $\bar{o}k$ and $-\bar{u}(i)$ for $-\bar{o}(i)$ after narrow vowels 4
 - i) An early contraction has taken place in $s\bar{u}i$ 'hare' < *sa(h)a.

Ir. ā.

79. Ir long \bar{a} was a less labile sound than short a, and its development has been more regular and untroubled.

It regularly results in Sgl—Ishk \bar{u} ⁵ The examples are numerous. Thus, e.g.: $\bar{a}st\bar{u}\delta$ 'sent' ($\bar{a}stay$ -), $ust^3r\bar{u}k$ 'star' ($<*star\bar{u}ka$ - $<*st\bar{u}raka$ - 2), $c\bar{\sigma}f\bar{u}r$ 'four', $d\bar{u}\delta$ 'gave'; $d\bar{u}r$ 'sickle', $f\bar{\sigma}rm\bar{u}\delta$ 'ordered'; $m\bar{u}r$ 'centipede' $p\bar{u}\delta$ 'foot'; $r\bar{u}v$ 'rhubarb' (Yd $r\bar{v}v$); $s\bar{u}v$ 'hare'; 6 $s\bar{u}z$ 'eagle' (Y $s\bar{v}z$), $s\bar{u}v$ 'black' (?), $t\bar{u}l$ - 'to shave', $v\bar{u}r$ 'burden'; $v^3r\bar{u}\delta$

¹ Cf. § 96, 3.

² Cf §§ 94, 99 — Cf. Shgh sad m and f. 'they went' \angle * $c(y)ut\bar{a}h$

³ See IIFL, I, p 23 sq, and cf Yd.—Mj § 195

⁴ Cf §§ 96, 5, 132

⁵ Cf the parallel developments in Yd -M; and Wkh

⁶ With secondary ā, cf § 78? Cf, eg Psht. soc.

'brother', $w\bar{u}\bar{s}$ 'straw', $x\bar{u}r$ - 'to scratch', $x\bar{u}y$ - 'to thresh' (v. Voc. s v), $y\bar{u}\delta$ 'husband's brother's wife', $z\bar{u}\gamma$ 'raven'; $z\partial m\bar{u}\delta$ 'son-in-law', $z\partial n\bar{u}\delta$ 'washed'; $zev\bar{u}k$ 'tongue', $Iziv\bar{u}k$ ' $Z\bar{e}b\bar{a}k$ '

Other possible examples are šūrm 'dung' (cf Av sāman-?); kiskūd 'roof' (*uska-kūtā-?), ālūzd 'day before yesterday'; părūzd 'yesterday' (*-āzna-?), wuždān, ūždān, etc 'millet' (*hārzana-?), wūs, uss-'to take', wūlōk 'flour' (*ūrtaka-), yūz 'fire-wood'.

A secondary shortening has taken place in some of the words mentioned above, and also in durk 'stick'; turkī 'darkness', kuðum 'which'

80. Before a nasal we find \bar{u} in $af\bar{s}\bar{u}n$ 'comb', $d\bar{u}nik$ 'grain', $fr\bar{u}n$ 'plank' (* $fr\bar{a}na$ -2), Sgl $pot\bar{u}n$ (but Wkh $pat\bar{u}n$ from Ishk?) 'thigh', wurc $\bar{u}n$ 'smoke-hole' (* $rau\bar{c}\bar{a}na$ -2), $y\bar{u}n$ - 'to grind', $z\bar{u}ng$ (Sk $z\eta g$, etc.) 'knee', possibly also in $kur\bar{c}\bar{u}n$ (Ishk $k\bar{\sigma}r\bar{c}\bar{u}n$) 'fowl', etc., $p\bar{\sigma}c\bar{u}n$ 'bullet'

But in several cases we find $\bar{\imath}n$, $\bar{\imath}m$. Thus: $u\bar{s}t\bar{\imath}n$ 'haystack' (* $w\bar{a}strad\bar{u}na$ -), $n\bar{\imath}m$ 'name', $v\bar{\imath}n$ 'beard' (* $up\bar{a}n(y)a$ -?), $v\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}n$ 'whetstone', $d\bar{\imath}v\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to winnow'; $p\bar{\imath}z\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to know'. It is scarcely possible to attribute the $\bar{\imath}$ in all these words to the influence of a following y

The prefix \bar{a} - has been shortened and appears, probably with vowel harmony, as \bar{a} -, o- in araz- 'to jump', $\bar{a}stay$ - 'to send', oyod 'came' Also in the pronouns mak 'me'; tofak 'thee', Sgl amax, $am\partial x$, Ishk mux 'we' ancient \bar{a} has been shortened

Initial \bar{a} - (or α -?) has been lost in $v\bar{e}k$ 'water'. I am unable to explain the vocalism of Ishk. (w)uspīr 'plough-share' (Sgl spər), and of Gr. usīd 'baking pan'.

81. Sgl. nāf, Ishk nāf 'navel', rōsk 'truth', xuðārī, xudōīī 'watermill' are probably lw.s. Cf the more recent lw.s from Prs, such as Sgl. čəpān 'shepherd', čārda '14', čirāγ 'lamp', čārvā 'horned cattle', digdān 'fireplace', šaftōlū (NB ō') 'peach'. Ishk čūpōn; čårda, čirōγ, čōrvō, digdōn, šaftōlū Sgl. xušdāuman 'wife's brother's wife' is irregular

Ir. i.

82. As in other Pamir languages, i is unstable, and is only retained in favourable circumstances, cf e.g. $f \ni ris$ - 'to be left behind', Sgl $nil \bar{o}st$, but Ishk nulust 'sat down' $(n\bar{\imath}\delta$ -)

In most cases Ir i has been relaxed, and moved towards a lower and more central articulation. Thus yir, gir, yir, yir 'stone', let 'licked' (lēs-), ce 'what', čen- 'to pick' (lw.?), šic, etc 'female', xin- 'to buy' (*xin-)

After a labial we find ∂ , u, etc. in $p\partial f$, $pv\delta f$ 'meat', put Gr. 'parched grain' $< *pišta-, pov-, p\partial v-, pav-$ 'to drink', numul- Zar. 'to shut the eye', $^3sp\partial l$, s^3pul , etc 'louse', ambol, Gr. 'moraine' (*ham-piša-?); $wv\delta zl$ 'dung'; $wu\delta \bar{z}t$ 'span' But why rvs, $r\partial s$ 'thirty' (* $\partial rvsas$)?

A lengthening has taken place in $fr\bar{i}$ 'good' (< *friya-), and, before an ancient group of consonants, in $frilar{i}$ 'left behind, tired', if < *fra-rixna- In ziwondok 'hungry' (< *a-j(i)wantaka-), the loss of \bar{i} may be very early, cf. Av. jvant-.

Ir. ī.

83 Ancient i remains in $pi\delta$ 'drank' $(p \ni v \cdot)$, $x \ni ri\delta$ 'bought' $(x \ni rn \cdot)$, wist 'twenty', $ni\delta$ - 'to sit down' $(< *m(h)i\delta$ -), with shortening in $i \cdot i \cdot \delta$ 'picked'

šīn- 'to weep'; nīv- 'to bring'; nīðuk, nuduk (< *nītaka-?) are of uncertain derivation

Ir u.

84. Short u shows the same tendency as short i to move towards a more central articulation, and it frequently results in ∂

Thus, e.g: dəmb, dumb, dəmb, etc 'tail' (lw?), dəmb- 'to card wool', dəγd 'milked' (dēš-); dəzd 'thief' (lw?), dərəšt 'rough' (prob lw), yōndəm, yondum 'wheat', kuδ, kəd 'dog', kul-, kəl-, etc 'to kill', mət, mut, mət, etc 'fist', pəf-, puf- 'to blow'; pənayδ, puməxt 'dressed'; pu/ə/əšk 'dung', su/əmb 'hoof', sə/ərb 'lead' (lw.), sərx, etc. 'red'; səvδ, etc. 'shoulder', tu/ə 'thou', və/uz, vz 'goat', wuðə/uyδ, etc 'daughter', wuznə/ɛ/ul 'daughter in-law', etc.

Initial u- has been delabialized and lowered in Sgl. ast- (but Ishk ust-) 'to stand up', and in the lw $am\bar{e}\delta$ 'hope' But cf. also $ra\bar{s}t$ 'morning' (lw?)

 $ing\bar{\imath}t$ 'finger' is derived through * $ing\bar{\imath}t$ (cf. Wkh lw $ing\bar{\imath}t$) < angušta. Sgl $\dot{s}\bar{\imath}d$ (but Ishk $\dot{s}\dot{\imath}d$, $\dot{s}\dot{\imath}d$) 'went, became' must also be derived from a form with lengthened vowel (* $\dot{s}\dot{u}\dot{t}$ < * $\dot{s}iyuta$ -?), cf. Par. $\dot{c}h\bar{\imath}$

Ir. u has been elided in *stən, etc. 'needle' < *sucanı- and in the suffix -uka-, cf. $z\bar{u}ng$ 'knee', $p\bar{o}rk$ 'rat', durk 'stick', $y\bar{o}tuk$, yetik 'bridge' (< * $\bar{e}tk$ < *hartuka-) 1

Ir \tilde{u}

85 Ir \bar{u} results in \bar{i} as in Wkh. Thus $d\bar{i}d$ 'smoke', $d\bar{i}r$ 'distant'; vric 'eyebrow', "stin 'pillow' Possibly also from secondary \bar{u} in $d\bar{i}dus$ 'twelve' < *duv(a)dasa, and in $ing\bar{i}t$, \$ $\bar{i}d$ (v. above § 84).

angūr 'grape' and other words with \bar{u} are evidently lws, and also $p\bar{u}$ - Zar. 'to be rotten', $p\bar{u}duk$ 'rotten' may have been influenced by Prs. It is, however, possible that \bar{u} was retained after a labial, of v > d, v > d 'was' $< b\bar{u}ta$ -, with shortening, as in Psht. w > a and elsewhere.

Sgl. ner 'to-day' cannot be derived direct from nuram.

Ir r.

86. Ir r results in ur, ər, etc. in wərk, wurk, urk 'wolf', məryōk, muryuk 'sparrow', andərv- 'to sew', məl, mul 'died', kul, kul, kəð 'did', kurċūn, etc 'fowl', vəżdūk, etc 'long', wolk, wulk, wəlk 'kidney', and possibly in wūlok 'flour', if from *rtaka- and not, as seems more probable, from *ūlok < 'ārtaka-, al- 'standing' is scarcely derived from ərəδwa-, with u- > a-, cf. above § 78, d.

In some preterites the vowel has been lengthened Thus $\cdot x\bar{o}l$, x(w)ol, $x\bar{u}l$ 'ate', Sgl. astol (Ishk soul, etc.) 'swept'; Sgl. wol (Ishk avuld, etc.) 'found' (awir-)

kīl 'knife' is a mutated form (< *krtyŭ-), and so is possibly wuoll 'dung' (< *wi-drtı-²).

¹ Cf § 96, 1

Ir. ai.

87. Ir ai regularly results in \bar{e} Thus: ${}^2sp\bar{e}\delta$ 'white'; $m\bar{e}l$ 'sheep', $w\bar{e}d$ 'willow', $w\bar{e}d$ - Sk 'to put'; $w\bar{e}x$ 'root', $t\bar{e}u$ 'husband's brother', $l\bar{e}s$ - 'to lick' (lw?), $w\bar{i}n$ -, $w\bar{e}n$ - 'to see'; $y\bar{e}v$ -, yiv- 'to spin'; $ap\bar{e}\delta$ 'was lost' (*apa-ita-) In $m\bar{o}i$ 'cloud' < * $m\bar{e}i$ (?) < $m\bar{e}y$ the \bar{o} is strange, but may, perhaps, be due to differentiation.

Initially the development is troubled Besides complete loss of ai in special conditions (wok 'one'), we find $i\delta$ 'iste' (<*aita-), and is- 'to come' (<*a-isa-2), but Sgl. $y\delta tuk$, Ishk. yetik, Zar yatik 'bridge'

Ir au

88 Ir au generally results in \bar{e} , probably through an intermediate stage $*\bar{o}$. Thus $r\bar{e}yn$ 'clarified butter'; $t\bar{e}ym$, $t^i\bar{e}y^um$ 'grain', $y\bar{e}no\bar{k}$ 'hair', $d\bar{e}s$ - 'to milk', $r\bar{e}f$ 'broom', $r\bar{e}vik$ 'entrails'; $xr\bar{e}seg$ 'n. of an animal' (M $xur\bar{u}so$); $s\bar{e}n$ 'podex', $p\bar{e}nec$ -, pumec-, pomuc- 'to dress' ($< paiti-mao\check{c}$ -), $w\bar{e}n$ 'blood' < *va(h)uni- We find, however, \bar{i} in $k\bar{o}v\bar{i}o$ 'pigeon'; $k\bar{i}f$ (and $k^i\bar{e}f$) 'hump', cf. the ancient lw $K\bar{i}v\bar{i}$ (Chinese K'o-wei) 'Chitrali'.

This development can scarcely be due to the neighbouring v and f, cf. $r\bar{e}f$ above.

A special development of initial *rau- appears in wurcūn 'smokehole' and $v r v \bar{e} s$, $w r w \bar{e} s$ 'fox' In these words rau- has apparently become *r \bar{u} -, from which *ur-, before $au > \bar{e}$.

Also $\gamma \bar{o}l$ 'ear' is irregular, and is possibly a lw. (from Shgh.?) $d\bar{o}u$ 'two' may go back to * $dw\bar{a}u$ and Ishk $\gamma \bar{o}u$ to * $g\bar{a}u\tilde{s}$

Ir. aya.

89. Examples of Ir final -aya(h) are $r\bar{o}i$, etc 'three' and $p\bar{o}i$ 'sour milk' Internal aya results in \bar{e} in $p\bar{e}\cdot\bar{s}t\bar{\sigma}n$ 'udder' Ancient present stems in $-\bar{a}ya$ have generally Sgl. $\bar{e}(y)$, but Ishk. ay Cf., e.g. Sgl ¹ But cf Wkh. yet, $y\bar{s}t$ < *tta-

deráy-, derē-: Ishk. deray- 'to reap', Sgl. dáy-. Ishk day-, dey- 'to give', Sgl astē- Ishk astay, etc. 'to send', Sgl zənē(y)-: Ishk zeney-, zenay- 'to wash', etc., cf § 130

Ir awa

90 Ir. final -awa- occurs in nou, etc 'nine'; you 'grain', šōu 'horn'; ō, aū, pl. awand 'that', Sgl. tō 'thine'. Internal -awa- occurs in nowəδos 'nineteen', nəwōk 'millrace', nuwōk 'new' Sgl uyūi 'cow' may perhaps be derived from *(hu)-gūwyū

Umlaut.

91. I- and y- mutation appears in mēδ 'waist' < maiδya-; mērγ 'meadow' < *margyā-; nəmēδγ 'salt' < *namaθk̄-(?), mēl 'apple' < *marnyā-(?), wulmēk 'moon' < *uxṣ-māhyaka-; mɛɪ 'day' < *māθya-; pēšten 'udder' < *payah-fētanya-, dēr- 'to hold' < *dăraya-, wērak 'she-lamb' < *warī + -akā (?), vēk 'water' < ăpăkıya; vərvēs 'fox' < *raupāsī-

Without any apparent cause we find, however, $\bar{\imath}$ in wubit 'span' $<*wi\text{-}d\bar{a}ti\text{-}; x\bar{\imath}r$ 'sister's son' $<*hwahrya\text{-}, z\bar{\imath}b\text{-}$ 'to flow' $<*z\gamma abya\text{-}, z\bar{\imath}s$ 'urine' $<*\bar{c}\bar{a}sya\text{-}(?); n\bar{\imath}c$ 'nose' $<*n\bar{a}h\text{-}\bar{c}\bar{\imath},$ or $*nahya\text{-}\bar{c}\bar{\imath}.$ Cf. also $\bar{\imath}< r^{\imath}$ in $k\bar{\imath}l$ 'knife', if $<*krty\bar{a},$ and wubil 'dung' <*wi-drti.

The only certain example of u- mutation is pvx, $p \ni x$ 'boiled' < *paxva-.

Regarding vowel harmony of §§ 78, c, h, 96, 5, 132

Prothetic Vowels.

92 A prothetic vowel is developed before an ancient or secondary initial group of consonants, e.g. in ust'rūk 'star', astar- 'to sweep'; afšūn 'comb', əšcāk 'girl'.¹

¹ V. Voc s.vv.

Characteristic of Sgl.—Ishk. is the prothetic (w)u- which appears before an initial voiced consonant followed by \bar{u}^{1} Thus: $wu\partial \partial y \partial dughter'$; $wuzn\partial l' daughter-in-law'$, $uy\bar{u}u' cow'$, wuznuk' inflated goat skin'

In spite of the difficulty of explaining wuzinjak 'woman' and $us\bar{\imath}d$ Gr 'baking pan' (cf. Wkh. $s\bar{a}t$) I am inclined to believe that this prothesis is of a phonetic nature, and that $w(\vec{u})$ - does not go back to a prefix hu-.

Regarding the word for 'sister' ($y \ni x \hat{o} a i$, $i x \hat{o}$, etc. $< *(h) a h w \hat{a} < *h w a h(w) \hat{a}$), cf. Voc s v

Note also the o- in okovo 'boot': Prs. kaf_s^{κ} ²

Loss of Initial and Final Vowels.

93 There is possibly some connection between the Sgl—Ishk tendency to develop prothetic vowels and the comparative rarity of elision of initial vowels

Cf. eg am(a) 'this' Yd mo, ada 'that': Yd. yŏ, az 'I' Yd zo, amax 'we': Yd. max, andərv (Sk dərav) 'to sew' Yd. dīz- 'to bury', etc; āstay- 'to send' Wkh sətīy-, ōvzui 'heart': Wkh pəzov, apanis- 'to lose' Shgh benes-

We find, however, loss of initial u- in $v\bar{i}n$ 'beard' $< *up\bar{a}na$ -, va < upa, and possibly in $\hat{s}^2l\bar{o}k$ 'wet' $< *a-\bar{s}u\bar{s}aka$ -, $\hat{z}wondok$ 'hungry' $< *a-\bar{j}iwantaka$ -; of \hat{a} - in $v\bar{e}k$ 'water'; wa 'him'; Sgl. $^2\bar{s}p\bar{o}n$, Ishk $\bar{s}p\bar{s}n$ 'iron', and of $a\bar{s}$ -, or even of $a\bar{s}wa$ -, in the unstressed numerals wok 'one'; kodos 'eleven' Cf. also $w\bar{o}l$ 'found' from $\bar{a}w\bar{s}r$ -

Regarding the doubtful derivation of mis- 'to sleep', v. Voc. s.v.

Except in monosyllabies, final vowels are elided.³ Regarding am(a) 'this', $a\delta(a)$ 'that', cf. Grammar, § 116. Regarding possible traces of the obl. ending -ahya, v §§ 96, 2 a, 5; 94.

¹ From which in some cases modern 2.

² Cf Sogd c. 'hrty < krty 'deed', etc

 $^{^3}$ Reg traces of final -\$\bar{a}(h)\$, cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3, 101

Accent.

The accent which lies at the base of the development in Sgl.—Ishk., appears to have been of the ordinary, late Old Ir. type

Thus $\dot{} = \dot{} = \dot{}$, e.g. in dos 'ten', az 'I', $\dot{} = \dot{} = \dot{}$ in $c\partial f\bar{u}r$ 'four'; $p\partial t\bar{u}n$ 'thigh'; $k\bar{\partial} v\bar{i}\partial$ 'pigeon', etc., $\dot{} = \dot{} = \dot{}$ in $z\bar{a}l$ 'yellow', $p\bar{\partial} rk$ 'mouse', $n\bar{a}rk$ 'male', $j\bar{\partial} nj$ 'woman', etc., $\dot{} = \dot{} = \dot{}$ in $w\bar{i}\dot{s}t$ 'twenty', $z\bar{u}ng$ 'knee'; ' $\gamma\bar{\partial} ndum$ 'wheat', possibly $\dot{} = \dot{} = \dot{}$ in ' $d\bar{i}\partial us$ 'twelve' ($\langle *duwadasa? \rangle$) '

Words in $-\delta k$ are probably derived from the oblique form, thus $\gamma \delta n \delta k$ 'hair' < *gau'nakahya.

Elision of a short vowel before the accent has taken place in $kri\check{c}$ 'hut' (< * $kati\check{c}i$ *2), possibly in $c\partial f\bar{u}r$ 'four', and before a secondary suffix in $\partial \check{s}c\bar{a}k$ 'girl' < * $\check{s}\partial c + \bar{a}k$ I am unable to explain the loss of u in * $\check{s}\check{t}\partial n$, etc 'needle' < sučani-

The loss of the vowel in an unstressed first syllable occurs also in lws (e.g Sk $b\dot{c}ak$ 'he-goat', bland = biland 'high', $br\dot{u}t = b^{s}r\bar{u}t$ 'moustache', etc), and may be of recent date

But note ko'sos 'eleven' < *anvaka'dasa?

^{&#}x27; Cf § 96, 2 a

⁸ Cf § 59

MORPHOLOGY

Nouns.

Primary Stems.

95 No distinction is made in Sgl—Ishk. between words belonging to the various ancient Ir. groups of nominal stems.¹

Only on etymological grounds, or in some cases from a comparison with Yd.—Mj, are we able to distinguish between ancient stems in -a- (e g ngāt 'finger', dād 'smoke', dār 'sickle'; yōl 'ear', potān 'leg', wāl 'roof-beam', etc.), stems in -ā- (e g uštīn 'hay-stack', yāl 'neck'; kīl 'knife', wuznēl 'daughter in-law'; wāl 'trousers'); stems in -t- (e.g. fəryəm 'female kid'; met 'fist', səvd 'shoulder', wēd 'willow', yer 'stone', šəc 'female', jān) 'woman'²), stems in -ā-(xoš 'mother-in-law'), stems in -au- (uyān, yōu 'cow'; šōu 'horn'(?)), stems in -r- (vərād 'brother', wudəyd 'daughter'; yād 'husband's brother's wife', yəxōan 'sister', zəmād 'son-in-law'), stems in -n- (cām 'eye', dānd 'tooth', māl 'husband', nīm 'name', pām 'wool', šūrm 'dung'(?), cf. also pār-uzd 'yesterday'), stems in -s- (sōr 'head', and, ultimately, ormōzd 'sun'), and nouns which may go back to ancient plurals (e g pōī 'mılk', you 'corn', warf 'snow', wolk 'kidney', etc).

Suffixes in k.

Various types of suffixes containing a k are found in Sgl—Ishk, and some of them are still productive. The forms in g are mere variants, due to sandhi, or to the influence of a preceding nasal

¹ The only exception known being the 'irregular' pl. of v²) ūδ 'brother', see § 102

² Cf § 26.

⁸ As for traces of ancient $\bar{a}(h)$, cf § 78, c, e.

- 1 A simple -k, derived from *-ka-, appears in wolk 'kidney', cf. $n\partial m\bar{e}\partial\gamma/k$, etc. 'salt'. Also nom. msc. *-akah, -ukah probably result in -k, cf $n\bar{a}rk$ 'male', park 'ashes'; $p\bar{a}sk$ 'hide'; $r\bar{o}sk$ 'truth', durk 'stick', $p\bar{o}rk$ 'rat', $z\bar{u}ng$ 'knee' Reg. $y\bar{o}tuk$, etc 'bridge' and wotuk 'feast' cf § 24 —ginjišk 'sparrow', pušk 'dung' etc. are lw s.
- 2 A suffix Sgl. $-\delta k$ (Ishk. regularly -uk, cf § 78 a) appears in several categories of nouns
- a In names of animals. Thus: moγ'dōk, etc 'frog', mər'γōk 'sparrow', jıla yōk 'spider', skonŏk 'puppy', št²·nōk 'kid', v²rōk 'horse', wo'rok 'male lamb' (Mj wərəy); wo'sōk 'calf' (Par. ya'sō), żū'ōk 'male markhor', zə'γōlog 'bumble bee', etc It will be noted that this suffix is used by preference about male animals, and it goes back to *-akah, or, perhaps, *-akahya²
- b In names of parts of the body and other nouns · os tōk 'bone' (Y yaste), γē'nōk 'hair' (M yūnəy), γο rōk 'neck' (Psht. γaraı), narxōk 'nail'; mālōk 'husband' (Y mara); wulok 'flour' (Y yūre, etc.), yivðōk 'thread' (pf. ptc), etc.
- c In many cases $-\delta k$ is evidently a secondary suffix Thus, e.g., in parwinekog 'moth' (parwinek 'butterfly'), worokok 'small lamb', $ngv^{\dagger}t\delta k$ 'finger-ring' ($ng^{\dagger}git$), $m\bar{a}^{\dagger}l(\delta k)$ 'husband', ' $v\bar{o}rok$ 'window' ($v\bar{o}r$), $n\partial^{\dagger}w\delta k$ 'mill-race' ($n\bar{o}u$), $z\partial ma^{\dagger}n\bar{o}k$ 'boy' ($z\bar{o}^{\dagger}man$), $nv^{\dagger}y\bar{o}k$ 'reed' (< Prs nai).
- d. In adjectives: $nu'w\bar{o}k$ 'new', $\hat{s}^{o}l\bar{o}k$ 'wet', $v^{o}z\bar{o}k$ 'fat'; \hat{s} $\hat{z}wondok$ 'hungry', $xa\hat{z}ok$ Gr 'sweet'.
- e. In the Perfect. Thus, eg: $ml\bar{o}stog$ 'having sat down', $no'b\bar{o}k$ (nas-) 'has been seized', Sgl $ku'\bar{o}k$, Ishk. kuluk 'has done' (Par $ku'r\bar{o}$), $d\bar{u}duk$ Sk. 'has given', etc. Cf $p(\bar{o})x\bar{o}k$ 'cooked', and also the verbal nouns of the type $d\bar{o}ry\bar{o}k$ 'reaping'; $v\bar{i}$ -dvok 'watering', deyuk Sk 'to give', $no'v\bar{o}k$ 'rain', etc.

¹ Cf § 84

² See § 94

³ And also v³zōk 'branch', but not *v³zōk 'male goat'.

- 3 Sgl. $-\bar{a}k$ occurs in words denoting female beings in $\partial \xi c\bar{a}k$ (Ishk. $\dot{s}tok$) 'girl', $w\bar{e}r\bar{a}k$, etc 'she-lamb'. Other examples are. Sgl. $ky\bar{e}v'\bar{z}\bar{a}k$, etc.: Gr ' $k\bar{e}\iota\dot{z}uk$, Zar. $kev\dot{z}\bar{o}q$ 'magpie', $d\partial r'n\bar{a}k$ 'bow-string', $\gamma\partial'l\bar{a}k$ 'plough-handle', $p\partial s't\bar{a}k$ 'bark'.¹ Besides, as a secondary suffix, in $r\bar{e}f(\bar{a}k)$ 'broom', $d\bar{e}'c(\bar{a}k)$ 'goat-skin', $\check{c}\bar{o}'v(\bar{a}k)$ 'little', $xu\dot{s}'k(\bar{a}k)$ 'dry', $k\partial l\bar{a}k$ 'knife' ($k\bar{\imath}l$), $ta'y\bar{a}k$ ($t\mathring{a}y$) 'colt'. $-\bar{a}k$ probably goes back to $ak\bar{a}$, cf § 78 e
- 4 In some cases -ak appears to be an unstressed variant of $-\bar{a}k$, cf Sgl p 2 $w\bar{e}rak$ p 3 $w\bar{e}r\bar{a}k$, Gr $k\bar{a}ndak$ Sgl. is. p 1, 2 $kan^id\bar{a}k$, Zb kondok 'thorn', Sgl p. 2 $\gamma ulak$ is $\gamma \bar{v}^il\bar{a}k$ (but Sk $\gamma \bar{w}^ilak$ 'pelletbow'

In other words -ak has been borrowed from Prs, cf, eg das'tak 'rafter', $gilimb\bar{o}fak$ 'spider' $(gilam'b\bar{o}f)$. In gar'dak 'neck', kamak 'spine', parak, parik 'rib', dand(ak) 'tooth'; $\gamma ur \dot{z}ak$ 'violin', tiyaxarak 'donkey's foal', $uu \dot{z}in \dot{z}ak$ 'woman' the suffix may be genuine < *- $ak\bar{a}$ Cf. also mak 'me', $(t\bar{o})fak$ 'thee', and $m\bar{o}\delta(ak)$ 'here', $w\bar{o}\delta(ak)$, etc. 'there'.

5. The suffix $\cdot \bar{u}k$ goes back to $-\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ in $z\partial^{\circ}v\bar{u}k$ 'tongue', $Izi\,v\bar{u}k$ 'Zēbāk' With $-\bar{u}k < -aka$ after a narrow vowel (cf § 78 h) $fv\bar{u}k$ 'shoulder-blade', $ust^{\partial}r\bar{u}k$ 'star' ($<*st\bar{u}ruk < *st\bar{u}raka$ -?); $v\partial_{\bar{u}}\bar{u}k$ 'long'. Cf. also Ishk $av'z\bar{u}k$ (Sgl. $\bar{o}vzuv$) 'heart', $\gamma u'r\bar{u}k$ 'lucerne', $ku'z\bar{u}k$ 'bull', $n\bar{u}\partial_{\bar{u}}k$ 'buttermilk', $s\bar{u}'y\bar{u}k$ 'spleen', $wu's\bar{u}k$ 'elbow'

Verbal nouns in -uk are. 'kirūg' 'plough', minduk 'asleep', yūnūk' 'grinding', xōfuk 'coughing'. From the past base are formed mīsūk' 'sleep', jistuk Gr. 'swift', and žaduk Sk. 'murderer' The same may be the case with batuk Gr. 'beetle' Cf also flavuk Gr' breakfast'; Sgl. p²čuk 'worm'; rī'žuk 'male kid', etc.

tanuk Gr, tan'k Sk. 'thin' may possibly go back to 'tanukahya From 'tanukah we should expect *tunk.

6. The suffix -ik appears in a number of words, most of which are lws. Thus, e.g. $b\hat{u}r^{i}k$ Sk 'thin', $b\hat{u}\hat{c}ik$ Sk 'chicken', $b\hat{c}nik$

¹ All of which have shortened stem-vowel before $-\bar{a}k$.

'darkness', kaule'zik 'tadpole', $p\bar{a}tik$ 'eyelashes' I have noted both akik and $\bar{a}'k\bar{i}k$ 'egg', $a\bar{s}ik$ and $\bar{a}'s\bar{i}k$ 'tear'.

Other examples are 'bāndik' 'elbow, joint', cām-mərdikīg 'pupil of the eye', curīk Gr 'a shed', dūmk 'grain', kərnišīk 'lizard', 'māčik' 'she-dog', mārcīk' 'ant', mu'žīk 'pea' (Bad Prs mužuk), rēčik' 'entrails', sədik Sk 'porridge'

Several ancient suffixes appear to have been merged in Sgl—Ishk -ik

- 7. The suffixes -ek and -ək appear mainly in lws from Prs. with original -ak. Examples are 'ainek 'mirror', dansek 'lightning', sauparek 'bat', parwinek 'butterfly', dansek 'yawn', gazek 'tamarisk', xenek 'cold', gulbdd(ek) Sk. 'whirlwind', xolek 'maternal uncle', zardek 'carrot'. Also some words of probably non-Prs origin have got these suffixes added. Thus, e.g. astamarzek 'upper arm', 'sarek 'cream', xreseg 'n of an animal', fursek, fersek 'nose', zansek 'entrails', etc
- 8 A few words end in -ēk. Thus. wul'mēk 'moon', vēk 'water', wur'mēk 'poplar', cf. wu'lyēka 'alone'.
- 9 In ari 'work' and $xo\delta\bar{a}ri$ 'water-mill' r+k has developed in a special way Cf § 69.

Other Suffixes.

97 Prs -ī and -iš have been borrowed and occur, eg, in žondokī 'hunger', kīriš 'ploughing', yūmš 'grinding'

The ancient suffix -xa- occurs in wolox 'rib', etc; $s\bar{o}rox$ 'ear of corn', $s\bar{o}dx$ 'goat's hair' ($<*d\bar{o}sx?$)

Regarding the ancient fem suffix - $\hat{c}i$ cf. s vv $\hat{s} \hat{\sigma}c$ 'female', $\hat{j}\hat{o}n\hat{j}$ 'woman', $w\hat{a}n\hat{i}c$ 'female calf', and possibly $kr\hat{i}\hat{c}$ 'hut', $p\hat{\sigma}rn\hat{i}\hat{c}$ 'threshold'. Cf also $wu\hat{z}in\hat{j}ak$ 'woman'; $\hat{\sigma}\hat{s}\hat{c}a\hat{k}$ 'girl', and, possibly, $\hat{z}\hat{a}n\hat{z}\hat{\sigma}k$ 'entrails' ($\langle *\hat{z}\hat{a}n.\hat{j}ak.^2\rangle$), and see § 26

^{22 -} Kulturforskning

Gender.

As far as my material goes, there is no trace of any distinction of gender in Sgl—Ishk.¹ Names of males and females of the same species of animals are often expressed by different words. Thus ku'žuk 'bull' ο̄'γūι 'cow'; ta'kε 'male kid'. fər'yəm 'female kid', juwānē 'male calf'. bakɛndī, wanıc 'female calf', etc. Note, however, wo'ı ο̄k 'male lamb' wē'rāk 'female lamb', and cf §§ 78 e, 96, 3 about the suffixes -ŏ̄k and -ằk

Number

- 99. Traces of ancient plural forms are preserved in Sgl $vr\bar{u}\delta\bar{a}r$ 'brothers' = Shgh. $vr\bar{o}d\bar{a}r < *br\bar{a}tar\bar{a}(h),^2$ and $z \ni ma'n\bar{a}k$ 'boys', from $z \ni ma'n\bar{o}k$, etc; cf the Pf and Plupf pl. forms, §§ 144, 147 Examples are $m\text{-}amv\bar{c}$ tāt $x\bar{a}n$ $h\bar{o}v\bar{c}$ $vr\bar{u}\delta\bar{a}r$ - $\bar{a}n$ Sgl p. 2 'there are seven brothers in my father's house'; am $x\bar{a}n$ $m\bar{e}s$ $v\bar{e}r\bar{u}\delta\bar{a}r$ -en Sgl is. 'these houses belong to my brothers'; $m\bar{e}n$ $x\bar{a}n$ $h\bar{o}v\bar{c}$ $z\bar{e}ma'n\bar{a}k\bar{c}$ Sgl p 1 'there are seven boys in my house'
- A more recent formation is the pl. in -∂n, -ān.³ Thus, e.g. amānd āδamən rōsk γēžān Sgl. p. 1, 2 'these men speak the truth'; amand āδamān p. 1; āδamān xwōran p. 2 'the men ate', aδa āδa'mā (= -ān?) 'arī kenan p 1 'those men are working', wa'zīren γēždan p. 3 'the ministers said'; gōl ken xē wa'zīren 'assemble your ministers', xarzgiren nəs la-kuān p 2 'the custom-officials did not let me go', mə Kāfi'ren i'tīn p. 2 'they arrived among the Kafirs'; maxlu'kān gudōm xaš'tān p. 2 'the people (?) plundered the storehouses' In bə'tā f²'rēd p. 3 'he broke the idols', and in vəza xa'sān p. 2 'they drag the goats', -ā may have been borrowed from Prs -(h)ā. Also Sk observes that Ishk, åla'xā 'hills', rēmuz'dā 'suns' are recent forms,

¹ Cf. also Gr § 42

² The existence of a parallel pl *wuðuyðār was denied —Cf. "Wkh" $v^2 r \bar{u} \delta a r k u \dot{c} = \text{Sgl} v r \bar{u} \delta k u \dot{c}$ 'brother's wife'.

⁸ Cf Gr. § 43

corresponding to more archaic $r\bar{e}nuz'd\partial n$ 'suns', $t\dot{a}'t\partial n$ 'fathers', $n\dot{a}'n\partial n$ 'mothers', $t\dot{a}t\dot{a}'k\partial n$ 'ancestors'.

It is even possible that also $-\bar{a}n$, Gr. -an may be of Prs origin, while $-\partial n$, -en is genuine and corresponds to Shgh $-\bar{e}n$, $-\bar{e}n$

101. I never heard the Zb pl forms in -e, -ai, which appear to be used in the LSI about inanimate things, animals, and collectives (naukar, muzdur, kančanī), while -an, -en is reserved for human beings considered as individuals. The difference of use prevents us from identifying this ending with -en². On the other hand, it is impossible to derive -e, -ai from -āh, as proposed by Tedesco, l c. All final syllables are lost in Sgl—Ishk., and a development -āh > -ai is in any case most unlikely. Reg. traces of -ā(h) cf. above.

102. After numerals. fai 'many', cəmənd 'how many', kull 'all', etc.,

> -ai is in any case most unlikely Reg traces of -ā(h) cf. above After numerals, fai 'many', cəmənd 'how many', kull 'all', etc, the sg is regularly used Thus, e.g., fai muluk arı k'enū Ishk. 'many men are working', fai wuðuyð-ō Sgl. p 2 'there are many daughters', azəm fai (wok) vəz wēndo vəð p 2 'I had seen many goats (one goat'), cəmənd āðam ōsto? p. 2 'how many men are there?' də zōt 'two sons', c²fūr za'mīn-ō, cə'fūr 'zōt-ō mə'nēn, va cə'fūr bax's kenen p 2 'I have four fields and four sons, and I divide the four (fields among them)', rōī xwāi mənen-ē p. 2 'I have three sisters', ma mic xān rōi tan-ān 'there are three persons in my house', wog, dō, rōi mēi p 2 'one, two, three days', řel dar'wāza vəð p 3 'there were 40 gates', čel haf'sar...nīðəf p. 3 'you forty officers shall sit down'. Sometimes we also find the substantive put in the sg after a pl. demonstrative: awand āðam žwondok-ān Sgl p 2 'those men are hungry', and even—if correct—ō (sg.!) āðam xēsta xuāran p 2 'those men eat bread'.

The examples given above show that the verb is frequently in the sg even with an animate pl subject.

¹ See Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156

² With loss of .n, cf Grierson 1 c

But of Grierson le

Case.

103 Regarding traces of ancient, oblique cases in -ahya and -y $\bar{a}h$, cf §§ 96, 2 and 26

Agent Case.

103 In čut zōtī xē tā-vē γēžəδ Sgl p. 2 'the younger son said to his father', and tāte xē māl taxsīm kvδ p 2 'the fáther divided his property' we apparently find an agent case in -ī, -e But it is possible that -ī, -e is the possessive enclitic suffix 3 sg.

In other cases the nominative is used as an agent, thus, e.g., $p\bar{a}d\dot{s}\bar{a}$ form $\bar{u}\delta$ 'the king commanded', etc. Note also that $t\bar{\sigma}$ is used as an agent ¹ I have noted no instance of obl. pl. in $-\bar{\sigma}f$ of nouns. Nor are such forms found in Sk's material. But Gr. gives ca wazīr $\dot{a}w$ 'from the ministers', etc

Accusative.

104. The indefinite object does not differ in form from the subject, and I never came across the form in -2 mentioned by Gr.² from Ishk—Zeb.

Thus, e.g.. Ishk, Sgl. p 1, 2 arr kenum, kenen 'I work', Ishk 'vēk 'pərum 'I drink water'; Sgl p 1 puðf-um pu'xəm, Ishk putf-um puxt 'I cooked meat', etc.

With determinative pronoun. Sgl. p. 1 $x\hat{e}$ dost zeneyen 'I wash my hand(s)', tate $x\bar{e}$ māl taxsīm $kv\delta$ ' the father divided his property', ama ā δ am- δ m went 'I saw this man', p. 2 ma kvtav $k\hat{o}$ -ve dē 'give this book to somebody'

In Sgl a definite object not preceded by a pronoun is indicated by the prefix va⁸

Thus, eg · Sgl. p. 2 va šenāi žan 'extinguish the fire' (but also

¹ Cf § 112, and see Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 64

^{2 8 44}

⁸ Regarding the derivation of va cf Yd.-Mj. § 220.

šənāy-əm žōδ), va uyū dēsəm, va uyū-m dəyδəm 'I milk(ed) the cow', va kıtāb dūδīn mum bē 'they gave me the book', va cafūr bax's kenen 'I divide the four (fields)', nēr-əm kuð ι-ārı δak 'ımrūz hamū kār kardam', p. 1 va māl taxsīm ke 'divide the property'; p 3 va koryos vōst 'he bound the eagle' (but c³fūr koryos nas 'catch four eagles', etc.).

With a pronominal object. Sgl p. 1 a'max va 'tfak 'wēndan' we saw thee', p 2 wēndəm va tfak, az-əm va tfak wēndo vəð, az va tfak yêżen 'I tell thee' (but also təfak bəšānəm 'I make thee sit down', az təfak kasen-ī 'do I see thee?'), is va tō gap-am apəxt 'I heard thy word'

In Ishk. I never heard va used. Thus, e.g., yundum derāyen 'I cut the wheat' (cf. Sgl p 2 va yōndum yalbēl kenen), azı fak wēnduk 'I saw thee', mak dēd 'he beat me'

Genitive

105. The attributive genitive is expressed, just as in Ishk, by prefixing the governed to the governing noun. Thus: Sgl p. 2 ma mič tāt xān 'in our father's house', ma 'xān mi'yāne-mō 'I am in the middle of the house'; vərō yāl 'the horse's mane', p 3 Ōzar zōt 'Azar's son'.

In some fixed formulas of Prs. origin the izafat is used, but it is impossible to tell whether such constructions really belong to everyday speech Examples are, e.g. Sgl p 3 mə rām-ı mādar 'in his mother's womb', beyar-ı mak 'except me', Sgl is har qısm-ı-cīzīā-ı xūb 'every kind of good things'

The predicative genitive is formed with the suffix -en (< *-aina-?). Thus · Sgl. p 2 am xān (vərō) məm vərūden-ē 'this house (horse) is my brother's', am xān am ādamen-ē; p. 3 āhūīn wok šāx da vəd 'the stag had one horn', is am xān məš vərūdaren-ē 'this house belongs to my brothers'. But note · Sgl. p. 2 wok ādam də zōt vəd 'a man had two sons'

¹ Grierson § 44

In Ishk. we find a possessive suffix -nå, -na, cf. Sk 'rēmuzd-nå-ı 'nūr' 'the light of the sun'; ålax-nå-i warf' 'the snow of the mountain', 'tåt-nå-ı kı'tåb 'father's book', Gr pådså-na wak udōyd 'a daughter of the king'. The derivation proposed by Gr. § 44 from -āna- is phonetically uncertain

Note also the use of the oblique pl in Gr. $x\bar{e}$ waziråw dur 'the house of his viziers'

Dative

106. The dative is expressed by means of the postposition -bē 'to' Thus, e.g. Sgl. p. 2 rōi rōpē ākum-be dūdīn 'they gave the governor three rupees', xē tā-vē (= tāt bē) γēἐσδ 'he said to his father' But the original local sense of -bē is evident in Sgl p. 2 cơ wōd šīd Mandežān-be 'from there it went to M.', ο'γοδ Gazkestān-bē 'it arrived at G'.

The Ishk. form is $b\bar{o}$, $b\mathring{a}$. Thus: I mum $b\bar{o}$ 'to me', Sk 'rēmuzd-b\mathring{a} 'to the sun', 'n $\mathring{a}n$ -b \mathring{a} , $t\mathring{a}(t)$ -b \mathring{a} 'to the mother, father', pl. $n\mathring{a}(n)$ -b \mathring{a} , $t\mathring{a}(t)$ -b \mathring{a} (with - $\partial n < *$ -an $\bar{a}m$?).

bě, bå is probably derived from *upai.

Other Local 'Cases'

107 Local relations are sometimes expressed without the aid of any preposition or postposition. Thus Sgl mən xān hōvð zəmanāk-ō 'there are seven boys in my house', p 3 ō'yodam pe'nuk 'we arrived at the pass', ō'yodan Kōe'stān 'they arrived in Chitral'

In other cases prepositions are used

a) ma, mə 'in'. Sgl. p. 2 cəmənd tanān ma təməx xān? 'how many people are there in your house?' psāt mə Skvtūl fāuž 'now the army is in S'; p. 3 mə šār čel darwāza vəð 'there were forty gates in the town', is mə uaxt-i qadīm 'ın olden times', mo xōðm wēnd 'he saw in a dream', a rāz mə vyēk 'jump into the water', p. 2 mə Kāfiren vtīn 'they arrived among the Kafirs'.

ma is probably a shortened, unstressed form of *ma $\delta < mai\delta y \bar{o}i$, mai δim Cf. also Parachi ma yus 'in the house', etc, but the origin of the Par. particle is at least partly of different origin ¹

- b) cə 'from' < hačā Thus Sgl. p 2 cə $k\bar{u}$ yuz xašəm 'we fetch fire-wood from the hills', ce har $x\bar{o}r\iota$ -dak də $r\bar{o}p\bar{e}$ $n\bar{o}\delta$ 'he took two rupees from each donkey', p 3 cə $\bar{a}s$ 'mān paše xavd 'mosquitoes came down from the sky', cə pəšt- ι pə δ ar 'from his father's loins'.
- c) p = 'to, into' < parti Thus Sgl p $3 \sin \delta pa$ ($n \ge m i$) as $m a \bar{n} ka f a s$ 'the cage rose into (the middle of) the sky', $p \ge w \bar{a} da h \bar{i} t$ 'he arrived at the time of marriage', $r \bar{o} p x \bar{e} x \ge d \bar{a} k \ge \delta$ 'he turned towards his God, $r \bar{u} b a x u d \bar{a} k a t$ '.
- d) tar 'through, between, to, in', $< tar\delta$. Thus: Sgl p. 3 tar $asm\bar{a}n$ $\check{s}\partial xt$ 'he passed through the sky' Cf. Voc. s v

Regarding $s\bar{o}r$ ($m \ni s\bar{o}r$) 'on', $v \imath \check{s}$ ($c \ni v \imath \check{s}$, $m \ni v \imath \check{s}$) 'under, below', $g \check{o}l$ 'together with', $\check{z}a$ 'before, $p \bar{e} \check{s} \cdot \imath'$, v. Voc. s vv.

Adjectives.

108. No distinction of gender or of number has been noted in the adjectives of Sgl² Thus, e.g. az živondok-mō, aməx ž-ān, amənd ādam ž.-ān, təməx ž-ān-ī? 'I am, we are, these men are, are you hungry', janj amēdvār-ō 'the woman is pregnant', am xān žəšt, had xān riziāk 'this house is big, that house is small'

The uzāfat is occasionally used in idioms of Prs origin.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms Cf the sentence quoted just above, and also Sgl. p 2 čārī ā co vəz žəšt-ō 'cattle is bigger than goats', mič tāt xān wokī ak kalān-ū 'our father's house is a little larger (yak-taš kalāntar a)'; Sgl is. am ādam co mak (tfak, məčəf) jəšt 'this man is bigger than I (thou, we)'.

¹ Cf. IIFL I, p 52

² But note the ptc. nilostog, pl nilostag, etc § 146

Numerals.

- 109. The main forms of the numerals 1 are
 - 1. Sgl, Ishk, Zeb wok, Sk wok < *aiwakah, cf. § 87
 - 2. » $d\bar{o}u$, $d\bar{a}u$, Ishk $d\bar{o}^u$, Zeb. $d\bar{u}$, Sk. $d\partial u < *du v\bar{a}(u)$
 - 3 » $r\tilde{o}\tilde{i}$, Ishk. $r\tilde{o}\tilde{i}$, Zeb $r\tilde{u}$, Sk. $r\tilde{u}i < \vartheta r\tilde{a}y\bar{o}$.
 - 4. » Zeb, Sk. $c(r)f\bar{u}r$, Ishk (lw) $c\bar{o}r$
 - 5. $p(')\delta nz$, -s, Zeb $p'\delta n\check{s}$, Ishk. ponj, Sk. $p\bar{u}nz$.
 - 6 » xuāl, etc, Ishk. xol, Zeb, Sk xōl.
 - 7. » $(h)\bar{o}v\delta$, Ishk, Zeb $\bar{o}vd$, Sk uvd
 - 8. » $(h)\check{o}t$, Ishk. at, Zeb, Sk. $\bar{o}t$.
 - 9 » Sk. nŏu, Ishk. nao, Zeb nāu.
 - 10. » dős, Ishk. das, Zeb. (lw) dāu, Sk. dah.
 - 11 » koʻbos, etc <*aiwakadasa, Ishk, Sk (lw) 'yōzda, Zeb yōzdāu
 - 12. » dīdus < *duncadasa, Ishk (lw) dwāzda, Zeb. dwōzdāu
 - 13. » Ishk. (lw.) 'sēzda, Zeb. sīzdāu
 - 14 » (lw.) 'čārda, Zeb 'čōrdāu
 - 15 » pōnzəδōs, Zeb (lw) pōnzdāu.
 - 16. » xuāļ(ə)dos, Zeb (lw) sonzdāu
 - 37 » ōvd∂δŏs, Zeb. (lw) habdāu.
 - 18 » hötədös, Zeb. (lw) hażdāu
 - 19 » nowəδos; Zeb (lw.) nuzdāu.
 - 20 » wīšt, Zeb., Ishk., Sk. (lw.) bīst
 - 30. * rvs, rs < * risat.
 - 40 » (lw) čil, čel.
 - 50 » » $pan'\check{j}\bar{a}$.
 - 60 » » šāš/st.
 - 70 » » $(h)af^{\dagger}t\bar{a}\delta$.
 - 80. > aš tāδ
 - 90. » » $na^{\dagger}w\bar{a}\delta$ (NB \bar{a} ').
 - 100. » » săδ.
 - 1000 » ha'zār
 - $^{1}/_{2}$. » » $n\bar{\imath}m$.

¹ For phonetic details v Voc s vv

110 Pronouns Personal Pronouns.

	Skold	et	<i>pet</i>	fak		yaf-ed	tind	tind		pq- et					\mathbf{Skold}	xemet	aexemet	(ae)xemet		xem,et-ed	teme x			temes	
2nd Prs. Sg.	Ishk	et		fak			, $tar{\imath}$	$tin\bar{o}$		t <u>w</u> -bo			ջով Իրջ Իլ	1	Ishk.	tomox		I							
2n	S_{g1}	n/et	$to-\delta/v\bar{o}$	$(va-)t^{2}fak$	c3- t 3 t 4 t 8 t 8 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 9 t 8 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9 t 9	p_{θ}	$t\bar{o}$	tõnen		$t ilde{o}$ - $b/v ilde{e}$	tō yōl	$tar{u}$ ža $/ar{\imath}$	ч6		S_{gl} .	xe/nuet	1	(fe)xemet(pa)	(fe)xemet-ex	(fe)xemet-ed	x_{emet}	nexemet			
	Skold	a ₁ z ₁	a'zım, azm	mak		pə-ımak	иеш			pq-mem,	Ing-new,		-		Skold	xem	məxan	neżem , xem		aezem-ed	mešnå			pq-şem,	maš-mi
Sc	Ishk.	azi	azi	mak			mun	$m \sigma^{\scriptscriptstyle 1} n \tilde{o}$		$mum-b\bar{o}$			Ē	•	\mathbf{I} shk	$x_{\Omega m}$		mnx			mıš				
1st Prs.	$S_{\mathcal{G}}$	(e)zp	az- am	(va-)mak	co-mak	pə-mak	nem	$me^{\ln n}$	ma-man	$ar{e}q$ - mn/em	lob-nem,	ō€-nem₁	1st Prs Pl	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	S_{gl} .	xe/pmp	1	$fe\dot{sim}(-ba)$	cə-məčəf	fezem-ed	$(a)mi\check{c}$	məčen		$mi\hat{z} ext{-}bar{e}$	miš aol
		Nom	Ag.	Acc	Abl	Γ oc	Gen.	Pred.Gen.	, Iness ,	Dat.	Comit	'Anteess'				Nom	Ag	Aec	Abl.	Loc.	Gen.	Pred.Gen	'Iness'	Dat.	Comit

The various forms which, for the sake of convenience, have been included in the preceding paradigm, are of diverse nature, and it is doubtful whether all of them ought really to be called "cases"

They are all derived from a limited number of bases, viz in Sgl.

	1st Sg	2nd Sg	1st Pl	2nd Pl
Nom.	azə	tə	amax	t eg m eg x
Obl	mak	$t^{p}fak$	m ı \check{c} ə f	$t ilde{ u} m ilde{ u} (ilde{ u} f)$
\mathbf{Gen}	mən	tō	mič	t eg m eg x

It will be observed that the differentiation is less marked in the Pl—especially in the 2nd prs—than in the Sg

azə and tə go back to ancient nominatives, azə perhaps to a form *azám, cf Sogd b. 'zıv and Yd zo, etc.

mak and $t^{3}fak$, fak represent ancient accusatives and ablatives, and $m \partial n$ and $t \bar{\partial}$ ancient gentives Ishk (and Zeb. Gr) $t \bar{\imath}$ corresponds to Wkh $t \bar{\imath}$, and may go back to "tar Regarding this system of cases of Gauthiot MSL, 20, p 69.

In the pl the nominatives have been lost, as elsewhere in Ir.—amax goes back to *amāxam as proposed by Gauthiot l.c., mic, however, must be derived from *ahmāčiya- (cf Shgh māš and possibly Psht. $m\bar{u}n\dot{z}$), not from *mak'ē β (Gauthiot, l.c.). The oblique base has been differentiated from the genitive by the addition of the oblique case suffix $-\partial f < *-an\beta i\dot{s}$ (Gauthiot, l.c.).

The 2nd pl. has been differentiated from the 1st pl by the addition of t- from the sg, just as is the case in Sar. and Yazgh Regarding the use of the Agent case, cf § 103

112 The oblique base is used:

- a) Without any addition as an accusative Sgl p 1 tu mak kasī 'thou seest me', tfak dehēm 'we beat thee', azə tumuxuv kasen 'I see you', p 2 təfak wēndəm 'I saw thee', Ishk. azı tumux γēżum 'I say to you', azı fak wēnduk 'I have seen thee'
- b) With va as a definite or emphatic accusative. Sgl. p 1 az t³fak kasen, kull va tfak kasem 'I see thee, we all see thee'; to va mièof kasī, azo va tumuxov kasen, azom va tumux wēnt (va tumuxof-om

- wēnt), az-əm va tfag wēnt 'I saw thee', tō-u va mak wēnt, p. 2 az-əm va tfak wēnd, tə-vō va-mak wēnd
 - c) With the izafat Sgl p. 3 beyar-1 mak 'except me'.
- d) With co as an ablative Sgl p 2 to co-mak paān-dō 'thou art below me', co tofak vorāz-mō 'I am above thee', Sgl is am ādam co-mak (co-tfak, co-močof, co-tomoxof) jošt 'this man is bigger than I' (etc)
 - e) With po as a locative.

The genitive base is used:

- a) As an attributive genitive. Sgl. p 1 am mon xān, ō tō xān 'this is my house, that one is thy house', p. 2 am xān mon vorūđen-ē 'this house is my brother's'; ma muč (tomox) xān 'in our (your) house', p. 3 ma mon xōđm 'in my sleep', tō lavz 'thy word', Ishk tī zovūk 'thy tongue', wadak tī (mrš) xān 'there is thy (our) house'
 - b) With the suffix $\cdot (n)\check{e}n$, Ishk. $\cdot n\bar{o}$ as a Predicative Gen 2 : Sgl. p. 1 am $x\bar{a}n$ kull mənen- \bar{e} 'all these houses are mine'; $c \ni f\bar{u}r \ z\bar{o}t \cdot \bar{o}$ mənēn 'I have four sons'; p 2 mənen wok kıtāv- \bar{o} 'I have a book', \bar{o} $x\bar{a}n$ -da tōnen- \bar{e} 'this house is thine', Sgl. is am $x\bar{a}n$ mənen- (məčen-, təməxen-) \bar{e} 'this house is mine (ours, yours)', Ishk amīn $x\bar{a}n$ munō, wadak $x\bar{a}n$ tīnō 'this house is mine, that house there is thine', mənō wok kıtōb vəd 'I had a book' Note Sgl p 3 mənī zı Xudār nəst 'az mā $\bar{i}tar\bar{i}$ Xudā nēst'—Cf § 105.
 - c) With the preposition ma as a locative
 - d) With the postpositions Sgl $b\bar{e}$, Ishk. bo 'to' as a dative, and with $j\bar{e}$ 'in front of', $g\bar{o}l$, gul 'with' Thus, e.g Sgl. p 1 mum- $b\bar{e}$ tu wok rope \bar{e} $d\bar{e}$ 'give me one rupee'; az $t\bar{o}$ - $b\bar{e}$ wok rope \bar{e} $d\bar{a}$ yen, p 2 miž-be $p\bar{u}l$ $d\bar{e}$ 'give us money', va kitāb $d\bar{u}\delta\bar{n}$ mum- $b\bar{e}$ 'they gave me the book', Ishk azi tu-bo deyum 'I give thee', $t\bar{e}$ mum-bo čīz $y\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{i}$ 'what dost thou say to me?'—Sgl. p 2 az $t\bar{u}$ - $z\bar{a}$ - $m\bar{o}$, $t\bar{e}$ mən- $z\bar{e}$ - $d\bar{o}$ 'I am before thee, and thou art before me', p. 3 mən- $z\bar{e}$, p. 2 $t\bar{e}$ - $z\bar{e}$ 'hamr $z\bar{e}$ - $z\bar{e}$.

Note Sgl p 2 aze-i t³fak(?) xēsta xwārem 'I and thou(?) eat bread', but Ishk azi t³ maduk arī kenon 'I and thou are working here'.

¹ Cf. Sogd &m'k

⁹ Cf Grierson § 52.

Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

114. I have come across no genuine Sgl enclitic pronouns, and I have heard no sentence corresponding in its construction to Ishk $d\bar{e}d\bar{a}k$ -am-a 'I have beaten him'.

In some cases, however, the Prs pronominal suffixes are being used Thus Sgl p 2 mə šēn kenen-et 'mā tura mēgāyam-et', p 1 nīvō-et 'he brought it to thee' —Sgl p 2 belarzānu-š 'he makes him tremble', belišmānu-š 'he makes him slip', čukō-š 'he beats him', dā-š ambār 'they put it into the granary'; nə wīnō-š 'he does'nt see him'.²—Sgl p 1 kull-mōn-dag nīlōstag-an 'we are all sitting', kull-mōn dag va t̄fak kasem 'we are all of us looking at thee', am xān-dag kull-mōnin-dag-ē 'this very house belongs to all of us', Sgl. is wīndō-mōn 'he has seen us'—kull-šōn-dak sāar xwārān 'all of them will eat to-morrow', kull-šōm-bē taxsīm kenen 'I shall distribute it to all of them', zamīn kull-šōm baxš kenen 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; hōr kull-šōm baxš kenen 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; hōr kull-šōm baxā vān 'they shall all go to their homes (hama-išān buran xōna-ī xud)'—The enclitic pronoun 1st sg is possibly contained in Sgl. p 2 šənāy-əm mərōk 'the fire has died for me(?)'.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

115. Sgl—Ishk possesses three demonstrative pronouns corresponding etymologically and functionally to those of Yd.—Mj.

 $^{^{}t}$ Acc. to Grierson, § 62 But cf. Sgl. is windom-on 'I saw them (?)'. Cf also Voc. s v $\cdot \overline{\iota}.$

² But why Sgl p. 2 trasen be apro(-8) 'I fear that he will become lost'?

³ Note the addition of the Sgl suffix of the predic gen to the Prs enclitic pronoun

⁴ Read -Son 9

		leb.(Gr.)	ao , $w\bar{o}$			$y\bar{u}$	$y\bar{u}nen$	$yar{u}$ - $bar{a}$			c - $ar{u}$		$\tilde{a}wend$					
	x	Skold Ishk (Gr) Zeb.(Gr.)	va	wan		i(w)		wan-ba) 1				$war{e}v$	ån
	"ILLE, IS"		wa-dak a¹wī, au	wan		$\tilde{i}n$	inå	im-bd(P)		nan-ed			$a'w(\bar{a}nd\hat{a}n)^{1}$	a'wāndān		īvnā	iw - $b\ddot{a}$	pə-a'wändån
		Ishk	wa-dak	uan					_									
Sg		Sgl.	\bar{o} $(a\bar{u})$	va/o	awē, ō	yō	yōnen	yō-vē	(awaī bē)		on-es	Pl.	avand				avām-bē	
92	"ISTE"	Skold		dan														
	SI,	Sgl	$a\delta(a)$		adē	$\varrho_{\underline{i}}$	īđen	$i\delta$ - $b\tilde{e}$					$ a\delta reve{a}nd(e) $			aðānden	adām-bē	
•		Ishk.	$ma-dak \mid a\delta(a)$	man(Gr)						Zeb (Gr.)	c- $i(em)$		<u> </u>		miv (Gr)	r	100	
	"HIC"	Sgl.	am(a)	ma	amē	$\bar{i}m$	Gen. imen						$amreve{a}nd(e)$			Pred Gen amanden	amām- $bar{e}$	
			_				l Gen						-			l Gen		
			Nom	Acc	Ag.	Gen	Pred (Dat		Loc	Abl.		Nom	Ag		Pred	Dat.	Loc

¹ This is said to be the correct form, but also aw is used

116 The Sgl bases are:

$$am$$
 $a\delta$ $(a)\bar{o}$ $\bar{\imath}m$ $\bar{\imath}\delta$ $y\bar{o}$ $(<^{\flat}\bar{\imath}\bar{o})$

Cf also Ishk.

man dan wan (
$$<*\bar{o}$$
an)
m \bar{v} w $\bar{e}v$

In the modern Sgl. system the nom sg. is formed by prefixing a to m, δ , u/o, gen by prefixing $\bar{\imath}$ to the same consonants, acc by adding -a to them, etc

The connection with the Av. pronominal stems ima, aēta- and ava- is obvious, but the origin of the differentiation between the nom am and the gen īm, etc. cannot be traced with certainty. id can scarcely be derived from the acc aētam (from which we should expect *ēd) It is possible that am(a) goes back to imā- and īm to ima-, but the reason for this distribution of the forms is unknown īw might perhaps be derived from aēibyo, aēibiš, cf wēv yōnen is formed on the same principle as tonen, which in its turn has got its -n- from man-en. With amē, awē cf. Sogd. 'wy, 'my. As for the pl forms cf Yd —Mj. § 206 In Skold's paradigm two different stems appear to have been mixed up

Examples of the use of the demonstratues.

117 1 ama Sgl p 1 am mon xān, ō tō xān 'this house is mine, that house is thine', am xān zost, had xān riziāk 'this house is big, (but) that house is small', ama ādam karīb-ū, ada ādam dīr-ū 'this man is near, (but) that man is far off', ama ādam-om wēnt 'I saw this man', hama ādam (amand ādamen) minduk-ū 'these men are asleep'. p 2 am xān am ādamen-ē 'this house belongs to this man'; am(a) xān īmen-ē, am xān yōnen-ē; amē hēc nes xorok 'he has not eaten anything', īm-be-dak wok mīēl-om dūdū vod 'I had given this man

¹ Benveniste, Gramm Sogd II, p 124 sq

an apple', amānd ādamən rosk yēžan 'these men speak the truth', am xān-da amānden-ē 'this house belongs to these people', is. am xān mənen-ē, p. 3 wa-yım (= 'va īm) Xvdā žanen 'I shall kıll his god'

- 2. ada Sgl. p 1 ada 'ādam 'arī kenōu' 'that man is working'; ada āda'mā 'arī kenan, adand ādamen 'those men', ada yēžō, adāndə yēžān 'they say', az-əm īd-bē wok rōpeē dūd 'I gave him one rupee' p 2 ada xān-da īden-ē 'that house is his', īd-be wok rōpē dēyen 'I give him one rupee', ada yežəd 'he said', adē-o hēčī nes xorok 'he has not eaten anything', is. ad xān dīr-ūī 'that house is far off', Skold dan vrůk vůnd 'bind that horse'
- 3 ō, aū· Sgl p 1 aū arī kenōu 'he is working', ō tō xān 'that is thy house', avand āðamen (aˈwande) kenan 'they are working', az-əm yō-be wok rōpeē dūð. p 2 ō āðam xwārōi (xwāran) 'that man ents (those men ent); ō yēžəð, ō xān-da yōnen(-dak); am xān yōnen-ē 'that (this) house is his', awand āðam zwondok-ān 'those men are hungry', yo (gen) zondokī šīð 'he became hungry', yō-vē wok miēl dayem be, wok mīēl-əm yō-vē dūðū vəð 'I shall give (I have given) him an apple', awē hēči nes xorok 'he has not eaten anything', co wo cut-ān 'they are smaller than he' Note awaī be wok rōpē dēyen 'I shall give him one rupee' Sgl. p 2 az-əm va zōð 'I killed him', p 3 wo zanen 'ura bukušan', tə-ðo wa gaxtog 'thou hast done it', yō-va dāya sīð 'she became his nurse' Sgl is ō xān dīr-ūī 'that house is far off'. Ishk azī wan dēdum 'I beat him' Skold īn nīm čīz, čīz nīm īnā o' 'what is his (corr. 'this person's '?) name?' ō, etc. is also used as a personal pronoun 3 sg.

An emphatic particle -dak is frequently added to demonstrative pronouns. Thus, e.g., am-dak 'hamīn', aðak (< *að-ðak) 'hamū', $\bar{i}m$ -be-dak, $\bar{i}m$ en-dak, etc. Cf also the use of -dak after enclitic pronouns (§ 114) and in am xān dag 'this very house'. Cf Wkh ham-dak 'hamī'

In Ishk I once heard a Prs demonstrative in amin xôn munō 'this house is mine' Sgl p 2 $\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{a}\delta am$ mər 'this man died' was

probably a slip of the tongue on the part of my informant. Also Sk, has in

Reg. dunda 'so much, thus', v Voc s v. I am unable to analyze Sgl. s. pasi vənəf, pasi vədanəf 'after those things(?) $(b\bar{a}qi\ b\iota\ \bar{u})$ '.

Reflexive Pronoun

118 The reflexive pronoun is $x\bar{e}$ 'own' < *xwahya, V. Voc. s v. Note: Sgl. $g\bar{o}l$ ken $x\bar{e}$ waz $\bar{i}r\bar{e}n$ 'assemble my ministers'; wa $x\bar{e}$ k $\bar{u}e$ 'O, my wife'.

Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

119 $k\bar{o}(i)^2$ 'who?' $< kahy\bar{a}$ —Sgl. p 2, is am $x\bar{a}n$ $k\bar{b}inen-\bar{e}^2$ 'whose is this house?' ma $kit\bar{a}v$ $k\bar{o}\cdot ve$ $d\bar{e}^2$ 'to whom wilt thou give this book', Sgl p 3 $k\bar{o}i$ $gaxtog^2$ 'who has done it?'. kudum? 'which?'.—Sgl. p. 2 kudum $\bar{a}dam-\bar{e}$?' 'which man is it?' Sgl. p 3 ma kudam $mah-\bar{o}$?' 'in which month is it?' $< kat\bar{a}ma$ -

cĕ² (adj), cect² (subst) 'what?'—Sgl p 1 tu ce arī kent, p. 2 ce/ī (h)arī kē̄ 'what art thou doing (či mēkunī)?', p 2 tə cə nīm do 'what is thy name? (litt. thou what name art?)'; təməx cīe γēžəf² 'what do you say?', cect (cicə) γētž² 'what dost thou say?', čīz Ishk, Sk., Gr 'what''—Ishk. tə mum bo čīz γēžī? 'what dost thou say to me?'.—Cf. Voc s v

cəmənd ? 'how many?'—Sgl. p 2 cəmənd ādam östö? cəmənd tan-ān? 'how many men (persons) are there?'—From *čumanta- < č(u)want-? kōci 'any(body)'.—Sgl. p 3 kōci digar Xudā 'any other God'— Cf. Av. kas-čit.

ıško 'anybody' (< *hīċ kō) --Sgl p 3 iško nes ferīnd 'nobody remained (hēčkas na mānd)'

 $h\bar{e}\check{c}i$ 'anything' (< * $h\bar{e}\check{c}\cdot ci$).—Sgl. p 2 $n\bar{e}r$ - $m\bar{o}$ $h\bar{e}\check{c}i$ nes $xor\bar{o}k$ 'today I have not eaten anything'.

čand 'some' (< Prs.)—Sgl. p. 2 čand rōz pası 'some days afterwards'.

čīzī 'something' (< Prs)—Sgl p. 2 čīzī-m nūšəδ 'I drank something' —V Voc s v.

har 'every' (< Prs)—Sgl. p 2 ce har xōrı-dak 'from every ass', Sgl is har qısm 'every kind' Cf Sgl p. 2 hōr kull-šōn 'all of them'. kull 'all' (< Ar Prs.)—Cf § 114, and v Voc s.v

Cf. also the interrogative adverbs $c\bar{e}\cdot ba$ 'why?', $c\partial n\bar{a}$ 'how?', $ka\partial t$ 'when?', $kunj\bar{a}$ 'where?', and $kir\bar{a}$ 'why?' (adapted from Prs)

I have come across no relative pronoun in Sgl.

Verbs.

Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs

" To Be"

Present

120	Sg	1	Prs.	-mō,	$\mathbf{I}\mathbf{shk}$	-1112		\mathbf{Pl}	1	$-\bar{a}n$
	>	2	*	-δō				>	2	$-\bar{a}n$
	*	3	»	$-\bar{o}(\imath)$,	$-\bar{u}(\iota)$,	$-ar{e}$, Ishk	-ō	*	3	-ān.

121 Examples are:

Sg 1 Sgl p. 1, 2 az-mō mlōstog 'I am sitting', az ma xūn darūn-mō 'I am in the house'; az zında (wulyēka)-mō 'I am alive (alone)', Ishk azī-m bē'dōr (ferīnd) 'I am awake (tired)'; Sk. az-ım ōst 'I am' Cf LSI, X, p 491 -ma.

Sg. 2 Sgl p 2 tu ma $x\bar{a}n$ dar $\bar{u}n$ - $d\bar{o}$ 'thou art in the house', to sust ($\bar{s}ilax$, $dur\bar{o}\gamma g\bar{u}$)- $d\bar{o}$ 'thou art lazy (naked, a liar)'; to $\bar{z}wondok$ - $d\bar{o}$ - \bar{i} 'art thou hungry?', to ce $n\bar{i}m$ - $d\bar{o}$?' 'what is thy name?' With $-v\bar{o} < -d\bar{o}^{-1}$ to- $v\bar{o}$ va mak $v\bar{c}\bar{o}ndo$ $v\bar{o}$ 'thou hadst seen me', p 1 to- $v\bar{o}$ nulosto- $d\bar{o}$ (= p 2 to- $d\bar{o}$ nulostog) 'thou didst sit down'

A doubtful case, probably a mere Persianism, is Sgl p 2 conā-i oyod 'ittur āmadī' Cf Gr, Zeb -ai

¹ Cf § 23

^{23 -} Kulturforskning

Sg 3. The final $\cdot i$ of $\cdot \bar{o}/\bar{u}i$ (LSI $\cdot ai$) is probably originally a slightly emphatic particle. Examples are. Sgl p 1 $a\delta a\ \bar{u}\delta am\ d\bar{v}r\cdot\bar{u}i$ 'this man is far off', p 2 $v\bar{o}r\ \bar{s}\bar{o}x\cdot\bar{o}i$ 'the door is closed', Sgl is. $am\ x\bar{a}n\ qur\bar{i}b\cdot\bar{u}i$ 'this house is near'

The distinction between $-\bar{o}$ and $-\bar{u}$ (LSI -a) seems to be due to vowel harmony, $-\bar{u}$ being used after a preceding narrow vowel Thus Sgl. p. $2 \ x\bar{u}b \ r\bar{o}st \ dur \ k-\bar{u}$ 'it is a quite straight stick'; $k\imath t\bar{u}v \ c\bar{o}-p\bar{s}\bar{u}r-\bar{u}$ 'the book is above', but $m\bar{e}x \ s\bar{o}r-\bar{o}$ 'it is on the table'. There are, however, several cases of $-\bar{o}$ being used also after i and i (e.g. $v\bar{e}k \ x\bar{o}nuk-\bar{o}$ 'the water is cold'), and in one case I heard $kal\bar{a}n-\bar{u}$ 'it is big'.

The sg $-\bar{o}/\bar{u}$ is used after numerals and adjectives denoting quantity, e.g. $h\bar{o}v\delta$ zomanā $k\bar{-o}$ 'there are seven sons', far $wu\delta u\gamma d\bar{-o}$ 'there are many daughters', etc

In Ishk. I never heard any other form than \bar{o} (e.g wadak $x\bar{o}n$ $t\bar{i}n\bar{-}\bar{o}$ 'that house is thine') But in Sgl. a special form $\bar{\cdot}\bar{e}$ is employed after an abs gen Thus, Sgl p. 1, 2 ama (ada) $x\bar{a}n$ $\bar{i}men$ ($\bar{i}den$)- \bar{e} 'this (that) house belongs to this (that) person', $r\bar{o}i$ $xw\bar{a}i$ $m\bar{o}nen\bar{-e}$ 'I have three sisters', $k\bar{o}inen\bar{-e}^2$ 'whose is it?' $m\bar{o}nen$ $nest\bar{-e}$ 'it is not mine' Note kudum $\bar{a}dam\bar{-e}^2$ 'which man is it?'(?), which may, however, have been misheard.

The nominal construction, without any auxiliary, is frequent in the 3rd sg Thus, Sgl p 1 am mon xān 'this is my house', am xān žošt 'this house is big'.

- 122. Pl 1 · Sgl p 2 kull-môn day nilôstag-ān 'we are all of us sitting', amex živondok ān 'we are hungry'
 - Pl. 2 Sgl p 2 təmux fay-ān 'you are many'; təməx sust-ān 'you are lazy', təməx zwondok-ān-ī? 'are you hungry?'.
 - Pl 3 Sgl. p 2 how $vr\bar{u}\delta\bar{a}r$ - $\bar{a}n$ 'there are seven brothers', $c \ni m \ni nd$ tan- $\bar{a}n$ ma $t \ni m \ni x$ $x\bar{a}n$? 'how many people are there in your house?'

Sgl $\bar{o}sto$, Ishk $\bar{u}st$ correspond to Prs hast 'exists, is'. Thus, Sgl p 2 mənə wo kıtāv $\bar{o}(sto)$ 'I possess a book', cəmənd $\bar{a}\delta$ am $\bar{o}st\bar{o}^{\varrho}$ 'how many people are there?' Ishk mənō wok čizī $\bar{u}st$ 'I have a certain thing'. Cf. Gr Ishk $\bar{a}st$, Zb. $\bar{a}st$, inflected Gr. Zeb $\bar{a}st$ -ım,

āst-ai, Sk. az im ōst, tu-t ōst, ōst (e.g. muna ōst 'I have'), etc. Cf Sk. as tā 'kūna' gap 'is there an ancient word?'. I never came across such forms.

The interpretation of Sgl p. 2 wog, dō, rōi mēi mə Mandažā-st, psād wōða ast, wok mā wōða hast i is not certain, but ast here seems to mean 'was', cf. Par hōst 'was'.

- 123. The negative form of the verb substantive is Sgl. 1 sg. ncsimō, 3rd sg ncs(t) 'nest'. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 'az pə 'tō Xu'dāt ka'būl 'nosimo 'I am not satisfied with thy god', p 2 kirā nest ōγōð ? 'why has he not come?'. But note also, e.g., nəs kəð 'na kard'; iško ncs ferīnd 'nobody remained', where nes is used as a simple negation Cf. Voc. s v.
- 124. The derivation of some of the forms given above is uncertain, but Ishk. $\bar{u}st$, Sgl. * $\bar{o}st$ probably goes back to accentuated asti, while $-\bar{o}/\bar{u}$ represents the unstressed form, and $\bar{o}st\bar{o}$ is a cross between the two forms. But $-\bar{o}$ may also go back to -ati.

In Sgl. ahmi and the enclitic pronoun 1 sg -mai would coalesce in $(\partial)m$. Therefore the auxiliary has been reinforced by adding the verbal ending $-\delta$ This has led to the employment of the ancient encl. pron 2nd sg. Sk. -t, - δ , Sgl $-d/\delta\bar{\delta}$ (with secondary $\bar{\delta}$) both as a verb and as an encl pronoun

2nd sg $^{*}\bar{e} < ahi$ has disappeared in Sgl, probably on account of the collision with 3 sg. \tilde{e} But cf. Gr., Ishk. ai

While 3rd pl $\bar{a}n$ may be derived from *hanti, and 1 pl $\bar{a}n$ has been influenced by the encl pron, the 2 pl in $\bar{a}n$ is an unexpected form ($< -u\vartheta ana^2$).

125. The preterite is vəδəm, -əm vəδ, or az(-əm) vəδ 'I was'; vəδ 'he was', e.g., wok telf vəδ 'there was one child', adīm frī weð Sk. 'that would be good'. Sk. 'na-vuduk, transl 'he isn't', is probably a pf. form.

¹ Texts, II

² IIFL, I, Par Gramm. §§ 175 sqq

³ Cf. Gr, LSI

⁴ Cf Prs dial -en

128

" To Become"

The same root \dot{s} is used both in the meaning of 'going' and of 'becoming'

Present (Aorist).

			Sgl	Ishk.	Sk.			Sgl.	$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{k}$
$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{g}$	1	\mathbf{Prs}	šān	$\dot{s} \bar{u} m$	$\dot{s}_{\theta}(wu)m$	Pl	1	šām	<i>sawōn</i>
>>	2	»			$\dot{s}\partial w \bar{\imath}$	*	2		šawəf
*	3	>>	$\dot{s}uw\hat{o}(\imath)$		ร้อเ <i>งน</i> ิ	>>	3	suān	

Thus, warfa vē šuwāi 'the snow melts', suān xē xān 'let them go home', aza šān 'I become, I go'; šūān 'buran', sām 'let us go'

Imperative

Sgl sà biavan 'go into the desert', Sk 2nd sg sau, 1 pl suan

Preterite

Thus, bēdār-em šīð 'I awoke'; šīðum biavān 'I went into the desert', to żwondok šio-ī² 'gušna šudī²' wok šēr paidā šīð 'a lion was born', šīð Izmū bē 'he went to Zebak', psāl 'ēi šīān 'now we became satisfied', roxsat šīān 'they took farewell'.—šīān < *šīð ān

Perfect

Sk.

 $\operatorname{Sgl} \qquad \operatorname{Ishk}$

Sg 1 Prs -mō štōk

» 3 » štðōk, -o syuk šəduk sədūk

Thus, az-mo zaxmī šiōk, zax(m)-mō šīok 'I have become wounded', kar-mō šyūk 'I have become deaf', kōr-o šyūk 'he has become blind', baləwān šīdōk 'jang suda ast' Cf Pluperfect šīdō vedem 'I had become'. See §§ 144, 147

The Present Stem

129. In Sgl—Ishk., as in other Modern Ir. languages, the verbal system is based upon two stems—the Present Stem and the Past Stem

All Present Stems are inflected alike, the only exception being the Verb Substantive A causative in -ān- has been borrowed from Prs Thus, be-čarānem 'I herd cattle', belarzānu 'he makes it tremble', be-lišmānu-š 'he makes him slip'. Reg pīz-: paz-, sīw-saw-, v below § 130, è

- 130 From the historical point of view we can still distinguish between Present Stems in -a-, -ya-, -àya-, -na- and -sa-. But these distinctions have no significance whatever in the verbal system of modern Sgl—Ishk. Examples of the various ancient stems are:
 - a) Stems in -a- Sgl araz- 'to fly'; vānd- 'to bind', pac- 'to boil' (intr), xwār- 'to eat'.
 - b) Stems in -ya- if- 'to weave' (*ufya-), mur- 'to die' (*mrya-?), $zi\delta$ 'to flow' (*zqadya-); $d\bar{e}\dot{s}$ 'to milk' (* $daux\check{s}ya$ -)
 - c) Stems in -āya- Sgl api-, Ishk apay- 'to be lost' (*apāya-), āstay- 'to send', day- 'to give', deray- 'to reap', fərmē- 'to command', nəmay- 'to show', pār-đē- 'to sell', zənē- 'to wash'—Of roots ending in consonants: awīr- 'to find', pəzīn- 'to recognize', kīr- 'to plough', nēnd- 'to plant', īžīm- 'to bring', Slk pīz- 'to cook' (intr paz-), sīw- 'to burn' (intr. saw-).¹
 - d) Stems in -sa-: is 'to come', fərōs- 'to ask', wərōfs- 'to stand up', mis- 'to sleep' (?); trās- 'to fear'
 - e) Stems in -na. cen- 'to pick', ken- 'to do'; $x \ni rn$ 'to buy', $y\bar{u}n$ -, etc 'to grind', Ishk $\dot{s}in$ 'to weep'; possibly also pedin- 'to kindle'
 - f) Irregular formations are pov- 'to drink', from the ancient reduplicated stem *piba-, and $i\delta$ 'to arrive', which recalls Slav. ido 'I go' and the Av presents in $-d\bar{a}$ -, but has more probably been abstracted from the 3rd sg Av $\bar{a}iti$

¹ Cf also Tedesco, ZII, II, p 282

² Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, § 219.

g) Some of the Ishk present stems given by Sk. have been adapted to the past stems. Thus, apu.c- 'to hear' (pret apuxt), for apaxš-, jis- 'to flee' (pret jist-) for jih-, məl- 'to die' for mṛ-; šīd- 'to weep', cf Ishk yūln- (pret. yūld) 'to grind' for yūn-. Also Zar təruf- 'to steal' has got its f from the past stem, but at a very early date.

Present.

131 ken- 'to do', γē/až- 'to speak', xwār- 'to eat', pzīn- 'to know'

Sg Pl ,	1 2 3 1 2 3	Prs. * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Sgl p. 1 ke'nen ke'nī ke'nō ke'non ke'nen ke'nəf	Sgl. p. 1 yē'zen yē'zī, yēz (?) yē'zō(") yē'zēm yēzəf yē'zān	Sgl. p 2 xwārən xwārī xwōrōi xwārəm xwārvf xwārān	Sgl. 18. kenen kenī kenō(1) kenun kenəf
Sg » Pl »	1 2 3 1 2 3	Prs. ** ** ** ** ** **	Sgl. s kenem zīðū	Ishk. kenum kənī kənū kenon kenū (?)	Sk. yažų 1 'yažī 'yažu yažān 'yažav 'yažav 'yažav	Gr. (Zeb) -1/em -ē -ī, -ar -en -ev -en

Gauthiot's Ishk. paradigm ³ (ava'rəm, a'ıar, a'ıard, ava'rân, ava'ləv, ava'rân) differs from that of other sources. But on the whole the Ishk. terminations closely resemble those of W Wakhan (-əm, -ī, -t, -an, -əv, an).

132. 1st Sg. and Pl.—It is characteristic of the extreme variability of some of the Pamir dialects spoken by the scanty population of a few scattered villages, that in the hamlet of Porogh the dis-

¹ And pzinom, pzini, etc.—Reg wůnn/sm, wůnē, wůnu, etc., v Voc.

² MSL, 20, p 14

tribution of -n and -m in the 1st Sg. and Pl should be the opposite of that found in the village of Zebak below, and probably also in Sanglech proper (at the head of the valley), the intervening village of Iskutul presenting -n in both cases

The 1st Sg in -n probably originally belongs to the subjunctive, while the 1st Pl has got its -n from the enclitic pronoun Apparently 'Common Sgl.—Ishk' at a not too remote period possessed both an indicative 1st Sg. in -m and a subjunctive in -n, possibly also a present 1st Pl in -m and a preterite in -n. But now these forms have everywhere been levelled out

Ishk -um may be derived from -ami, while Sgl p -en (more rarely -ən) would seem to go back to -ayani If this is the case we must assume that -en was transferred secondarily to zenēyen (zenēn) 'I wash', dayen 'I give', etc

2nd Sg—Sgl. - \bar{i} (Gr Zeb - \bar{e}) < - $ah\iota$, or - $ayah\iota$. If - \bar{i} is derived from - $ayah\iota$, the irregular forms Sgl p 2 $k\bar{e}$, $k\bar{e}$, ken 'thou dost', apanis 'thou losest ($gum\ m\bar{e}k\iota n\bar{\imath}$)', $eic\partial\ \gamma\bar{e}'\dot{z}^{\,2}$ 'what dost thou say?' are derived from - $ah\iota$, of also Gauthiot's avar 'thou bringest' But I only heard such forms used in questions, and the loss of the ending is most probably a recent and local phenomenon

3rd Sg —Regarding the distribution of $-\bar{u}$ and $-\bar{o}$ and the particle -i, cf above § 121

From -ati we should expect *- $\bar{o}\delta$, but the final consonant has been dropped in the termination, cf the 3rd Pl $-\bar{a}n$ It is possible that a last trace of the fricative remains in the form $-\bar{o}^u$ ($< +\bar{o}v$ $< -\bar{o}\delta^2$) which was heard occasionally But $-\bar{o}^u$ may equally well be a recent diphthongization of $-\bar{o}$

Twice I heard Sgl p. 3 isyūð 'he shall, may come', which may be the older form Gauthiot's avard is probably a Wkh form, since the syncope in the 3rd Sg appears to be foreign to Sgl—Isbk

Gr (Zb) -ī, -ai probably goes back to -ayati

¹ Cf the corresponding forms in Oss, Bal, Kashan diall, etc

² Pace Tedesco, ZII, 2, p 284 sq

2nd Pl —Sgl —Ishk. -of, -ov corresponds to the forms found in Yd —Mj and W Wakhi ¹ The derivation from the enclitic pronoun *wah ² is phonetically improbable, and irreconcilable with its employment in the Pres, but not in the Preterite. I would prefer to derive these terminations in v/f from Av imper. and opt medium -aðwəm ³ Phonetically such a development appears to be possible as well in Sgl as in Wkh. and Yd.—Mj., and the need for a distinctive ending for the 2nd pl would explain the perseverance of the middle form -ān of the Pret and Auxihary would then have to be derived from *-aϑana, cf. the survival of -athana in Dardic, Kafiri, etc.

3rd Pl—Ancient -anti (and -antai, -anta $^{\circ}$) resulted in $^{\circ}$ ant, from which - $\bar{a}n$ with the special phonetic reduction which is so frequent in grammatical terminations

- Grierson gives Zb az-ım deh as an equivalent of az dehem 'I beat', but I have never come across this analytical form in Sgl. It has, however, an exact parallel in Par ân-em dhē⁴
- 134 The Sgl—Ishk 'Present' is used both as a real present and as a prospective agrist. Acc. to Gr 5 the particle be is added in Zb to emphasize the future sense, or also, in one instance, to express the definite present.

In the material at my disposal the definite present force of be (bə, ba) appears in several cases. Thus, Sgl p 2 be nasōe 'mēgīvud', xāndem bu-š 'mē-xāndem', šakem bē-š 'mēšakam', wēn be zīðū 'blood is flowing', Sgl p 3 kasəf ke mən dəsman bə kunjay-ō 'look where my enemy 1s', Ishk. far bu bōru 'bisyār mēbārad', Sk. īm-bå be-fåru 'he wants'

A future or subjunctive sense is probable in Sgl p 1 trāsen ki fərmisen be 'I fear that I may forget it', p 2 trāsen be aprō(s) 'I fear that it may be lost'; nēr be šān āri kenūk 'to-day I shall go and work'

¹ Cf now also—according to Henning—Khwarizmian -βι

² Gr I₁.Ph , I₁ 2, p. 324

^a Reg Par -ēr, -ōr, cf HFL, I, p 89.

⁴ HFL, I, p 89

⁵ LSI, X, p 494 sq

In a number of cases I am unable to decide the exact meaning of be Thus, Sgl p 2 psād ba xēsta xwārī² nə xwārəm be 'ait thou eating (shallt thou eat) bread? I am not eating (shall not eat)', yō-vē wok miēl dayem-be 'I (shall) give him an apple', am āðam murō be, or be murō 'this man is dying (going to die)'

Very frequently, but not in all cases, a Prs. definite present was rendered by a form with the enclicic be Thus, Sgl. p 2 apaxsom, dayem, γuzom, sixsom be 'mēšnauam', etc; Sgl p 3 ižimom, vrēlum, sām, wunīžom bē, Sgl s dēem, kulom, šām, no xuārom be, etc Cf also Sgl. p 2 boh be kenem 'I kiss'; p 3 awezān be kenen 'I hang up'; pār be δēn 'I sell'

In some causatives in $-\bar{a}n$ -, $-\bar{d}n$ -, borrowed from Prs , be is regularly prefixed. Cf Voc. s vv. bečarān-, bədəwōn-, belarzān-, belismān-, v above § 129

A form bəš, buš is also frequently used, not only with transitive verbs, although -s is probably borrowed from the Prs enclitic. Thus, Sgl p 1 az ni šām bəš, p. 2 īfən, xūrum bəš, Sgl is yanten, nasem bəš; az nī bē wok rūpayē dayem bəš 'I (shall?) give him a rupee'

In a few cases I heard be, ba used with the preterite. Thus, Sgl p. 2 sāar ba xōlan 'we rose in the morning'; . də rōpē nēð, ba ər kuð 'he took two rupees and let them go', dīr watan ba šīð 'he went to a distant country', guzar-em be šīxtəm 'I passed over'; pārūzd wok čīzī to bē be spārðovē 'he entrusted a thing to thee yesterday' I am unable to determine the meaning of be in these sentences At any rate it does not correspond to that of Psht ba, which forms the Habitual Past

Reg the use of the particle da, v Voc. s v.

Imperative.

136 Imper. 2nd Sg is identical with the present base. Thus, Sgl. p 2, 3, Ishk is, Sgl p. 1, is, s is 'come', Sgl p $d\bar{e}(i)$ 'give', p 1, 2 $d\bar{e}$ 'beat'; Ishk $\bar{i}\dot{z}\partial m$, Sgl p $i\dot{z}\bar{i}m$ 'bring', Ishk $n\bar{i}d$ 'sit 'Cf Yd-M_J

down', Sgl. p 2, 3 ke(n) 'do', Sgl p 2 žan 'kill', zəne, Ishk zenar 'wash', p 2 šā (šo) 'go', etc.

Imper 2nd Pl. is identical in form with Present 2rd Pl Thus, Sgl p 3 dehef 'beat', $ni\delta ef$ 'sit down', kenef 'do', kasef 'see', $\gamma \varepsilon^i \dot{z} \dot{z} f$ 'tell'.

Note Sgl p 2 hōr-kull-sōn de suān xē xān 'let all of them go home (hama-isān buran xōna-i rud)', where de is used to form an Imper 3rd Prs., just as the corresponding Psht. enclitic dē, dī

The Past Stem

137 From a historical point of view the Past Stems of Sgl.—Ishk. can be divided into the following groups.¹

A I Ir *-ata- $\tilde{z}\tilde{o}\delta$ 'killed' ($\tilde{z}an$ -), opo δ 'came' (is-); no δ 'took' (nas-) The derivation of $\tilde{b}y\tilde{o}\delta$ 'brought' ($\tilde{i}\tilde{z}\tilde{i}m$ -) is uncertain ²

In some cases preterites in $-a/\partial \delta$ may go back to ancient Ir forms in unstressed -ata, -ita, but the majority of such preterites are no doubt recent formations. Thus, $xa\ddot{s}\partial \delta$ 'pulled', $m\bar{u}nda\delta$ 'rubbed', $Zar\ l\bar{t}sud$ 'lieked'; $k\bar{t}rod$ 'ploughed', etc.

II. Ir *- $\bar{a}ta$ -· $d\bar{u}\delta$ 'gave' (day-), par- $d\bar{u}\delta$ 'sold', $\bar{a}stu\delta$ 'sent' $(\bar{a}stay$ -), $f \ni rm\bar{u}\delta$ 'ordered' (prob. lw), $z \ni n\bar{u}\delta$ 'washed' $(z \ni n\bar{e}$ -), $w\bar{u}d$ 'took away' (vus-)

III. Ir. *- $\bar{u}ta$ -: $\sin\delta$, $\sin\delta$ 'went, became' ($\sin\delta$), $\cos\delta$ 'was'; cf. Zar $p\bar{u}duk$ 'rotten'

IV. Ir *-ita- Sgl s $p\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'drank' $(p \ni v$ -), $x \ni r\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'bought' $(x \ni r n$ -), $it\delta$ 'picked' $(t\bar{\imath}n$ -, tw?), $t\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'wept' $(t\bar{\imath}n)$ -, $t\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'lighted' $(t\bar{\imath}n)$ -, $t\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'threshed' $(t\bar{\imath}n)$ -, and $t\bar{\imath}n$ -, and $t\bar{\imath}n$ - 'scratched' $(t\bar{\imath}n)$ -, may be secondary formations. Cf. also $t\bar{\imath}$ 'beat' $t\bar{\imath}$ 'reaped' $t\bar{\imath}$ 'reaped' $t\bar{\imath}$ 'reaped' ($t\bar{\imath}$), $t\bar{\imath}$ 'reaped' ($t\bar{\imath}$), $t\bar{\imath}$ 'reaped' ($t\bar{\imath}$), $t\bar{\imath}$ 'showed' ($t\bar{\imath}$), $t\bar{\imath}$ 'reaped' ($t\bar{\imath}$), $t\bar{\imath}$ 'showed' ($t\bar{\imath}$)

138 B I. Ir *-rta- astol 'swept' (astar-), wol 'found' (awir-), mol

 $^{^{1}}$ Ishk, forms are given only when they are morphologically different from the Sgl ones

² Sk has a secondary pret. *lžəmd*.

² Cf Psht əlai, etc., Yd.—M] lat < *dārita-

'died' (mur-), škūl- 'sought' (škār-), xwol 'ate' (xwār-), kul, ku δ 'did' (ken-)

Secondary formations from the present base are $sp\bar{a}r\delta$ 'entrusted', $tor\delta$ 'pedicavit', $d\bar{e}rd$ Sk. 'had', $y\bar{u}r\delta$ 'ground' $(y\bar{u}n$, etc), and, of more recent origin, kurt (Zar. $k\bar{u}rod$) 'ploughed' ($k\bar{t}r$) A secondary d has been added to the ancient preterite in Ishk s^utuld 'swept', awuld (Sk. $av\bar{u}ld$, $av\bar{u}d$) 'found', $y\bar{u}ld$ 'ground', Sk $m\bar{e}ld$ 'died' (from which a new pres. stem. $m\bar{e}l$ - has been formed).

The present stems of Gr Zb. kel 'consumed' and the preterite of nuwar- 'to draw water' are unknown. Sk $zd\bar{u}d$ 'swept' ($zd\bar{a}r$ -) and $av\bar{u}d$ 'found' are suspect of Shgh. influence.

- II a) Ir. *-asta-· võst 'bound' (vānd-), mlõst³ 'sat down' ($ni\delta$ -), zust 'ran' ($zi\delta$ -) jīst 'fled' is a Prs lw⁴—Also čarāst 'grazed' (čarān-), and bəlaxċāst- 'made to slip' (*bə-laxċān-?) are lw.s, and the preterites may have their origin in some local Prs dialect Cf, however, belismānd.—Acc. to Sk. the preterite of xōnd- 'to laugh' is $x\bar{u}nd$
 - b) Ir *-ista- No example is known.
- c) Ir *-rsta- fəryəst 'wandered' (fəryərt-), yost 'walked about', both of which are probably early lw s.

Sk. gives a number of Past Stems in tt from roots in -d/t. Thus, $w\bar{e}tt$ 'put' (wed-), att 'fell' (at-), dett 'entered' ($d\bar{e}d$ -); $n\bar{t}t$ 'sat down' ($n\bar{t}d$ -), $s\bar{t}tt$ 'wept' ($s\bar{t}d$ -) ⁵ Cf the corresponding Wkh forms

- III a) Ir. *-asta- kot 'saw' (kas-), fərōt 'asked' (fərōs-), arat 'flew' (araz-), uāt, wat 'fell' (waz-), xōt 'rose' (xāz-). With i from the Pres. Stem apanit 'lost' (apanis-), fərnit 'forgot' (fərms-)
- b) Ir. *-išta-, -ušta-. let 'licked' (lēs-), v³rēt 'broke' (vrēl-), kut 'slaughtered' (kul-).

¹ Cf §§ 13, 70

³ But wulok 'flour' from the original past stem

^{*} Sk. only in 'rēmuz 'nəlūst, elsewhere nītt-.

⁴ Sk jas. jast

⁵ Ishk in šīd, but Sgl, quite irregularly, šid šīd

Secondary formations from the present stem are juzd 'ran'; ježd 'wrapped up', Sk. arazd 'flew', forast 'asked', kəld 'slaughtered', Ishk velēld 'broke', Zar. līsud 'licked' (Ishk. līšt from Prs), tūld 'shaved'

Cf also xasəd, Sk xast 'pulled', nūsəd (Gr nest) 'threw, put', nəvist 'wrote', Sk nəst (Gr nust, naset) 'went out' (nēz-), wunīžd, wənīst 'went round' (wəny-), yēzd 'said'.

Note Gr Zb yēd, tūd < yēžd, tūld.

- IV a) Ir * afta-· xavd 'descended' (xav-), 1 $\dot{s}k\bar{o}vd$ 'was cold', which may be a secondary formation
- b) Ir *-t̄fta- yēvô, t̄vd 'span' -nt̄vô 'brought', pəvô 'blew' (pəb-),
 povô 'drank' (pov-), Gr qt̄vd 'called' are all secondary forms
 - c) Ir *-yfta- (-ybda-) andərvð 'sewed'

Roots in f, p, b have secondary preterites ift 'wove', Sk tərəft 'stole', Gr kift 'pierced', 2 Sk talapt 'wanted', žēbt 'beat'

Note Sgl $t\partial \delta$, Ishk $s\partial d$ 'burnt' $(t\partial v_-, s\partial v_-)$ with the same irregular development (* $\partial ata_- < *tafta_-$) as is found in Sar ∂ud , Wkh $\partial ett(\partial au_-)$

- Va) Ir *-axta- Gr toyd 'walked'; atoyd, axtod 'entered' (atvy-)
- b) Ir *-uvta- $d\partial \gamma \delta$ 'milked' $(d\bar{e}\bar{s}$ -), $p\partial na\gamma \delta$ 'dressed' $(p\partial nev$ -) The derivation of $zu\gamma \delta$ 'seized' (zenz-) is uncertain.

From verbs in x are formed the secondary preterites ' ∂xt ' passed' (∂xs -), apoxt 'heard' ($ap\partial xs$ -), $gax\partial \partial \partial x$, Gr. Zb gaxt 'made' (gax-) Similarly Zar $d\bar{e}\dot{s}t$ 'milked' ($d\bar{e}\dot{s}$ -), Sk ∂kt 'threshed' (∂k -), kozd 'copulated' (koc-) Note Ishk $pum\partial xt$ 'dressed' (pumcc-)

c) Ir *-axwa- pvx 'cooked' (pac-), Ishk with secondary -t puxt Sk distinguishes between piz- puxt 'to boil' and paz- pazd 'to cook'

VI Ir *-ixna- is possibly preserved in Gr frin 'he remained' (< *fra-rixna-?), regularized into Sgl and Sk fərind. The old present is fəris- (cf Voc. s v), but Sk. fərin- has been remade from

¹ Prob adapted to the Past Stem

^{&#}x27; Cf also Sk. pələftuk '(sun)rıse'

⁸ Sk apux- has been adapted to the Past Stem.

the preterite. mis- (Sk. $m\bar{i}n$ -) $m\bar{i}nd$ 'to sleep' has been formed on the pattern of faris-

VII Roots in -n and -m usually form their Past Stems by adding -d Thus, wind 'saw', pozind 'knew', wind 'scolded', dovind 'winnowed', könd 'dug', belismänd 'made to slip', Sk. podend 'kindled', Zb kind 'wished', Sk iżomd 'brought', Gr sånd 'smeared'. For exceptions v. A, I

- 139 The above list will serve to establish that, although a number of ancient forms have been retained, in spite of their being irregular in the modern language, a nivellation has been carried through in all dialects of Sgl—Ishk (thus, wēnd, yūrδ, γuzd, etc.), or at least in some of them. Sgl has on the whole preserved more irregular forms than Ishk, and within this latter dialect the variety described by Sk is especially inclined to regularize, not only the Past, but also the Present Stems. Note, e.g., the Preterites īżəmd, pəδend, məld, forast, arazd, kəld, nəst, pazd, nītt, and the Presents apux-, fərīn-, ȳes-, məl-, mīn-
- 110 From the point of view of the modern Sgl—Ishk dialects the formation of the Past Stein may be briefly described in the following way.

The most common way of forming the Past Stem consists in adding d/δ , or, after surds and plosives, t to the Present Stem These Stems in $r\delta$, $v\delta/d$, $i\delta$, zd, $\dot{z}d$, ld, nd, md, st, $\dot{s}t$, ft, xt, pt, lt, tt, bt, number, however, less than half of the actually occurring forms. In some cases the addition of δ is accompanied by a change in the root-vowel, in others the δ is preceded by a short vowel θ/a^2

About a fourth of the verbs available form Past Stems which are irregular from the point of view of the modern Sgl—Ishk phonological and morphological system, but which may nevertheless be

¹ Cf. A, II, IV

² Cf A, I

arranged into groups. Thus, $-\delta$ (-n-), -l (-r-), -st (-nd-, $-\delta$ -, -n-, -h-), -t (-z-, -s-, -l-), -xt (-xs-, -c-, -z-).

Less than a fourth of the verbs have wholly irregular or suppletive Past Stems Thus, e.g. $y\bar{u}n$ -' $y\bar{u}ld$, p v-' $p\bar{i}\delta$, $d\bar{e}\dot{s}$ -' $d\bar{e}yd$, zenz-: zuyd, pac-'pux, $f^{\bar{e}}ris$ -: $f^{\bar{e}}rin(d)$, atiy-' $at\bar{e}yd$, $axt\bar{e}\delta$, wus-' $w\bar{u}\delta$, $n\bar{e}nd$ -' $n\bar{e}\delta$, $x\bar{o}nd$ -. $x\bar{o}nd$; $t\bar{e}v$ -' $t\bar{e}\delta$, $t\bar{e}m$ -' $oyo\delta$, $zd\bar{u}r$ -' $zd\bar{u}d$

Preterite

•

141. Ογοδοπ 'I came'; xwōrəm 'I ate', frōtəm 'I asked', żōδ 'killed', wēndəm 'I saw', dūδοm 'I gave', az-əm pzind 'I knew'

Sg	1	\mathbf{Prs}	Sg1 p. 2 {0y0d-əm -əm oyod	Sgl. p 2 xwōr-əm az-əm xwōr	Sgl s frōt-əm
>	2	>>	$\cdot \bar{\imath}$ oyo δ	(tə-vō) xwōrī	frōt-ī
>	3	D	ογοδ	$xv\bar{o}r$	20 8
\mathbf{Pl}	1	*	ογο δ- ἄ n	xwōr-ấn	
»	2	>>	ογοδ-ἄπ	xwōr-ān	
>	3	>	ογο δ- ἄ n	xw ô γ -ā n	
			Sgl. p 1	Sgl s.	Sk
Q.,.	1	D		•	SI.
Sg	1	Prs	Sg1. p 1 {wēnd-∂m }(az)-∂m wēnd	•	az-um pzınd
	1 2	Prs		•	
			{wēnd-əm {(az}-əm wēnd	•	az-um pzınd
>>	2	*	{wēnd-əm {(az}-əm wēnd	dนิง-อm az-อm dนึง	az-um pzınd tə s —
» »	2 3	» »	{wēnd-əm ((az)-əm wēnd tə-vō wēnd	dนิง-อm az-อm dนิง dนิง	az-um pzınd tə δ — aw —

In Sg 1 -2m, Ishk, Zb -im the transitive *-mai and the intrans *ahmi have coalesced Sg 2 $-\bar{\imath}$, which originally belongs to the intrans, is used also with trans verbs in Sgl, alone or combined with the trans $-d\bar{o}^{-1}$ Ishk has the old trans suffix -d, Gr -at

¹ V § 124

*tan, in both groups of verbs, thus Gr Ishk. wudat, but Gr Zb $vod\bar{\imath}$ 'thou wast'. Likewise Sgl has 2nd Pl $-\bar{\imath}n$, while Ishk, and also Zb, have $-\imath w$, $-\imath w$ 1st Pl $-\bar{\imath}n$, Zb $-\imath m$ is based upon the enclitic, trans. form, but 3rd Pl $-\bar{\imath}m$ is an originally intrans. form Besides the usual form in $-\bar{\imath}m$ (oyodan 'they brought', $\gamma \bar{\imath} z \bar{\imath} d \bar{\imath} m$ 'they said', $x \bar{\imath} a \bar{\imath} \bar{\imath} d \bar{\imath} m$ 'they pulled'; apoxtan 'they heard', xoten 'they rose', knān 'we, they did'), we find $-\bar{\imath}m$ in $d\bar{\imath} d \bar{\imath} m$ (kitāv $d\bar{\imath} d \bar{\imath} m$ mum-bē 'dâdan ba mâ', $r \bar{\imath} p \bar{\imath} \bar{\imath} m$ d $\bar{\imath} d \bar{\imath} m$, oyodan) and $r \bar{\imath} m$ 'we arrived' 1

It will be seen that the difference of inflexion of trans, and intrans preterites has for the most part been obliterated

143 There is great freedom in the use of the various possible constructions in the Preterite

The most common ones in Sgl are the types -əm kuð and az-əm kuð Thus, eg Sgl p 1 va tumuxəf-əm wēnt 'I saw you'; bēdār-əm šīð, fər-əm yəšt 'I wandered about'; p 2 āri-m kuð 'I worked', Canlēš-əm ōyoð 'I came from Sanglech', cənā-ī oyoð 'čītur āmadī', Sgl is va tō gap-an apəxt 'they understood thy word', -əm šīxt 'I passed', Ishk -um šīd 'I wept', putf-um puxt 'I boiled the meat'.

Sgl p 1, 3 az-əm ari kul 'I worked', az-əm wēnt 'I saw', az-əm yēżəð 'I said', p 3 az-əm va tō lavz pezīnd 'I understood thy word' Perhaps also Sgl. p. 1 tō-u (for -vo) va mak wēnt 'thou sawest me'.

Also the pleonastic types $-\partial m$ $ku\delta-\partial m$ and $az-\partial m$ $ku\delta-\partial m$ are in use, but are less frequent

Thus · Sgl p. 2 guzār-əm be sīxt-əm 'I crossed the ford'; zumīn-əm kōnd-əm 'I dug in the field', pudf-um pux-əm 'I cooked meat'. It is possible that also adam-an . xwōr-an 'the men ate' is of this type ² Sgl p 1 az-əm frōt-əm 'I asked', az-əm rēk povd-əm 'I drank

water', az-əm šīδ(-əm) 'I went'

A type *az ku $\delta(-\partial m)$ does not seem to exist, az- ∂m being the regular form of the pronoun as the subject of a Preterite But note, e.g, $t\partial m\partial x$ $x\bar{e}sta$ $xw\partial_1\bar{a}n-\bar{i}$? 'have you eaten bread?' In Ishk the most frequent type is azı wulo $\gamma\partial zd$ 'I ran ın front', azı $x\bar{e}$ dust $zen\bar{u}d$ 'I washed my hand'

¹ Cf fərindi(n), p 374, note 29 ² But ef § 100

Perfect

- 144 The Perfect Stem is formed by adding Sgl -ŏk, -uk,¹ Zb. -ձk, Ishk. -uk to the Past Stem, and thus corresponds to the Pf of most other Ir. dialects In the Pl we find -αk² In some cases the final -k (-g) has been dropped ³ Thus, mlosto-mō 'I have sat down', ōγοδο-mō 'I have come', etc
- 145. In Ishk, the perf is constructed in the same manner as the past tense. Thus, azi fak winduk 'I have seen thee', 'a'zī cə 'minduk xə'tuk 'I have risen from sleep', azi ari kuluk 'I have worked', azi madak minduk-um 'I have been asleep here'; nīduk-um 'I have sat down (= I am sitting)', madak-um ustūk 'I have risen here (= I am standing)', sədūk 'šuda ast', apēduk 'gum šuda ast', Sk 'az-ım, tə-ō, au, mə'x-ān, 'təməx-əv, a'wānd-ān 'yažduk 'I, etc, have said', mi'suk mag 'naduk 'sleep has seized me (= I will sleep)', 'sədūk 'he has gone', etc.
- 146 In Sgl. the present forms of the verb substantive are used in inflecting the perfect
 - Sg 1 · Sgl p 1, 2 az-mō (mo mōð) nilōstok, p 3 nilosto-mō 'I am sitting (here)', p 3 ōyoðo-mō, p. 2 (harı)-mo ōyoðok 'I have come (to work)', p 2 astōo-mo, is psā-mō astōk '(now) I have risen'; p 3 nēr-mō hētī nes xojōk 'I haven't eaten anything to-day'; nyēr-mō xōdm wīnduk 'I have seen a dream to-night', 4 la-ku'lō-mō-i 'I have left behind', šīdu-mo 'I have wept'.
 - Sg 2 · Sgl p 1 tə- $\delta \bar{o}$ nılöstog, tə- $v \bar{o}$ nılösto-do (< *tə- $\delta \bar{o}$ nılöstok- $\delta \bar{o}$), p 2 tə- $\delta \bar{o}$ x \hat{o} dm w \bar{i} nduk, tə n \bar{e} r- $d \bar{o}$ h \bar{e} \hat{c} i nes xoro \bar{k} , p 1 tə- $\delta \bar{o}$ gaxtog 'thou hast done'
 - Sg 3. Sgl p 2 adē-o hēċi nes xorok, nēr hēči am-ō nes xorok 'to-day he (this man) has not eaten anything', xōfuk-o nodôk 'he has

¹ We find -uk after i and e in the preceding syllable. Thus, minduk, winduk, kenuk, but note šiok

² Cf § 100.

⁸ Cf § 14

^{*} But once xodm-əm winduk

got a cough (silfa giriftast)', daryā-o yəx-o kuōk 'the river has frozen', apēdok-o 'it has been lost'; šak-o ni·lōstok 'dew has fallen', p 1 am ādam minduk-ūi 'this man has fallen asleep'. But without the verb substantive p 2 awē hēči nes xorok; hari kenuk oyodok 'he has come to work', arazōk 'he has flewn', p. 3 šīdōk 'he has gone' Note p. 2 kirā nēst ō'yōd 'why has he not come?'

- Pl. 1 Sgl p. 2 kull mon-dag nılostag-an 'we have sat down all of us'
 - Pl. 2 Ishk tumux mak wēnduk, yå ne? 'have you seen me, or not?'

Pluperfect.

- 147 The Pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect stem, with loss of its final -k. Examples are:
 - Sg 1 · Sgl p 1 az-əm šībō vedem 'I had gone', p 2 (az-əm) arī-m kuō vəd, parūzd arī-m kuō vəd 'I had worked (yesterday)', az-əm wok vəz (va tfak) wēndo vəd 'I had seen a goat (thee)', wok miɛ̄l-əm yō-vē dūdū-ved(-əm) 'I had given him an apple'. Note az pūruzd oyodō vəd 'I had come yesterday'.
 - Sg. 2. Sgl p 2 to-və āri kuō vô-ī? 'hadst thou done the work?'; tə-vo va mak wēndo vəô? 'hadst thou seen me?'.
 - Sg 3: Sgl p. 2 parūzd wok čizī to-bē be spārdō ve 'yesterday he had entrusted something to thee', p. 3 mlosto vəb 'he had sat down (i e was sitting)'.
 - Pl 1. Sgl p. 2 aməx (h)ārī kuā vəð 'we had done the work'; aməx pāruzd oyodā vəð 'we had come yesterday'.
 - Pl. 2: Sgl. p 2 təməx ārı kuā-vo-ī? təməx kabi oyobā vəb?

Compound Verbs.

- 148 Like other Ir. dialects Sgl.—Ishk. employs a great number of compound verbs.
 - V. Voc. s.vv yalbēl ken-, kai ken-, kō ken-, la ken-, puf ken-, pōk 24 — Kulturforskning

ken-, šōše ken-, šət kən-, təš kən-, etc. Cf. also $\imath s\bar{a}b$ $d\bar{e}$ - 'to calculate', $p\bar{a}t\imath k$ $d\bar{e}$ - 'to wink' (and v. Voc. s.v. deh-), and γalt -əm $\check{s}\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'I rolled, fell'

Interrogative Particle.

149. The interrogative particle is $-\hat{\imath}$, which it is, of course, possible to derive from an ancient optative 3 sg But it must be borne in mind that particles similarly employed $(-a, -\hat{\imath}, -e)$ are found in all neighbouring Ir. and IA languages, and besides in Burushaski.

Examples are · to-və ārī kuō vð-ī? təməx ārī kuā vð-ī? 'hadst thou (had you) worked?' təməx xwōrān-ī 'did you eat?' tə žwondok-dō-ī? təməx žwondok-ān-ī? 'art thou (are you) hungry?' az təfak kasen-ī (təfak-ī kasen)? 'do I see thee?'

Nominal Forms of the Verb.

Participles

No present participle has been noted in Sgl, but Sk. gives fai p²zīnuk(ò)ś 'he who knows much'. żwondok 'hungry' probably goes back to an ancient pres ptc

Regarding the perfect. ptc. cf 145

Infinitive.

151. The infinitive is formed by adding $-\delta k$, $-\delta k$ to the present stem ¹ Examples of the use of the infinitive are · Sgl. p 2 $\delta a(n)$ nad kenuk
'I go to play (mērīm bāzī mēkim)', harī kenuk oyodok 'he has come to work', nēr be δan ārī kenūk 'to-day I am going to work'; pasi vənəf dəryōk isu, xōrmō xūyūk, pasi va dəvīnuk, xōdārī yūnuk (= yūniš) 'after that comes the reaping, (and) the threshing, then the winnowing (and) the grinding in the water-mill', arī kenūk kōkenen 'I can work', pāruzd-īm šowārī kenūk nəst-əm kō-kuð 'yesterday ¹ Cf Grierson, § 82

I could not travel', andərzōk-em kuδ 'I have sewn(?)'. Cf Sk. 'dēyuk 'to beat'; škarruk 'to seek'; 'kənuk 'to do'; 'šəwuk 'to become, to go', 'fərnītuk 'to forget' (but perf ptc. 'fərnītuk), etc '

The Sgl—Ishk infinitive corresponds to that of Wkh in $-\bar{a}k$, g (vand- $\bar{a}k$ 'to bind', win-g 'to see'), of Bal. (kan-ag 'to do', band-ag 'to bind'), and partially to that of Yaghn (winak 'to see', but kar-ak 'to do' from the root). In Yd.² and in most cases in Par.³ the infinitive in *-aka- is based on the past stem, while in Orm.,⁴ and apparently in Talish, both the present and the past stems are used ⁵

¹ Cf § 99, 5

¹ Cf. § 260.

² Cf. IIFL, I, p 78.

⁴ HFL, I, p. 358.

⁵ Cf. Benveniste (Les infinitifs avestiques, p 111) who does not distinguish clearly between formations based upon the present stem and those based upon the preterite—I do not believe with B. that the Shgh., etc., infinitives in -tao can be derived from *-taka- "cirao" (cirāw, etc.) 'lamp' is an ancient lw with substitution of w for γ , and no instance of intervocalic k > w is known from the Shgh-group Note Shgh. j < -aka- in past participles (e.g. $su\delta j$ 'gone, become') There is no reason why -tao should not go back to -tawar

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Sgl. p 2

T

Čwt də zöt $z\bar{o}^{\dagger}t\bar{\imath}$ Wok damvəd. $x\bar{e}$ tā-vē One man-to two sons were. Small(er) zon-by his-own father-to va 'māl tax'sīm ke, mən a'sē məm-bë dē věžeð. O tāt. said. O father, (acc) property divided make, my share me-to give tax'sīm kvô Čand roz pa'sī diga $m\bar{a}l$ Father-by his-own property dividing made Some days after however māl gōr $kv\delta (=k\delta), d\bar{\imath}r wa'tan ba 'š\bar{\imath}\delta Ma'w\bar{\imath}\delta$ $xar{e}$ his-own property collected he made, far country to he-went There šīđ. $x\bar{e}$ $m\bar{a}l$ 'āpanīt, 110 žondokī šīð. he-went, his-own property he-lost, for-him hunger became

II.

1 Yak sāl 'fauž o'γοδ Gazke'stān bē. 2 Maxlu'kān gu'δōm xaštān ce 'ūšə, cə 'yūzə, cə 'yowə, 'rēγn° 3 Pəs 'dēδam Gazke'stān 4. 'Psāt

11.

^{1.} One year an army 1 came to Gazikistan. 2. They robbed the storehouse(s) of the people for grass, fire-wood, grain and ghee. 3. Then we(?) enter(ed) Gazikistan. 4. Then the army (was) in Iskitul.

¹ A troop of Afghan soldiers.

mə Ski'tūl 'fauž 5. Cə 'wōð Gazke'stān be, cə 'wōð šīð Mande'žān bē 6. Wog, 'dō, rōi mēi mə Manda'žā-st. 7 Cə 'wōð wə'nīšt, o'yoð Gazke'stān be 8 'Psād 'wōða ast, marduma xarš 'xāštan, 9 'Wōða xwōr, 'wōδak ο'γōδ ast 10. Wok 'mã 'wōδa hast 11. Bād cə wōδ xōt, šīð Izi'vū bē

Ш

 Tīra mā k-šīδ cə kū yūz xašəm.
 Dē(δe)m vənə šu wō.
 3. Pasi vənəf 'warfə dəlhö. 4 'Wətukə gāxān 5 Kə 'bārə šu'wō, nau'rōze ke'nān, pasi nau'rōzə wu'dıl xa'šān 6. Pasi šə'gārə ke'nān, 7 Pasi vənəf 'kiriš ke'nān, 'tēym dān, vī-di'ōk ke'nān 8. Pasi vədanəf 'vēki di'ān, dəvə šō'vōk šu'ān. 9 Kə šō'wōk xalāšīān,² vərvəs sōr 'xašō. 10. Pasi vənəf dər'yōk isu, xōr'mō xū'yūk, pasiva də'vīnuk, xō'δāri 'yūnuk,3 dāš am'bār

III.

1 When autumn came, we fetch fire-wood from the hills. 2. We enter (?), it becomes full (?). 3. After that (?) the snow falls. 4. (Then) they prepare weddings. 5. When spring comes, they celebrate the Nauroz, after the Nauroz they spread the dung. 6 Then they plaster (the walls). 7. After that they plough, sow, and make the first watering (of the fields). 8. After that they irrigate, and they weed 9. When they have finished the weeding, the barley raises its head. 10. After that comes the reaping, the threshing (on) the threshing-ground, then the winnowing, the grinding in the watermill, (and) putting (?) (the flour) in the store-room.

^{5.} From there it went to G., and from there to Munjan. 6. It stayed one, two, three days in Munjan. 7. From there it returned, and came to G. 8. Then it stayed there, they took custom-duties (from) people. 9 It (the army) ate there, and came there. 10. It (remained) there for one month. 11. Afterwards it rose from there and went to Zebak.

 $^{^1}$ Cf § 122 2 For $xal\bar{a}s$ š $\bar{\imath}an$

⁸ Var. yūmš

Grammophone Text

1 .. ce 'kū yūzə 'xašān, ce xē mic¹ xašam. 2. Dēδəm vənə kuð və'nok ši'o(k) 3 Pasi vənəf 'warf³ de'hōī. 4 Wə'tukə šuwoi. 5 Bārə šu'woi, nau'rōzə ke'nān, pasi nau'rōze wuðilə xašān 6. Pasi və'nəf šə'gār ke'nān. 7. Pasə və'nəf kīrīn, pasi vənəf vī dīān 8 Pasə vənəf vē ṣāxān (²), tēγmə dēān

IV.

1 'Šām Faizō'bōd, nə'mēk īžimum 2 Öγōðum mə bandar, xaržgirən nəs 'la-kuān' 3. Miž be pūl dē, bā šo! 4. Ce har xōridak də rōpē nōð, ba ər kuð 5 'l'ulama 'Akum dəvā nes 'lā-kuð kə' "tə pūl dē, bā šā!". 6 Rō(i) rōpē ākum be dūðīn 7 Ingē rəxsat šī'ān, ō'γοδαn Kōe'stān. 8. Ō'γοδαm p'e'nuk, ke warf dēð, nəs kō-kwān, fə'rindi ² fər'šōu mə pə'nuk. 9 'Sāar ba xōtan, vūr kuān. 10. Oγοδαn, mə Kāfr'rɛn i'tīn. 11 Cə wōð i'tīn bā'zār 12 'Bas, xa'lās

IV.

1. We go to Faizabad, we bring ⁸ salt (there) 2. I brought it to the custom-house, the custom-officials did not let me through. 3 (They said:) 'Give us money, and go on.' 4. They took two rupees from (: for) each donkey, and released (us). 5 (But) Ghulam Hakim ⁴ afterwards ⁵ did not let us go, (saying) 'Give (me) money, and then go' 6. We gave the governor three rupees 7. Then we were permitted to leave, and we came to Chitral. 8. We came to the (Dorah) Pass while it was snowing, we could not (get on), we stayed the night on the Pass. 9. At dawn we rose, (and) loaded (our beasts). 10. We came, and arrived among the Kafirs ⁶ 11. From there we arrived at the Bazar (of Chitral). 12. Enough, it is finished.

¹ The meaning of mic is unknown to me.

² For *forndin?

³ Prs āwurdum

⁴ The Afghan official

⁵ Or 'even then'?

⁶ Who live just below the Dorah Pass at the top of the Lutkuh Valley

Sgl. p 3

V

1. Wok bāzār'gān vəð. 2. 'Ογοδ, xe baškač gol 'axted mo 'kišti, ne'lōst. 3. Na'hāng oγοδ, wa 'kišti ča'pa kəð. 4 Wok 'telf vəð zema'nōk. 5. Ογοδ mo taxta-pārε-rū, mo 'jangal 'čapa šið 6. Wok šēr pai'dā šīð, 'yō-vɛ 'dāya šīð. 7. Telf po wāda hīt 8. 'Ογοδ mə 'šār 9 Mo 'šār 'čel dar'wāza vəð. 10. 'Ογο, mo 'wəðok pād'šā šīð. 11 Ke pād'šā šīð γε'žeð ke 'Bē'γair-i 'mak 'kōci digar xə'dā nə 'γε'žɛf'. 12. Rō'zānī 'šīð ke mo 'xoðm 'wēnd, ke wok 'āhūī pai'ðā 'šīð 13. 'Āhūīn wok šāx da 'vəð 14. (Pādšā ba wazīra guft.) 'Vo mak cə 'men 'taxru ča'pa koð. 15. 'Gōļ ken xē wa'zīren. 16 'Ma mən 'xoðm dak 'gab dehef.' 17. 'Γēždan ke ''Tə bāi 'dušma' pai'dā šu'ðō.' 18. Γεižeð ke: 'Xə'dā 'az mā' 19. Ov'zū' 'tākat nə kəð. 20 Γεižeð ke ''Kasef ke 'mən dəšman bə kunja'y-ō.'

٧.

1. There was a shopkeeper 2. He came, with his children he entered a boat, and sat down. 3. A sea-monster came and upset that 1 boat. 4 (One of the children) was a babe, a boy. 5. He came on a boatplank, and was thrown (ashore) in the forest. 6 A lioness appeared and became his nurse 7. The child arrived at (the time of) marriage. 8. He came to a town. 9 In the town there were forty gates. 10. He came, and became king there 11. When he became a king, he said: 'Don't call anybody God but me.' 12. One day it happened that he saw in a dream that a stag appeared. 13. The stag had one horn. 14. The king said to his vizier 2 'It pushed me off from my throne. 3 15. Assemble my ministers. 16. You shall explain about my dream.' 17. They (came and) said 'An enemy has been born for thee (?).' 18 He said: 'God is my (ally?).' 19. But his heart had no strength. 4 20 He said 'Look, where my enemy is.'

¹ Or va kišti 'the boat'?

² This sentence was spoken in Prs.

³ Prs. məra az taxt-ı mā čapa kard

⁴ Prs dil-iš tåqat na kard.

21. Γεiž(d)an ke: 'Ma 'pəšt-i pe'dār-o' 22. 'Kasef ke ma 'kuðəm ma'h-ō' 23 Γε'ždān ke. 'dahiami mâ,¹ cə 'pəšt-i pə'ðar 'dahi mā is'yūð ma 'rām i 'måðar' 24. Γεižeð ke· '¡Kasef' 25 '¡Pādšā fər'mūð ke—čel darwāze vəð—· '¡Čel haf'sar mə dar'wāze 'nīðef' 26. 'Farmūð 'pādšā ke: '¡Jalsa kenef.' 27 'Wok dar'wāzē 'Ōzar nɪ'losto vəð. 28. 'Kot ke 'kuči o'γοδ. 29. Pə'sā γε̄ižeð ke: 'Wa 'xē 'kūč, 'is men 'jē' 30. Pə'sā cə 'pəšt-i pe'dar o'γοδ mə 'rām-i 'mādar. 31 Pə'sād 'šīð 'rām-i 'mādar bē 32 'Γεižda ke· 'Dar'wāze 'hɛr kenef' 33 Pə'sād wu'žınjak zə'manōk ογοδ me dērī 34. Rō'zī 'šīð ke zəma'nōk tawa'līd šīð 35 Wok 'γār pai'dā šīð M-ογοδak wok tawa'līt šīð. 36 Zəma'nōk 'žəšt šīð. 37. 'Xē 'tāte 'γē̄zēð ke 'Xə'dā ma as'mān-o' 38 'Pādšā šīð na'māz bē, na'māz-i īð-i Rama'zān 39 'Ōzar 'zōt 'ōγοδ, bəd'xāna 'ōγοδ, šīð 40. De'hēð, bə'tā fə'rēd kuð pə 't'ovor 41 'Bād 'pādšā 'ογοδ, 'γē̄zēð ke· ''Mən vo 'zi kōi 'gaxtok' 42. 'Γε̄zdan ke: ''Ōzar zōt-ō 'gaxtōk.' 43 Va zə'manok 'ογοdan. 44.

^{21.} They said: 'He is in his father's loins.' 22 (The king said.) 'Look, in which month he is.' 23. They said: 'In the tenth month; from his father's loins in the tenth month he comes into his mother's womb (?).' 24. He said. 'Look out.' 25. The king ordered—there were forty gates—: 'Forty officers shall sit at the gates' 26. The king ordered that they should assemble 27. Azar was sitting at one of the gates. 28. He saw his wife come along. 29. Then he said: 'O my wife, come to me' 30 Then (the future enemy of the king) came from his father's loins into his mother's womb. 31. Then he went into his mother's womb. 32. They (?) said: 'Open the gate.' 33 Then the boy came into the woman's belly. 34. A day came when the boy was born. 35 A cave appeared. He came (?),2 one (child) was born. 36 The child grew big. 37. He said to his father 'God is in heaven.' 38 The king went to prayer, the prayer of the Ramazan festival 39 Azar's son came, he came to the idol-temple, and went (in). 40. He struck the idols and broke them with an axe. 41. Then the king came and said: 'Who has done thus to me?' 3 42. They said 'Azar's son has done it' 43. They brought the boy. 44 The king said 'O,

¹ First. dahi'mâ —The formation is not clear

² I cannot analyse $mo\gamma o\delta ak$ which was translated $\bar{a}mad$ —Or faulty for $m\bar{o}\delta ak$ there'?

^{*} Prs. amınora (= haminhā-rā) kī kārī kardast.

Pādšā 'yē'žed ke. 'Ē 'Ōzar 'zōt, 'to-bō 'ma zi 'cēva 'gaxtog?' 45. Γεχέδ ke 'Balə wān šιδοκ.' 46. Γείχεδ ke. 'Az pə tō Xudāi ka'būl 'nəsi-mō' 47. I'brōhim 'γēžeδ ke· 'Mən 'laškar mə 'mōδ-o' 48. Nam'rūδ 'γε̃žeδ ke. ''Mən 'fau' mə 'mōδ-o 'Tō Xə'dā mə kun jay-o?' 49. O vēžed ke · 'Mən Xə'dā da as'mān-ō.' 50. Pə'sād 'γēžeδ ke: ''Cena 'gāxem? 51. 'Šām, 'va-yim Xu'dā 'žanem' 52. Waizīren iyeždān ke 'Kaifas āhainīn igax 53. Ceifūr koriyos inas, ta'hāma 'dēi.' 54. Rō'zānī 'šīð, 'oyoð xe wa'zīren gər, 'axteð mə kalfas. 55. Va koryos võst ce kalfas biš 56 Va tālhām-ē šox kəb mə ka'fas sör. 57 'Šīb pa as'mān ka'fas. 58 'Šīb pə 'nəsm-i as mān. 59. Ša māl pai da šīð 60 Ka fas mə as mān ka rār šīð 61. Wok 'fasl 'asto-veð 62 Ka'fas ra'wān šīð 63. 'Šīð pa as'mān 64 Wok 'bādī pai'ðā šīð 65 Ka'fas ra'wān šīð. 66 Pa as'mān ke šīδ, ka fas rauzan ya lā kəδ. 67. Fə rašte oγοδ, tar as mān šəxt. 68 Pādšā 'xašəb 'xe 'tīr-i 'dast, a'wā 'būb. 69 Fə'rašta 'tīr-i 'dast

son of Azar, why have you done thus to me?' 45. He said. 'A fight has begun (between us)' 2 46. (Tho king) said 'I do not recognize your God's 47 Ibrahim (the son of Azar) said: 'My troop is here.' 48. Nimrod (the king) said: 'My army is here. Where is your God?' 49 He said. 'My God is in heaven.' 50. Then (the king) said: 'What shall we do? 51. Let us go and kill the God of this (man).' 52. The ministers said 'Make an iron cage. 53. Catch four vultures, and feed them.' 54. One day (the king) went, came with his ministers, and entered the cage. 55. He tied the vultures under the cage. 56. The food he placed at the top of the cage. 57. The cage rose towards the heavens. 58. It went towards the middle of the heavens. A wind rose, 60. The cage stopped in the heavens, 61, It stood still for a moment. 62. (Then) the cage went on 63. It went towards the heavens 64 A wind rose 65. But the cage went on, 66 When it went into the heavens, (the king) opened the window of the cage 67. An angel came, and passed through the heavens 68 The king pulled out his hand-arrow, and threw it into the air. 69. The angel

Repeated: T-5ō zi cē-ba 'gaxtog? Tēžeð ke Balu'wā šīðōk
 Prs. čirå-mtari kardī? čirā hamī kārī kardī-ast(1)? jang šuda ast

³ Prs ba xudâ-i- tə kabūl na dâram

⁴ Javelin?

'nōō, a'wā 'būō.¹ 70. Ma 'mōi 'γār ba 'tīr-i dast de'hēō, a'wā 'būō, de'hēō. 71. 'Tīr-i 'dast 'oγoō, mə 'pādšā 'bar de'hēō 72. Va 'koryos 'teske 'vōst mə 'kafas 'sōr. 73 Va 'tāhame 'šōx kəō cə-'viš 74. 'Oγoō ce 'āsmān 'xav(d) me 'viš 75 'Va I'brōhim 'γēžef ke isyūō' 76 I'brōhim 'oγoō, 'pādšā 'jē. 77. 'Pādšā 'γēžeō ke 'Ibrō'him, va 'tō Xə'dā-im 'žōō.' 78. 'Iēžeō ke: 'Mə'nī zi Xu'dāi 'nəst, kə 'wo 'žanan.' 79. Ibrō'hīm 'ro-'p-xē Xə'dā kəō, cə ās'mān 'paše 'xavd 80. Nam'rūd af-ma'hā 'fauji 'vəō 81 'Paša 'wok 'nesi 'la-koi 82 'Pādšā 'tākē fə'rīnd. 83 'Iško nes fə'rīnd, 'tākɛ da fə'rīnd 84. Dun'da veō

seized the javelin, and hurled it through the air 70. The javelin struck the throat of a fish, he (?) hurled it through the air, it struck (the king?). 71. The javelin came towards the king, it struck his breast. 72. He tied the vultures at the top of the cage. 73. The food he fastened below. 74. He came from the heavens and descended. 75 (The king said.) 'Tell Ibrahim to come' 76. Ibrahim came to the king. 77. The king said: 'Ibrahim, I have killed your God.' 78. He answered 'I have no such God which they can kill.' 79. Ibrahim turned towards his God, (and) from heaven mosquitoes came down. 80. Nimrod was in the field for seven months. 81. The mosquitoes did not leave one (of his soldiers). 82. The king alone remained. 83. Nobody remained, he remained alone 84. Thus it happened

Sk.

VΙ

(Quatrain from the village Ran)

'Jāna, jāna, 'čṣḍbā 'tā mak 'na-kasī?

My soul, my soul, why thou mee not seest?

ar xē'laɪ 'ṣṇ (or tun?) -sa'tī tu-'wan xäı'ra ka'sī

In every way???? thou him well seest

xal'qān-ı-ji'hān co''mak tu'bā bad-yai'jān,

The people of the world for my sake about thee ill speak,
zin'hār bā zin'hār tu 'w'av 'gap-na-nasī.

Beware, again beware, thou their word don't take (' hear).

¹ Note δ- in sandhi.

VOCABULARY

Vowels.

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e Sgl p. 3 O - e Ozar zoti - Prs.
   Cf o, wa
2 Sgl. 1zafat - Pis
ī Sgl p. 2 this — ī āδam mər this man
   died - V § 117.
i Sgl p 2, 3 enclitic pron 3 sg.?? —
   wužinjak zemanok oyod me der-t p 3
   a child entered into the woman's
   womb, ovzū-i (or ovzūi) tākat nes ked
   p 3 'dīliš tākat na kard', wēn-ī
   šuwoi p 2 he bleeds. — V. § 114
-ī interrogative particle — V § 149.
o Sgl p 2 O. — ō tāt.
-ō(i) he is. — Cf § 121
\bar{o} Sgl p 1, 2, a\bar{u} p 1 that (ille). — Cf
   § 115, sq. (Add Sk. gen. pl. viaw
   (Texts, VI).
ab'lā Sk stupid — Ar.-Prs
abr Zb., Sk, ābr Ishk cloud. — Prs
ab'rū Zb, av'rū Ishk eyebrow. — Prs
åb'šår Sk waterfall — Prs
a\delta(a) that (1ste) — Cf § 115, sq
\delta- (h) \deltat Sgl. p 2, 3 to arrive — wok
   jā īden 'yak jā mērasam', šīdem
   ītəm 'raftam, rasīdam', cə wöð i'tīn
   b\bar{a}^{\dagger}z\bar{a}r p 2 from there they arrived
   at the bazar, pa wāda hīt p. 3 'ba
   wāda rasīd', īdā wī Gr. (Zb.) falls
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(to me) = arrives Cf Orosh ya\delta-
   yat(t) (indid- indidd to enter), Wkh
   \gamma at (?) — 3 sg \bar{\imath}\delta < Av
   generalized as a present stem? Cf.
   § 130, sq
               V dēs-
iδ Sgl. p. 3 Id, festival — namāz-i īδ-
   i-Ramazān — Ar.·Prs.
a'dab Sk. politeness — Ar.-Prs
aδak Sgl. p 1 V amdak.
ābam Sgl p 1, 2, o'dam Sk man -
   Ar -Prs.
if Ift Sgl p 2, 3, s, Zar to weave. -
   ifəm bəs Sgl. p 2 — < •ūf- < ufya-
   (v. A1rWb, 1346), cf. Yd wāf.
īfč Sgl p. 2, 1s, ifč Gr. spindle - Cf. īf-
afmalhā Sgl p.3 a period of seven months

    Nam¹rūð a° faujı veð — Prs

'ōfa'rīn ('ō'fa'rīn) Sk bravo - Prs.
\bar{a}f^{\dagger}\bar{s}\bar{u}n Sgl 18, p. 3, s, af^{\dagger}\bar{s}un p. 1, 2,
   šo'fūn Ishk., šoo Sk, šuo Gr comb
   — xe sor af'šū kenen p 2, 3. — Cf
   Yd šfīn.
afta Sk. week. - Prs
åf'tåb bar'amadan Sk east, åo nišastan
   west. - Prs
aftā've Sgl. p 2 water-bucket. - Prs
u^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{u}i Sgl 18., s, p 1, \bar{o}^{\circ} p. 3, u^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{u} p 2,
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you Ishk, yū Sk., Gr cow. — va u'yū

dešon Sgl. p. 2 I milk the cow — Sgl. $< *hu-g\bar{a}wya-(?)$, Ishk. $< g\bar{a}u\check{s}^{?}$ V § 92 0γ0δ, v. 18-. ¹āhūι Sgl. p. 3 stag — wok 'ā° paiδā šīδ a stag appeared, āhūīn wok šāx da $v \ni \delta$ the stag had a horn — Prs. å han Ishk, 1ron — Prs āha'nīn Sgl p 3 made of iron. — ka'fas ā° — Prs. ijgai Gr cheese of sheep milk. - The existence of this word is denied by Sk $a^{\dagger}qa/ab$ Sk eagle. — Ar.-Prs. 'ākik Sgl. is., s, ā'kšk p I, 2, 'ōkšk Sk, "Wkh.", wok (??) Ishk egg - < *āwyakā· Cf Khow. lw. āyukun. ākum Sgl. p. 2 governor — Ar-Prs. o'kovo Sgl 18., p 1, kůvd Sk, kovd Gr, Zar boots. — *ā-kaf ta-, cf Prs kafš *kaf-ša-, Arm. kapem I bind? al-Sgl. 18, p 2 to be standing, al- ald-Sk. to wait. - 'alem 'iståda-em. bestim, tu ali. — Av ərəbwa-? Cf Wkh. $\bar{a}l$ -, Sar $h\bar{a}l$ - to stay, stand. al'batt Sk. perhaps. — Prs. al'kē Sgl. p. 2 net, snare — Ar-Prs halqa a loop. 'allo no Sk. but. ala'laš kən- Sk to mix. — Turki aralaš. 'ålam Sk world. - Prs. alma'sti Sk demon. — Cf. Lentz, Pamir Dial., s 153 n , Turki alwasti ala'šē Sgl 1s., p 2 'alaše p 3, a'låša Zb, olša Sk, alax'šā Ishk, a'lāša Gr. jaw. — Prs (alaušā Badakhshi, Sk). Cf. Wogul lw ūlēš (Jacobssohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, p 218) å lax, å lax Sk., alax Gr. (Zb) hill -V. wolox āļuzd Sgl is the day before yesterday (?),

āluzd Gr., ō'ləzd Sk. to-morrow. — < *ā-uša-aznī, Av asnī. Cf. Shgh afaž day after to-morrow, Bal. poši V. pāruzd. āļuzdēv Sgl. 18. three days ago. — Obl. of the preceding word? am(a), obl $\bar{i}m$ this — V § 115 sqq a'mē Sgl, p 1 mother's sister — Kab. Prs 'ama father's s. -2m encl. pron. 1 sg — V § 114 ambol Gr a place covered with stones, like a moraine. — Cf. Yd. $d^{\dagger}b\bar{u}ya$. am bay Sgl is co-wife - Prs $am^{\dagger}b\bar{a}r$ Sgl p. 1, 2 corn-bin. — $d\bar{a}$ -š a° (they) put it into the corn-bin - Prs. 'amber Sgl p. 1, am'bûr Sk, pincers. — Prs. amdak this very. — Cf. § 117. a'mēδ Sgl. p. 2, u'mēd Sk hope — Prs. amēdivār Sgl. p 2 pregnant, umediwår Sk hopeful — janj amēd vār-ō 'amak Sgl p 1, 2 father's brother, p. 2 also cousin - Bad Prs. amuk. a'mīn Ishk. this. — V. § 117. 'ammo Sk but. - Ar -Prs. amimam Sk bath. - Ar. Prs. im'sol Sk this year - Prs. a'māsyē Sgl 1s, ham'sāya p 1 neighbour - Prs. $a^{\dagger}max$, mux, etc we. V. § 110. on Sk. yes = ¹balē. — Prs hān in Sk. this. V. § 117 an'dərv- an'dərvδ Sgl p 2, an'dərvan'dərz (?) p 3, əndərv- s., anderv-Zar., derav- deravd Sk. to sew, andervun Gr awl - andervem buš, andərzəm, andərzök-em kub I have sewn. - Cf Wkh dorev-, Par. andarf-, Orm. undaraw-. 'ainek Sgl p 1, 'åina Sk. looking-glass. - Prs.

insåf Sk. justice — Ar -Prs. ınsåfdår Sk just. — Ar. Prs. ingē Sgl p. 2 now, then (ālī), inga Gr. then - io rowsat šiān then they were dismissed. — Prs. in-gah. an qur Sgl. p 1, 3, s, Ishk, Sk., ol Sgl is. grape - Prs. an gušt Sk, °išt Zb coal — Prs angušta rī Zb. finger-ring. — Prs. in'git Sgl p. 1, 2, 3, s, oit Ishk, ingit Sk, Zar, 'ingūt "Wkh." finger -Cf. Yd ogušćo, Khow. (lw.) angūð finger hole in scissors (Lor) ingi'tok Sgl. p. 1 finger-ring, ouk Gr. finger-nail. — Cf anguštairī a'pi- a'pēð Sgl p 2, 3, apay- a'pēd Ishk, apay Sk., apēd Gr. to be lost trāsen be apiō(-š) I fear it will be lost, apēdoko p 2 it has been lost, mone wok čīzi apēd p 2, 3, 'apayu, a'pēduk Ishk, 'gum šuda' — Av. apa-1-. apčūn Sgl p 3 winnowing fork -= Wkh, cf Yd čualno? a'panis- a'panit p 2 to lose, apnit Gr lost. — az wok čizi a panisem I lose a thing, a'panis 'gum mēkini', xē māl apanıt he lost his own property. - Av apa nasya- (intr), Shgh. benes-. $a^{\dagger}pax\check{s}$ - Sgl is, $ap \ni x\check{s}$ - p. 3, s $a^{\dagger}p \ni xt$ is., s, p. 3, $a^{\dagger}paxs$ - $a^{\dagger}puxt$ p 1, $a^{\dagger}pux$ -'apuxt Sk to hear — apaxšem bē p. 3, va to gap am apoxt is I heard thy word, apaxsen, a puxtem p 1.— < *apa-uxš/s-, cf Yd yuxs- $\vec{a}^{i}ri \text{ Sgl is }, (h)\vec{a}ri \text{ p 2, s, } ari \text{ p. 1, Ishk },$ Zar, arrı Sk. work - arı kenem Sgl. s, azı tə madak ari kenon Ishk I and thou are working here - Cf. Yd. horv. ar ča Zb juniper. — Prs

a'rok Sgl p. 3 eructation. — Cf Yd. araroy. arqa Sk back - Turki, a'rāq Sgl 18, °aq p 1, 3, Ishk, Sk perspiration - Ar -Prs. or mozd Sgl., or Gr. (Zb), "Wkh", 'rēmuz Ishk , Gr , oz Zb , ouzd Sk. sun. Cf. Saka uyrmaysdā, Khwarizmi rēmažd < Anc. Prs. Auramazdāh. — * $\bar{e}rmozd$ (v. § 88) > $r\bar{e}m^{\circ}$, or, with assimilation, > ormozd? å'rınj Zb, Ishk elbow. — Prs ar rē Sgl p. 1 a saw - Prs a'rūs Sgl p. 2, ō'nıs Sk bride — Ar-Prs ar'sol Sk yearly. - Prs. ar'vēšum Sgl p 2, brēšum Ishk, Sk, Gr, abr° Zar. silk. - Prs. (arv° early lw). araz- a'răt Sgl. p 2, s to fly, run, jump, 'araz- 'arazd Sk. to jump — psāt aralzo p 2 it flies now, aralzok perf, a'rāt, šīb p. 2 'parrīd, raft', arāz mo vyēk, avbāzī ken p 2 jump into the water and swim (ba-parr da au), vēk ārazou p. 3 the water flows — < •ā·raz-, scarcely (with a- < ha-< fra-) < fra-raz- of Shgh re- $v\bar{a}z$ -, etc. a'så Sk. staff — Ar -Prs a'sē Sgl p. 2 share. — mən ao məm bē dē give me my share. — Ar ·Prs. hissā 18- Sgl. p , Sk., Gr., Zar , Is- Sgl s., Ishk ογοδ Sgl. p, s., 'ōyad Ishk., Sk, Zar, ā° Gr to come. — Pres. 1st sg isen Sgl p, ĭsum Ishk., Sk, imper. ĭs Sgl. p, yežef ke isyūs p 3 tell him to come (biāyad), ama ādam kadī δyδδ p. 2 when did this man come? ōγadum Ishk, 'ο̄° Sk. I came, təməx kaði öyoðān p. 2 when did you come? $^{\dagger}\bar{\sigma}\gamma o\delta ok$ p 2, $^{\dagger}\bar{\sigma}\gamma aduk$ Sk he has come, az $(am\partial x)$ $p\bar{a}ruzd$ $o\gamma o\delta \bar{o}(-\delta\bar{a})$ $v\partial \delta$ I (we) had come yesterday. — * \bar{a} -isa- \bar{a} -gata, cf. Sogd. "ys-" γt , see Tedesco, ZII, 2, 34 sq

ı'sāb Sgl p. 2 calculation. — 1° be kenen — Ar -Prs.

 $u^{l}sid$ Gr bakıng-pan. Cf Yd $s\bar{u}^{l}i$. $u^{l}suk$, v. $wu^{l}suk$

askar Sk. army. - Ar.: Prs.

a'sāl Sgl. 18, °al Sk. honey. — Ar-Prs.

 $a^{l}s\bar{a}l$ Sgl 18, p 1, 2 this year — Cf Yd —M1 $as\bar{a}l$.

ās¹mān Sgl. 1s , p 1, 3, Gr., 'åsˌmån Sk sky, heaven. — Xɔ¹dā ma ŭs¹mān o p 3 — Prs.

a'sān Sgl. p 2 easy — Prs

usır, v wu'ter

i'srōx Zar hole of the ear. — < Prs surāx.
'āstia Sgl. p. 2, ā(i)sta Sk slowly. — ā°
ā° 18 p 2 come slowly, tə yaž āstā
Sk speak slowly. — Prs.

ast- Sgl is, p 2, 3, ust- Ishk to stand (up). — psā-mō astōk Sgl is. now I have risen, astəm p 2 'bēstəm', astōomō, asto veð p. 3, ustum Ishk I rise, madak-um ustuk I am standing here. — Av us-stā-, cf Bal. ustat (Zar.), but Mj wuškyōi.

östo Sgl. p 2, ūst Ishk, öst Sk, åst Gr, 1s, ast was (??) — psād wöda ast then he was there; wöδak ογöδ ast he had come there, wok mā wöδa hast he was (stayed) there for one month, mo Mandažāst he was in Munjan, mone(n) wo kitāv ö(sto) p 2 I have a book, azi/um öst I am, tu-t 'öst, woð was, östuk been Sk. — Cf Shgh. yast, Yd ast-εt. See § 122 us'tāδ Sgl p 2 blacksmith, °åd Sk

os'tŏk Sgl. p 1, 3, 'wastuk Ishk., Gr., Zar rib, bone, wāstuk Sk., ostū "Wkh" bone. — Cf. Yd. yaste

ısta¹kān Sk glass — Russ

astamăγ'zək Sgl. p. 2, is, °zek p 1 the arm above the elbow. — Cf. Wkh. mayzī, °zεk.

as'tar- as'tōl- Sgl. p 1, sı'tar- sutuld Ishk., s'tar- s'tul- Zar to sweep as'taren Sgl p 1, sı'taram Ishk — Cf. Yd. 's'tōr- — < *(ā-)star-, not *us tar-

usto¹rūk Sgl 1s, p 1, 2 əstə¹ruk s, ¹wastuk (??) Ishk., struk Sk, Gr, stıruk "Wkh", sıtāra Gr. (Zb) (< Prs.), star. — Cf Yd stāre

āstay·āstuð- Sgl 1s, astē- p 3, astayastūd- Ishk, Sk, astr- astūd Gr
(Zb.) to send (a person) — uok təm
ba astēen Sgl p 3 'yak tāra rawån
mēkenm' — Cf Wkh sətiy- V.
EVP.s v āstawul, Horn s v. firstādan

18ko Sgl. p. 3 anyone, hēč kas. — 18ko
nes ferīnd nobody was left behind
— Prs hēč + ko

'ušhəz Sk. key, °uz Gr lock — Cf Sar. ačγu, etc. < Turkı?

²8 pon Sgl. 1s, p 2, 3, ¹8 pon p. 1, ²8 pon s, ²8 u'pun Zb, ²8 pon Sk, ²9 pon Gr (Zb), ²9 un Zar. 1ron — Cf Yd rispen. — Reg ²8 v § 61 V d¹han

uš'tīn Sgl p 2 haystack (?), kālån (= kāhdān?), 'kāh mēzana'. — Cf. Yd uš'ceno, Wkh wušdön.

(h)əš'cāk Sgl. is, əš'cāk p 2, 3, s, ərs'cāg p 1, štok Gr, Sk, əxcåk "Wkh", štåkak Sk., Gr girl — Demin of šəc, q v.

ā'šīk Sgl p 1, āšīk p 3, 'āšīk Sk., ošīk

Zar., 'ōxik' "Wkh" tear (Gr also "a spring", denied by Sk). — Cf Yd yašk.

 a^{3} $t\bar{a}\delta$ Sgl. 1s , p. 2 -8t- p. 3 eighty. — Prs

at- att- Sk to fall. — atum, at, attum, atuk

et encl. pron. 2 sg. — V § 114 åta'šek Sgl is, jåta'šak Sk, ātišuk Gr lightning. — Prs

āv'bāzī Sgl. 1s., aub° p 2 swimming. au° kenen p 2, āv°-š ke'nun 1s we swim — Prs — (Cf s v. araz-)

δυδ Sgl. 1s, p. 1, (h)δυδ p 2, 3, δυδ Grammoph, δυd Zb, Ishk, uvd Gr, Sk, (w)ũvd Zar seven — Cf. Yd avdo.

ōv'zui Sgl 1s, °zū p 1, 2, °zūe p 3, s, av'zūk Ishk, (h)av'zuk Sk, Gr, āuzak, āuzen Gr (Zb) heart — ov'zūr tākat nəs kəð p 3 'dıl-ıš tākat na kard' — Cf. Wkh. p³zov āuzen, 1f correct, reminds of Sogd p'zn

av'zāl Sgl p. 2 headstall, av'zāl — Prs afsār, cf Abdū ausōl, (Zhuk.), Taj. afzōl (Semenov) Cf. also Prs. afzār. a'wī Sk. and, a'zī-tə a° I and thou. [Does awī mean 'both'?]

 $a^{\dagger}w\bar{e}$ obl., $a^{\dagger}w\bar{a}nd$ pl of \bar{e} that. See § 115

a'wāle Sgl p 3 throwing — a° dēm be I throw — Prs. hawāla kardan to transmit, brandish, strike.

āwul-, v āwīr.

auwan Sk. animal. — Ar -Prs.

āwir- wöļ Sgl p 1, 2, voļ p 3, āwulāwuld Ishk., avīr: avūd (avūld) Sk., avīr- avul Gr, awēr- awāl Gr., (Zb.) to find, obtain. — āwīren Sgl p 1, čīzī-m wōl p. 2, vōlən p. 3 'yåftam', āwulum Ishk. 'mēyābam', āwuld 'yāftam'. — Cf. Sogd. βyr-, Sar. varē- vug, Or verai- (avūg), Shgh vūd, Yazgh vīr- vig', etc. — Contaminated in Sgl with *ā·vīr- to bring (cf. Yd —Mj āvər-, Sogd. "βyr), cf Skr bhar- to obtain But why w²āwişp Sgl. is, wəšp "Wkh" ploughshaft — Cf. Yd å'wusp.

awe¹zān Sgl p 3 hanging. — a° bə kenen. — Prs

ıxö, v. yəxdai

ax'maq Sk stupid. — Ar .Prs

āxor Sgl is, āxurče p. 2 manger, āxarčā Sk. barn. — Prs

oxer Sk end. - Ar-Prs.

axse Sgl p 3, aq/x'sα Sk. sneezing. — a° dēδəm. — Prs.

ax'ta Sk bull. — Also Shgh, etc, cf Prs āxta castrated, axtxā'na.

axted Sgl. p 3, atord Gr he entered, aturatural Zar. to enter. — axted me kalfas, me kisti he entered the cage, the boat — Cf Sogd tystryt, V. Yd — M1 luray.

axtxā'na Sk. stable. — Prs. V Yd axtaxâna

a'yā Sk shame. — Ar Prs. (h)ayās Sk cold (noun)

az Sgl p. 1, Gr., az(*) Sgl p 2, azi Ishk.
'I' — aze-ı təfak xēsta xwārem p. 2
I and thou eat bread, azı tə madak
arı kenon Ishk. — V. Gramm § 110
ı'zå Sk Ar.-Prs,

a'zōr Sk, azār Gr (Zeb) 1000 — Prs žžím- öyöð Sgl p 1, 2, 3, s, žžum- åyad Ishk, žžom- 'žžomd- Sk, ižum- Gr to bring (a thing) — ižimen, azom öyoð p. 1; ižīm imper. 2 sg, žžimum p 2, žžimum bē, öyoðo-mō, va zo'manok 'opodan p. 3 'āwurdand', wuš īžəm 'kāh biār', īžumum, wōk čīz āyadum Ishk, 'īžəməm, 'īžum! 'īžəmdəm Sk.— Cf. Yazgh. ajam- to send (ace. to Gauthiot, JA, 1916, 255 < ā-jāmaya-), Sogd. "yī to bring (Reichelt, Sogd. Texts II 73), cf also Wkh wūzemto bring Mir Manich II, 54 z'm-'schicken, fuhren' (but note the z), and possibly Sak ājum- to lead, bring

\boldsymbol{B}

ba, ba, Gr. (Zb.) be a particle denoting the future, etc. - V Gramm. § 135. $b\bar{a} \ \nabla$. $b\bar{a}z$ be Sgl s, etc., bo Ishk, bā, bē to, for (postpos). - V. § 106 bot Sk rich - Turki būr Sgl p 2 smell, Sk. good smell būr dehor p. 2 'būr mēzanad', būr kon-Sk. to smell. - Prs. bibi Sgl p. 1, Sk, Gr. grandmother, father's sister. - Prs bobo Sgl. p 1, Gr, båb Sgl. s, bū'bū Sk, bava Sgl (paternal grandfather) -Afgh. Prs bâbâ, etc. babr Sk lion - Prs. bə'cī Sk. paternal uncle. — Cf Wkh. bəč V. amək, vuc bčák Sk. he-goat. — Cf. Notes on Shgh bučák. bēčo'ra Sk poor - Prs. bad Sk bad. - Prs. $b\bar{a}d$ Sgl p 2, 3 Sk after(wards). — $b\bar{a}d$ pādšā oyod, bād co wod xot after wards he rose from there. - Prs "bāa'dab Sk. polite — Ar.-Prs bea'dab Sk. impolite. Ar -Prs

bād(i) Sgl p 3, båd Ishk. wind. — wok

 $b\bar{a}di$ par $\delta\bar{a}$ šə $\delta = \delta am\bar{a}l$ par $d\bar{a}$ šr δ . - Prs buidoq Sk. bachelor — az-um bo I am a bo ba'dan Sk. body. - Ar. Prs bēdār Sgl. p 2, 3, bē'dor Ishk awake bo-em šīd ce misūk p 2 I awoke from sleep, bēdār šān p. 3, azī-m bēldōr Ishk - Prs bodowon- bodo wond- Sk. to gallop. -Prs. bəd'xåna Sgl p 3 temple (ın tale). — Prs bēs Sgl 18, p. 3, s, bēd Zar willow. -Pra V wed. ba'dak Sgl p 2 dividing, baxš(?), — wo'kī wo'ki za'min kull'son bo kenen they all divide the fields among themselves, one to each $- < *ba_1 \delta a k^2$ bā'sām Sgl. p. 2 almond - Prs. befår - Sk. to please - Impersonal construction mumba na buforu I don't like it, īmbå bēfåru az məz yažm he wants me to speak. - Cf. Prs fārīdan. bē'gu'nā Sk unocent. — Prs bu'gāy-um bugārd-um, bugāyuk Sk to copulate - Prs. båy Sk garden. - Prs bolyē Sk. male cousin. bēlvaib Sk. innocent. — Ar.-Prs bayal Ishk., bayal'viš Zar armpit. -Prs. Cf haš'viš beyair Sgl p 3 except (in tale) - bo i mak kōci digar Xədā nə yaižef don't call anybody else God except me. -Ar. Prs boly as (ba°) Sgl p 2 bellowing, bleating, bay Zar. to bellow — čān'vā, vəz b° ke'nov. — Cf Yd. bayaz, Shgh. way-. Reg -as v Parachi Voc s v. bâ'nas bleating

boyz ken- Sk. to hate Ar-Prs bayz be'lav- be'lavob- Sgl. s, p 2, bo'lav- bolavd boh Sgl p 2, bah Gr. (Zb) a kiss boh be kenen - Cf Yd. bohbo'jā Sk father's sister's husband — Cf. Mj bája. bok Sgl. s, box p 3 vomiting. - box-om deδ - Cf Turki (Hjuler) bok, box dirt? bagl, bhagl Sk wise - Ar Prs. ba'kəl Zb. calf — V baken'di bahen'di Sgl is male calf, 1-2 years old, p 2, 3 female(?) calf, one year old. — Yd. bakrn'da. balkor Sk necessary. - mumba bo I need - Prs. baquiv wat Sk strong - Ar.-Prs 'balē Sk, Gr (Zb) yes - Prs. bāl Sgl is., p. 1, Sk. wing - Prs. bēl Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk, Sk. spade. — Prs bāl'yē Sgl p 2, båqi'lå Sk beans, båkulå (Faba sativa, or Vicia faba, cf Vavilov, Agrie Afgh 334) ball am Sgl p 3 mucus from the mouth - Ar -Prs baldkē Sgl p 1, båle qā Sk hammer -Pra, cf. Yd bale'ko br'land Sgl p 2, 3, bi'lan p 1, bland Sk. high - Prs be'laur Sgl. is rock-crystal - Prs kūtī belar zān- Sgl p 2 to make tremble mum-bē belar zānu, belarzānu-š — Prs Cf § 129 bo'hs Sgl 18, be'lis p 2 span from thumb to forefinger, bellis Zar id, to little finger - Afgh Prs bilist V carangašt, pēx, wu'dīt, wa'jīb belis mān- belis mānd Sgl p 2, 3 to make

to slip - belišmānu-š 'mēlišmāna-iš',

mum bē belišmānu it makes me slip - Prs. *lišmāndan, cf. lišn, laš(i)n

slipperv. 25 - Kulturforskning

Ishk, Sk to read, Sk. also to sing. - kı'tav be'laven, kı'tav-əm be'lavə8 p 2, bə'lav Ishk. 'buxan' — Cf Shgh lūv-, etc., Prs. labīdan to brag $bal \partial w \bar{a}(n)$ p 3 fighting. — $bal \partial w \bar{a}n$, baluīcā šīsok 'jang suda ast'. - Prs baluā disturbance. balaxč-, v laxč-. be'mar Sgl p 2, 'be,mår Sk. ill, unwell — Prs bēmā'nī Sk. illness baina Sk. body (read taina?) band Sgl. p. 1 1) shoe-string, 2) dyke. -Prs. band 1-'dest Sgl is., p. 1, Zb, band-1-dost p 3, odust Sk. wrist - Prs (with partial adaptation to the dialect). 'bāndsk Sgl. p 1 clbow, bandsk Sk. finger-nail (corr., ojoint?). - Prs band-r-pā Sgl p. 1, 3, ankle joint. — Prs. bandar Sgl p. 2 custom-house, pana -Prs. harbour box(g) Sgl p. 2, 3 crowing — $xu^{\dagger}r\bar{u}s$ bon(ga) kano(i) the cock crows. — Prs. bar Sgl p 2, 3 breast, Gr. (Zb) embrace - ma pādšā bar dehēδ (the javelin) hit the king in the bleast - Prs. balar Sgl. 18, p 1, 2, bolor Zb, balhår Ishk, b(d)år Sk spring. - ka bara šuwo p 2 when spring came. -- Prs. bor Sgl p 1 grey, bur Sk greyish white - Prs (Bal göray grey, Kurd guer (Soane) brown, geur, etc brown, grey (J. J) would seem to point to original w., not to *barwa- (Barthol. Miran. Mund. VI, 6)) bor- Ishk to rain. — far bu borū it rains much. - Prs V nav-. barf Zb snow. - Prs. - V. warf

barg Sgl 18, p 1, 3, Zb, Sk, Gr a leaf - Prs barq Sk lightning — Prs. būrik Sk narrow, thin - Prs bā'rān SgI s, bd'rån Ishk., Sk ram — Prs. — V no'vok $b^{g|_{I}} \epsilon nj$ Sgl is, °inj p 2, 3, Ishk, Sk, brinš p 1 ricc — be'rīnjə ke'nān p 2 they cook rice - Prs bi'rın'i Sk brass Prs brēšum, v ar vēšum bo'rūt Sgl p 1, 3, brūt Zb, bu'rūt Ishk., burut Sk moustache — Prs b³ l εž Sgl 18, °ež p 1, s, Zb, °īž p 3, °ūj Ishk, bruj Sk, borež "Wkh" birch - Cf. Or beruj, etc from IA Cf Yd ze'vnyo, etc bas Sgl p 2 enough, bas is-um (bas oyadum) Sk to be able. - Prs bīst, v wīšt. bīstə yak Sk. 21 — Prs. bāšo Sgl p 2 — In miž be pūl dē, bāšo give mc money, and then go away (' $b\bar{a}$ bura' = ba'd burau?), to $p\bar{u}l$ dē, bāša ('bād bəra') — Prob. from ba'd + šo $b\bar{a}^{\dagger}\tilde{s}\bar{e}$ Sgl is , p. 1, $b\hat{a}^{\dagger}\tilde{s}\alpha$ Ishk sparrowhawk - Prs bəš verbal particle — V Gramm § 135 biš SgI p 3 under -- cə kafas biš 'az tā i hafas'. — Cf. s v yālviš baš kač Sgl p 3 children, baškāč (in tale) - Prs. Cf bača-kačaho family (Zar, Oč razg yaz samarkandsk ebreev, no. 530). bə'šān- Sgl. p 2, bı'šōn- Ishk to make to sit down — az bə tfak bəšā(n?)in Sgl is , təfak bəšancı p 2, azı fak madak bi'šonum Ishk — Prs $be^{i}išt$ Sk. heaven — Prs. bat Sgl p 2 sweets given at a feast -

Cf Or bat a kind of porridge, ritual food — Hind bhāt? bət Sgl p 3 idol — bətā fərēd kub pə tovor he crushed the idols with his axe -- Prs baital Sgl. 18, p 1, oalča p 3 mare — Prs V mådı'yån bēlāk Sgl p 2 shecp skin coat, posteen bia'iān Sgl p 2 ontside, — šā bo 'berūn mēran', šīδum b° 'raftam berūn' — Prs 'lēua Sgl 18, p 1, bē'wā Sk widow — Pra bålwar Sk hopeful — Prs ba'ail Sk a miser — Prs barš Sgl p 2,3 dividing, division, portion. - baaš(e) kenen I divide, distribute, cə fūr za mīn-v, cə fūr zot-v man-en, va cəlfür baxš kenen p 2 — Pra bāz Sgl p 1 falcon — Prs. bāz Sgl p 2 then - Prs bå zē Sk play --- Prs $b\vec{a}z\bar{u}$ Zb the arm above the elbow, bāzī Sk, Gr elbow — Pis astamāy'z k boz Zb goat. - Prs V vəz $b\bar{a}^{\dagger}z\bar{a}r$ Sgl p 2 bazar — ce wöð itin $b\bar{a}z\bar{a}r$ from there they arrived at the bazar - Prs bāzār¹gān Sgl p 3, Gr (Zb) merchant - Prs

\boldsymbol{C}

cĕ what? Cf § 119
co SgI. s, p 1, 2, Ishk, ca Gr from — ce mēz viš p 2 (from) under the table, čārvā co voz žoštō a cow is bigger than a goat, Cang'lēš om σγοδ (= co S°) p 2 I come from Sanglech, azī

co mīnduk xo'tuk Ishk (co mīsūk) p 2

I rose from sleep -< Av hača, Cf. Yd že V § 107 cē-ba Sgl. p 2 why? — to do zi cē-ba gaxtog why did you do thus? (čiråntari kardī?), to do ma zi cē va gaxtog 'čuā hamī kārī kardı?' — Prs — Of čuva = čiba 'why' in the dial of the Samarkand Jews ceci, cice what? - V. § 119 'cācui Sgl 15, 'cācū p 1, cā'cūr s a kind of hawk or falcon, čārya c³ für Sgl p, s, 1s Zb, Sk, Zar, c^a für Gr (also $\check{c}^{a\dagger}f\bar{u}l$ Sgl 18.), but $\check{c}\bar{v}r$ Ishk four. - cofūr zōt-ō nion-ēn I have four sons - Cf Yd. čšīr $c\bar{a}m$ Sgl p 1, 2, 3, s, $c\bar{a}^am$ 1s., com Zb, com Ishk, Zar, cam Sk, Gr eye -Cf Yd čam, "Wkh" čom calmok Sgl p 3 winking — Cf cam colmand Sgl p 2, cumand Gr how many — c° āδam ōstō? c° tan-ān ma təməx $x\bar{a}n$ how many people are there in your house? - Cf § 119 cām mərdi'kīq Sgl. p 1 the 1r1s of the cye - Cf "Wkh." mərdik pupil of the eye, Gr murdik a small ring, Yd s v modrave $c \partial^{1} n \bar{a}$ Sgl p 2, 3 how — $c \partial^{1} n \bar{a} \cdot i$ oyo δ p 2'čitur āmadi', ce'nā'ma hari ken? how do you do this work? cena gaxen p 3 how shall we do? cə-pšūr Sgl p 2 above. — kr!tāv cə pšūr ū - V. cə, pšūr caix, v čarx

C

čūb Ishk wood, firewood — Prs V
durk
ča¹brū Ishk, fat. — Prs V wōst
ču¹čī Sgl 1s, p, ču¹čī Ishk, ču¹čī Sk,

čīči Gr female breast, ču'čī "Wkh" udder — Prs čučū čū'čik Sk chicken — Prs. čuldan Sk, čudan Gr cooking-pot — Cf Oss cuainag kettle, Russ čugun cast-iron kettle, v BSOS, VIII, 665 čay man Sgl p 1 cloak — Turki čuk- Sgl p 2, Zar to beat, č>k- č>kt-Sk to thresh, to knock in (a nail) — čuhō-š 'mēčakad-iš' Sgl. p 2 — Cf. Wkh. čuk- to beat, pound, Yazgh. čok to beat, Bad Prs čukidan to hammer. ču kār Sgl 18. a kind of dye made from čag'wr Sk deep - Turk čukur (cf Par. čukurī a well) čal Sk soaking wet čel, Sgl 1s., čil p. 2, s, čel p. 3 forty -Prs či lē Sgl p 1 the coldest part of winter. - Prs. čila forty days of winter during which the weather is most severe, of Psht cila, Bal chilar, Kurd. čilān, etc čūl Sgl 18, p 2, 3 penis - Cf Yd čula, če'lik Ishk, čilila Sk, čiliak Gr. (Zb.) finger-ring — Hi. challá, Psht čala ear-ring? či lim Sgl p 2, Sk water-pipe. - 'čilim 'xašum Sk I smoke. — Prs čol Zar multicoloured — Cf M1 s v kaš cu'mol Sgl p 1, 3 basket for carrying on the back. - Cf Shgh cemūd, Or camūq, Sar "tsamúgh" < *čamrta čen- čiδ- Sgl p 2, 3 to pick. — čenen, cidum - Prs? čand Sgl p. 2, Gr some - čand voz pasī — Prs

či nār Sgl. 18, p 1, 3, če når Gr. oriental

plane - Prs.

čin'gāl Sgl p 2 claw — Prs čan giling Sgl is, čangi ling p 1, čange-'ring p 3 hamstring — Prs *cang-i ling. čap Sgl 18, p 2, Sk left (hand), čab ling Sk the left foot - Prs čapa Sgl p 3 overturning. — va kišti $e^{\circ} k \partial \delta$ overturned the boat, mo jangal \check{c}° $\check{s}\bar{\imath}\delta$ was thrown ashore in a forest - Cf Prs čapidan, Psht čapa kawul to turn over ča pan Sk. cotton cloak - Turk cəlpān Sgl p 2, cu° 3, co° Gr shepheid - Prs Cf Mj. ču pân č'pošt Sk backwards, behind. — Assim from *cpōšt? Cf Yd. cpāc ča'rā ken- Sgl. p 3 to graze — Prs cor, v. cofur ,čo ro, v čar va 'carda Sgl 18, p 2, s, o'da p 3, 'carde Grammophone, čårdāu Zb fourteen - Prs čar fande gi Sgl. p 3 sprinkling — va vēk č° kenen — *Prs? či'rāy Sgl p 1, Gr, či'roy Ishk, Zai, čiray Sk. candle, light - Prs čiråy dån Sk lantern čirya zek Sgl p 1, čerya zek p 3 a spark - Cf Mj, Khow corox, Or ceralxah < *crrax-zek, cf Prs demin suff -za? čār māys Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, s, čår mayz Sk walnut(-tree) - Prs. $\dot{c}a^{\dagger}r\bar{a}n$ - $\dot{c}a^{\dagger}r\bar{a}st$ p 2, Gr to graze, to herd eattle - Prs. čar āndan "čå rån Sk anımal. čā rangešt Sgl p 1, čāran gušt s span, from thumb to fore-finger - *Prs - V bəllıs, pēx čār'vā Sgl p čårå Zb, čō'n o Sk, čāra Gr, carpa Gr. (Zb) horned cattle,

flocks - č° cə rəz žəšt-ö p 2 -Pis čārwā quadruped čarx Sgl 18, p 2, čārx p 1, carx p 3, Ishk spinning wheel - Genuine, but with ¿- from Prs? čārxaiz Sk galloping — Prs *čahāi. xēz? čos Sgl p. 3 a fart — čos de 'guzidan' - Prs čus, Kandulâî tis 'čş bā Sk, čiz-ba Gr (Zb) why? — Cf Prs čīz čīš'mē Sgl p 1, čoš'mē p 3, č(u)šma Sk, čašma'vēk Ishk a spring - Prs čāšt Sgl 1s, p 1, 2 noon. — Prs čīš Sgl 18, p 1, 3, čiš Zar, ume — Cf Prs šāš? čut Ishk kid, čūd Zar. be goat. — Cf Weishikwar čūt? čet Sgl 18, čut p 1, 2, čut Ishk, čut Gr (Zb) small — diga'rī cə wo čuţ-an 'dıgar az ū maida astın', čut zöt-ī p 2 thou art a small child, cot konum Sk I break to pieces, I tear in two - Ace to Gr. from IA Cf Burush jut V rzzyāk čov Sgl p. 2, čo'vāh p 3 little, small ču wel Sgl 18, p 2, 3, s, čūtel p. 1, ču wen Zb, čwēnd Sk, čuwēnd Zar, cwēnd Gr apricot — Cf Wkh ču wān, Rhyming with, and prob influenced by, $m\bar{e}l$, $m\bar{e}nd$ apple Cf. Yd 'čīre ?? čar max Sgl. 18, čak max p 2, čaxmax-'sang p 3 flint(-lock) — Prs — Turk čīz Ishk, Sk, Gr what? — to mum bo čīz yēžī? Ishk what dost thou say to me? in nim čiz? čiz nim in å Sk. what is his name? 'ciz to t 'nist Joyad Sk why didst thou not come? čīz-bā ke Sk. since — Prs, cf. Wkh., Shgh, Gr (Zb) cīz

čizī Sgl 18, p 2 a thing, something — čizī·m nūšəð I drank something, wok čizī be nūšen, məne wok čizī a'pēð p 2 I lost a thing (yak čīzī), har qism: čiziā i xūb all sorts of good things — Prs

D

da, de Sgl p 2, 3 a particle denoting existence — āhūīn wok šāx da vəð p 3 the stag had one horn, tāhe da fəlrīnd p 3 he remained alone Cf IIFL, I, Par Gramm p 76, Benveniste Gramm Sogd II, §§ 82, 133, etc — Cf. dak

-dō, -δō thou art — V. § 121

dou Sgl 1s, dou p 2, dou p 3, dau p 1, dou s, dou Ishk, dū Zb, dəu Sk, dau, dō Gr, du Zar two — də zōt, də rō'pē, wog dō rōi mēi some two or three days Sgl, dəw-yaž Sk repeat — From *duwāu? Cf Or δau, etc

dē'cāk Sgl. p 1, dec Sk., Gr., δēc Zar goatskin used for swimming, sanōč
 Cf Wkh δåck, Yd laxčīo

dēd Sk, in dēd šəwəm I box, fight —
 Cf Shgh δēd war, or, more probably,
 Sgl. deh- (v below)

 $d\tilde{e}\delta$ - Sgl p 2, $d\tilde{e}d$ - dett- Sk to enter, go in — $d\tilde{e}(\delta\tilde{e})m$ I entered — Cf Shgh $\delta\tilde{e}\delta$, Or $ind\tilde{i}\delta$ -, Sar $di\delta$ - deid, Yd. $t\tilde{t}$ - < *ati-i-, with δ from 3 sg (v s v $\tilde{i}\delta$)? Cf Sogd. tys- (Benv Gramm. Sogd II, 61), Yaghn $t\tilde{i}s$ - tist, Yagh dis- $da_{1}d$, and Yd $t\tilde{i}$ - $d\tilde{i}\delta$ Sgl, Zb, $d\tilde{u}d$ Ishk., $d\tilde{i}d$ Sk, dud

Zar., dit Gr smoke — Cf Yd. lūi (Ishk from Prs.)

'dīdūs Sgl. p , ous s , 'dīdus 1s , 'dvozdāu

Zb, $dw\dot{a}zda$ Ishk twelve $-d\bar{\imath}$ - < * $d\bar{\imath}u$ - < duva-?

dıg'dān Sgl 1s, p. 1, Gr, dıg'dön Ishk, dīkdön Zar fireplace, hearth, dık'dån Sk kettle(?) — Prs

dıga Sgl p 2 now, then. — čand rōz pasī dıga xē māl gō! kuδ — Prs.

'digar Sgl p 3 other — Prs

diga'rī Sgl. p 2 still, more — d° cəwo čut-ān you are still smaller than he

dah, v. dos

deh· dēð Sgl p (p 3 also dehēð), dēdeð s, dēdēd Ishk., Sk, deh· dēd Gr (Zb), dēded- Zar to beat—
tfak de'hēn, tu a'mak dē, azəm a-tfak dēð p 1, dehōi 'mēzanad', warf² d²hō snow falls, vēki diān they irrigate, tēym dān they sow, dānd² dehēn I bite, axše dēðəm I yawned, dehēð 'zad', gab dehef speak (gap bezanī) p 3, dēðəm Gazkəstān p. 2 we reached ("struck") G (zadim), dēum, azī wan dēdum, mak dēd 'mara zad' Ishk., dēm, imper. dē, dēdum, dēduk, dēyuk, az fak dēm I beat thee Sk— Cf Yd. dah-, Shgh. de-, etc

1dāku'ša Sk felt-pad placed under the saddle — Sk compares Gr 'dakoša stirrup

dak Sgl p 2, 3 emphatic particle. — xwārən-dak I eat, xwōro-dak he eats, nēr-əm kuð v ārī ðak, nēr-əm kūlō va hārī-ðak to-day I did (have done) the work (imrūz hamū kāra kardam), ma mən xoðm-dak gab dehef explain my dream, īm-ba dak wok mīrļ dūðū veðom I had given him an apple, ce har xōrī-dak 'az har xar', kull-šōn-dak they all, am xān-dag kull mōnīn-dag-ē Cf §§ 114, 117.

dəqə'dəq Sk. trotting — Cf Shgh doqdoq, and Prs luk luk raftan.

duqo'låč Sk gallop — Cf Prs qulāč prancing of a horse.

dēkā nī Sk field - Prs

'dela Sgl 1s. weasel. — Pis.

dai'lē Sgl p 2 porridge made of barley (said to be a Farsi word) — Cf Prs dīla ryc? V. pa'čār.

doldo'r ok Sgl 18... dördo'r ok p 1, 3, dondo'r ok s thunder — Onomatopoetic word, of Psht dūndakār, Par bumbu'r ū, etc dā'līz Sgl 18. p 2 veranda

dam Gr (Zb.) back (of an animal) --Cf Shgh dam upper part of the

Cf Shgh dam upper part of the back, Or dam spine, etc., Par damāi behind Shgh d- points to horrowing damb Sgl p 1, damb p 3, dumb Zb, Ishk,

dylb Sk, dum Zar tail — Genuine, or from Prs. dum(b). Cf Yd 12m

dəmb- Sgl p 3 to card wool. — pāme dəmben — Cf Yd lib-

'dōmōd Ishk, son-in-law, _idō'mōd Sk bridegroom, _idū'mōd sister's husband, son in law — Prs V zə'mūδ

dam'fāžek Sgl p 2, s, °až3k p 3 yawn — d° xašem I yawn — Prs. dam breath + fāž yawnung, cf Par fâza. dı'māy Zb nostrils — Ar ·Prs V. f²sək-voa'čē.

dāman Sgl p 1,2 hem of a garment — Prs

 $d\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ Sgl 18, $_{|}d\bar{a}^{h|}n\bar{a}$ Sk a horse's bit. — Prs V. $laz\bar{a}m$

då nå Sk wise - Prs

dīn Ishk. day (?) — Doubtful word, unknown from other sources.

din Sk. religion - Ar -Prs

dānd Sgl. 1s., dānd p 3, dān p 1, dānt s, dōn(t) Zb, Ishk, dånd Sk., dånd(ak) Gr. tooth — nasəm be pə dānd Sgl. p. 2 I bite it, na'sök pa dänt is, dändə dehen p 3, dönt kenem Ishk I bite — Cf Yd lad.

dunda Sgl p 3 so much, amika (= hamīn qadr) — dunda ved thus it happened — Cf Gr (Zb) zo dund, Sar. dund < *tā vant-?

dūnik Sgl p 2 grain — dūnik xoro 'dāna mēxura' — Cf Prs dūna.

de'nula Sgl p 1 hoopee, huthut dan-'poof Sgl p 2 gums

January Character An Den

don'yå Sk world — Ar.-Prs.

da'rē Sgl. 18, da'rē p 1, dar'ra Sk. valley — Pis But Gr. dir 'ravine' may be genune

då rū Sk gunpowder — Prs.

dēr Sgl 1s, p 1, 2, s, Ishk, Sk, Gr, dier p. 3, 'Wkh" dēra belly — wužinjak zəmanok oyod mē dērī the woman became piegnant — Prob <*udarya-(v KZ, 61, 32), ef Yaghn dara

dēr-, dērd Sk to have — dīrəm — Av. dāraya-, Par. dēr-, cf Yd lār

dīr Sgl. p distant, far — dīr watan ba šīs, asa āsam dīr ūi, ama āsam ka'rīb-ū p 1 that man is far away, this man is near — Cf Yd lūro.

dūr, dr ("with Swedish u") Sk penis
dūr Sgl is, p. 1, 3, Ishk sickle — Cf
"Wkh" dār, Yd s v Pruyus

dard, dard) Sk. pain — 'mənō 'dardkunu it hurts me — Prs

dar'gāv Sgl p. 1, dar'gō Zb small valley, dar'gāb Sk brook — Prs.

 $d^u r \bar{u}_{\gamma}$ Sk a he — Prs.

 $dur \bar{o}_{\gamma}{}^{i}g\bar{u}$ Sgl p 2, $dur \bar{u}_{\gamma}{}^{i}g\bar{u}$ Sk a har — $t \ni d^{\circ}$ $\delta \bar{o}$ Sgl. p 2 — Prs.

durk Sgl. p 1, 2, dərk Zb, Ishk, Sk stick, wood — va durk to vor maida kenen p 2 I cut the wood into pieces with an axe, xūb rost durk-ū it is a quite straight stick. — *dāi uka-, or *dai uka- (v § 79), ef Shgh. δōrg, Psht. largaz

donam Sgl p 1, Zb pinetree.

da'rūn Sgl p 2, Gr inside — to ma xān d° do thou art in the house. — Prs

dən nāk Sgl 1s. arrow (?), p 2 bow-string.
— Cf Oim drūng (v Suppl Notes s v) bow Yd drūn is borr from Khow — V zē, xas trek.

dəlrust Sgl. p. 2 straight — Prs dəlrəst Sgl. p. 2, is rough — Prs.

drāw., v deray.

dar wāza Sgl p 3 door, gate — čel d° vəδ, mə d° nīδef sit down at the gate. — Prs

daraxt Sgl is, draxt p 1, da'raxt Sk a tree — Prs

de'ray-, de'rē-. də'rāð Sgl p 2,3, de'ray-Ishk, drāw- drāwd Sk. to reap derayen, derāðəm p 2, yundum derayem Ishk — Poss from Prs. Cf Yd lərī-

dar'yā Sgl 1s., s, dar'yā(o) p river, dar-yā Sk Amu Darya — daryāo yəx o kuōk p 2 the river has frozen (yax kardast) — Prs.

dər'yōk Sgl p 2 reaping, harvest — d° isū — V deray-

da'råz Sk long - Pis.

dos Sgl 1s., p. 2, 3, s, dos p 1, Gr (Zb), dāu Zb, dah Sk, Gr ten — Cf Yd los (dāu, dah < Prs)

'dəsad Sk 200 — Prs

də sīn Sgl is., p 2 wild oats -- Sk τοςδου suk Cf Yd. leso

döst Sgl. 1s, p 1, 3, düst Ishk, du/ost Sk arm below the elhow, hand xē döst ze'nēyen p 1 I wash my hands — Cf. Yd last dūst Sgl p 2, dust Sk a friend — dūst dērum Sk I love. — Prs

das'tak Sgl p. 1, 3, Ishk a rafter, ceiling-board — Prs, Bad, cf Par, Orm des'tak

dēš dəyδ Sgl p 2,3,s, dēš- dēšt Zar. to milk — va uyū dēšəm, va uyū-m dəyδəm p 2. — *dauxšya- *duxta-, ef EVP, s v lwašəl — Yd (v s v lūž), Wkh, Sgl., etc go back to *dauč-.

dəš Sgl. p 2 late — dəš ο'γοδ — Cf Wklı δοš (Sh)

duš'man Sgl p 3, Sk enemy — tə bar
 d° pardā šuō thou hast got an enemy.
 — P1s

dašt Sgl is, p 2 open, relatively flat ground at the foot of the hills — Prs

dəvā, °və Sgl p 2 after that, pas-ı amū.
 — də'vā nes lā-kuδ 'bāz ū na månd',
 dəvə šöιök (q v) šūān

də'vīn- də'vīnd Sgl. p 2, 3, s., du'vīn Zar.
 to winnow — dəvīnuk p 2 winnowing.
 — Cf. Yd ləbān-

dē'võ'nē Sk mad = lēw. — Prs de'wāl Sgl. 1s, p 1, °õl I-hk., dê'wål Sk

wall. — Prs
'dəwišt Sgl p 3 twenty-two

dəxtan¹dār Sgl p. 1 husband's sıstei (?)
 —Prob a mıstake, ef Prs duxtar andar step-daughter

'dāya Sgl p 3, 'dō'ya Sk nurse — Prs day dūð Sgl. p 1, 2, s, day- dūd Ishk, Gr, dey- dūd Sk to give. — Pres 1 sg dayen, tu mum bē wok rōpēē dē p 1 give me a rupee, dayem be, im be wok rōpē dēyen (1 pl.), dīān (3 pl), dūðən, az əm dūð, dūðīn, dūðū veðəm (plup) p 2, azī tu bo dayum, dūdum Ishk, 'deyum, dei,

'dūdum, 'dūduk, 'deyuk Sk — *daya-(cf Tedesco, MO, 1921, p 224), but cf. Yd —Mj dal-

dəzd Sgl p 2, Sk thief — Prs. — Gr dužd, if correct, might be a genuine form.

dū'zax Sk. hell. — Prs

F

fai Sgl p 2, Ishk, Gr (Zb), Sk much, many, very, still more — fai vəz-əm wēnd I saw many goats, fai wuðu, do there are many daughters, təmux fay ān p. 2, fai muluk many men, fai ferīnd very tired, fai bu börū 'bisyār mēbārad' Ishk., fai lip Sk. very much. — *fra-aya-, cf Benveniste, Giamm. Sogd II, p 162 fy'tr, etc?

fi Sgl p 1,3, fai Ishk, Zar, fei Gr shovel, wooden spade. — "Wkh" fi, cf. Yd fia

foc Sgl p, s., Gr (Zb), fooc Sgl, is, foc Zb, foc Sk. mouth — Cf. Yd fosko fauji Sgl p 3 soldier — Ar. Prs V. fauž fak Ishk. thee. V. tu — Gr fak

1) self, 2) your honour is due to some misunderstanding of fak 'thee'. Cf § 111

fi^lük Sgl. 18, p., s. shoulder-blade — Cf Yd.—Mj. fia, Shgh fyak, etc

fekr Sk. thought — fikr kən consider — Ar ·Prs

fū'lād Sgl.1s, p 2, °åδ Sk steel — Prs.
 filla Gr beestings milk, Sk buttermilk
 — Prs fal(l)a.

falax'mān Gr. sling. — Prs palaxn(ān). får., v befåru

frī Sk, Gr, ferī Gr (Zb) good, dear. Sk. bravo. — Sk. frī dīr- (kas-) to

love, fak fri dirəm I like thee, fəritar better, a'd-im fri wəb that would be good. — Cf Av. frya-, Sak brria-.

far'be Sk. fat (noun) - Prs

f³rēd Sgl p. 3 broken — b³tā f³ kuδ p³ totor he broke the idols with an axe, šikast — Cf Wkh. frīl- to crumble? V. vrēļ-.

fər 'yərt fər 'yəšt Sgl s "to wander about — fəryərtəm 'mē-gardam', fər-əm yəšt I wandered about — Adapted fr. Prs V yort.

fəi mē- fəi mūδ Sgl p 2, 3, s to order, command — pādšā fərmūδ p 3. — Prs?

frūn Gr shelf, plank — Wkh. run, Sar.

vūn < *frāna-, ef Lett plāns floor,
Lit plonas thin, etc?

fə'ris- fə'rind Sgl p 2, 3, s, fə'rin fə'rind Sk. to remain, be left behind, frin Gr he remained. — fərisəm 'mēmānam', fərindəm 'māndam', fə'rindi fər'sōu mə pə'nuk thou didst spend the night on the pass p 2, pādšā tāke (q v) fə'rind p 3 — < *fia-rièya- *fra-rixna-, cf Wkli wariè-: uaregn, Sar ris- reid, Or ras- rīd

fərind Ishk, frin'duk Gr tired, Sk lagging behind — From fə'ris, ef., semantically, Wkh vərəxk tired, Pis. mānda, Sindhi virto, Yd wuzā, etc fər'nis- fər'nit Sgl is., p 2, Ishk,

fərnīt-: fərnītt Sk to forget — fər'nısen fər'nıtəm p. 2. fərnıtum, na fərnıti Ishk., az-um 'fərnīt I forget, az-ım fərnītt(əm) I forgot, 'fərnīt, fərnĭttuk, 'fərnītuk Sk. — < *fra nasya-, cf. Shgh renēs-, Yazgh. anıs- anužt (*ā-, or *fra-?)

 $f^{2}r\bar{o}s$ - $f^{2}r\bar{o}t$ Sgl. 1s, $fr\bar{a}s$ - $fr\bar{o}t$ p. 1, $f^{\mathfrak{d}_{r}}$ as p. 2, 3, s, Ishk $f^{\mathfrak{d}_{r}}$ $\check{\mathsf{d}}_{t}$ Sgl. p 3, s., f²rēt Ishk, foras- forast Sk, frut Gr, ferāt Gr. (Zb) to ask - az? f^{3} rōsən, (tu) f^{3} rāsī, f^{3} rōtəm 18, az frāsen, tu frā'sī, azəm frotəm, tu froti p. 1, forasen p. 2, forasom fərdiəm p. 3, s, fərasum, fəretum Ishk, $fo^{\dagger}rasum$, f(o)ras, forastum, forastukSk - A new Pres, hase has been made from the Past Stem *frašta-(Sak brrasta, etc), and from fras, in its turn, forast (incidentally re sembling Old Prs -frasta-) Most dialects have retained Pres *pisa-, but have renewed the Past Base Cf. Yd prs-

fər'sön Sgl 1s, fər° p 2, fur° p 3,s, fersun Gr (Zb), forsuk MFB, fər'xa "Wkh." nıght. — < fra-xsapa-V sab

fəˈrašte, -oa Sgl p. 3 angel — Prs farx-v-'sur Sgl. p 1, 2 top of the head — Ar Pis (also in Par) — V tå-v-sar

fər'yaγ Sgl. p 1 yoke — Ct Yd. frāiγo yoke-rope, RgV prauga- yoke. V. yəγ fər'yəm Sgl. p 2, °εm p. 3 female kid, one year old — Ct "Wkh." fərγəmē, Yd frayıngo, ctc

fu'sēk Sgl. 18, fə'sēk p. 1, f(*)sək p 2, 3, fə'sēk s, fr'sē "Wkh" nose — Cf Yd. f'sko. — V nıc, m's

 $f^{g} s \bar{g} k p \varrho a^{\dagger} e \bar{e}$ Sgl p 1 nostrils — V $d \iota^{i} m \partial_{\gamma}$.

fasl Sgl p 3 moment, Sk season — wok fasl asto veδ 'yak dam (= fasl) iståd' — *Ar.-Prs.

fāx'tē Sgl p 1,2 rıngdove — Prs. făuž Sgl p 2, fauj p 3 army — Ar-Prs — V. fauji \boldsymbol{G}

 $g v^{\dagger} \bar{a}$ Sgl p 1 grass. — Prs $g \bar{u}$ $k \ni n$ - Sk to grow (intr.) Cf. Wkh $g \bar{e}$ car-

gu'dom Sgl. p 1, 2 store-house, ambār — maxlu'kān g° xaštān p. 2 — Ind. 'gogərd Sgl 18., p 2, 'srd p 3 sulphur. — Prs

guth Sgl 1s., p. 3, gū p. 1, Ishk., Zar.
human excrements. — But cāruāt
goh Sgl 1s, goh p 3, go p 1 cowdung — Prs (double borrowing?)
gel Sgl 1s, gəl p. 1, 2, Zb., gul Ishk.,
gul(uk) Sk, gulok Gr flower. — 1spē
gəl p 2. — Prs

gil Sgl. p. 1, gil s. clay. — Prs. — V. lõi.

gola Ishk, gåla Sk., Gr (Zb) bread — a'z-ım nēr gå'la 'nıst xūl Sk. to-day I have not eaten bread. — Cf. Shgh garða wheaten bread — V. xēste qul Ishk, göla Sk kidney, Gr. hver —

gut Ishk, göla Sk kidney, Gr. fiver —
Prs göla a ball — V wolk
guthåd(2k) Sk skistering gythådub Gr

gulbād(*k) Sk whirlwind, gulbāduk Gr.
cloud — *Prs.?

gala'gāu Sgl. p 1 herd of cows. — Prs gi'lām Ishk rug (? or coat?) Prs gilam'bāf Sgl is weaver, gilimbōfak p. 1,

gəlīm-'båfək Sk spidei — Prs Cf Shgh. gilimbáf, Wkh. gilimbóf spider gī'lās Sgl is, p. 2, 3 cherry. — Prs.

gul'xår Sk briar — *Prs

göl Sgl. p 2, 3 collected, assembled, together with, gul Sk with, gūl Gr. assembled, -gal Gr. (Zb) together with — xē māl gōl huð p 2 he collected his goods, gōl ken xē walzīren assemble thy ministers, xe bašhač gol 'katı baškač', xe walzīren gəl p. 3 together with his ministers, tō yōl

ısən p 2 'hamrā-ı tū mēāyam', mən gul Sk with me - Prob and lw from Prs *gart (but of Barth, Mir Mund VI, 60) gol Sgl p. 1, 2, qul Ishk dumb, gūl Sk deaf — göl mö šyuk p 2 I have become dumb - Prs gol stupid? gåm Sk pace, walk — Prs. $gan^i da$ Sgl. p 2 bad — g° $\bar{a}\delta am \bar{u}$ — Prs gin jišk Ishk sparrow — Prs -gnik Sk resembling, like — wručsakgnik, xūq gnik maluh a fox-like, piglike man -- Ct Pis gūna? gap Sgl 18, p 3, Sk, G1 word, conversation — ma mən xolm dak gab dehef p 3 you must say a word about my dream - Prs. $g^{\mathfrak{d}}\mathfrak{d}\tilde{\epsilon}$ Sgl p 3 knot — Prs gar'dak Zb, gurduk Ishk, gardan Sk neck - Borr and adapted from Prs gardan garm Zb, Ishk., Sk warm, hot (Sk also 'heat') - Prs - V yōrm quit Sk meat - Pis V pudf găx- gāxə Sgl p. 2, 3, gāx- gaxt Gr (Zb) to make, prepare — wok čīzī gāxen, wətuhə gāxān they prepare a feast p 2, gax imper 2 sg, cena gāxen 'čīkår mēkunim?' 'Ōzar 'zōt-ō gawtōk 'O's son has done it' Sgl p. 3 — Cf Wkli $qo\check{x}$, $y\bar{a}x$ qaz Sgl p 2 ell — Prs gāz Zb, gazek Sgl p 1 tamarisk — Pis Cf $y \vec{o} z$. gāzdəmb SgI 18, 'gaz' p 3, s., gāzdəm p 1, gaž'dům Sk., gož'dum Ishk. scorpion - Prs gaždum (and gazdum,

Horn Np. Et 885?)

gu'zar Sgl p. 2, 3, s, Gr ford $-g^{\circ}-m$

be šīxtəm I crossed the ford. — Prs

Γ

you, ∨ น vūi yöb-naduk Gr green slime on standing water — Cf Or yob mud, slime, Wershikwar yop, and naduk from yu'bār Sgl p 1, yo° p 2, yu'bōr Zb duststorm - Prs yudāra Gr water vessel — Prs yadāra, Sligh yedora yök lshk frog (large) - Prs yöl Ishk lung (??) — (Prob Pis šuš musheard as $q\bar{u}\bar{s}$) yal'bēl Sgl 1s, p, Ishk, Sk sieve, yo kon-Sk to strain, sift. - va yondam yo kenen p 3 - Prs νδ'lāk Sgl. 18, yulak p 2, Zar, yū' Sk, Gr pellet-bow. — Cf Yd —Mj yūlak. V yə'lāk yalla Ishk grain - Prs γə'lām Sgl p. 2 slave — Ar -Prs yalt Sgl p 3 falling - yalt-em šīð I fell - Ar-Pis yāl'viš Sgl is Adam's apple — Cf yāl and kaš-viš, bayal-viš V biš γāl Sgl is, p, s, γōl Zb, Ishk, γå! Sk, ydl Gr throat — ma möi yāļ ba tīr i dast dehēδ Sgl p 3 he hit his throat with an arrow - Cf. Or γārδ, Psht yāra. yōl Sgl p 1, s, yol 1s, p. 3, Sk, yōl Ishk, Gr, yol Sk, wol(1) Zb., yūl Zar, "Wkh" γal ear. — Cf Yd. $\gamma \bar{u}$, and Prs dial yol yōl Sgl p 2 together with - V gōl ralak Sgl 19, p 1 plough-handle — From $y\bar{o}l$ ear, of Prs $g\bar{o}sa$ handle of a vessel, Psht ywaž(ai) horn of a bow, etc yam Sk sorrow - Ar Prs na'mī Sgl 18, p 1 tired - Ar Prs.

yam'qīn Sk sorrow(ful) -- Ar -Prs ondom Sgl. 18, p 3, s., om p 1, rondum Zb, Ishk, yu° Sk, Gr, Zar wheat - Cf Yd yādəm ye'nok Sgl. 1s, yē'nōk p 1, ook p 2, 3, oūh s, ouk Ishk, Zb, Sk, Gr hair, "Wkh" yēno goat's hair — Cf Yd vunia nain Sk (uncertain reading) stallion $y\bar{a}r$ Sgl. p 2, 3, Gr, $y\bar{o}r$ p 1 cave — Ar -Prs vārī Sgl 18., p. 2 a kind of tree, siyāčūb yor Sgl 18, yor p 2 penis - Cf. Wkh yūr, Sar, Or. yur (scrotum), Pra yur having large testicles ya'rīb Sgl p. 2 poor. — Ar ·Prs yən bav Sgl p 2, g° p. 3 whirlpool — Prs (Sgl p 2 with phonetic adaptation) Cf Khow, yernānu $yo'r\bar{v}k \text{ Sgl is, p 3, } \circ \bar{v}q \text{ p 1, } y\bar{v}'ruk \text{ "Wkh "}$ neck - Cf Wkh. varāv, Sar. žarej collar, Psht. varai throat, Av garahyu'rūk Sgl. 19, p 2, °ik Gr, yərik Zar lucerne, reške - Cf Yd sryo'yo yz-kužuk Sk bull - V yōr, ku'žūk yōrm Sgl 1s, p. warm, hot — nēr yōrm-ō - Av. garama-, etc., Sar žuim (but not in other Pamir diall) yər'ni Sk money. — Ar-Pis qiāni?? yart Sgl 18., yort yost p. 2 to walk about, yest Gr (Zb) he returned, yurs yust Zar. to go out - yartam bəš Sgl. 18, yorten 'megardam', yostəm 'gaštam' p 2. - Adapted from early N. Prs *gart- (gardīdan) V fər vərtyōv Sgl p 2 com-bin, $kand\bar{u}$. — Cf Or žuv 'ambār', Sar žev, Wkh yūv, vov, Phl qößan — Cf Yd yuve? yuz- yuzd Sgl p 2, 3, s, yaz yazd Ishk., Sk, $y\bar{u}z$ $y\bar{u}zd$ Gr (Zb) to run yuzən, yuzəm be, yuzdəm Sgl p 2,

azı γθzum, azı wulo γθzd Ishk I ran formerly. — Cf Yd. γāz-

yēž·· yēž³δ Sgl is, p 1, 2, · yēžd s, Ishk, yeiž- yeižeb p 3, yaž- yažd Sk, yed Gr (Zb), vēžd Gr to say, speak -Pres azə yēžən, tu yēžī, ada yēlžō, $a^{\dagger}max^{\flat}$ $\gamma \bar{e}^{\dagger}\check{z}\flat m$, $a^{\dagger}\delta\bar{a}nd\flat$ $\gamma \bar{e}^{\dagger}\check{z}\check{a}n$, pret. az-əm yēžəδ p. 1, az va tfak yēžen I say to thee, to va mak cī-e yēž? what dost thou say to me? $am\partial x^{\partial}$ věžem p 3 we speak the truth, təməx cī-e yēžəf? p 3, xē tā-vē yēžəδ p 3 he said to his father, pres. 2 pl yeižef 3 pl yeižan, pret. 3 sg yeižed, 3 pl yēždan p 3, azi fak yēžim, tə mum bo čīz yāžī? yēžduni Ishk, pres 1 sg $\gamma a \tilde{z} m$, 3 pl $\gamma a i j \bar{a} n$, to 'məmbå yaž 'kūna zəvək å Sk say (1t) to me, it is an old word - Gauthiot's derivation (JA, 1916, p 247) 18 phonetically improbable.

H

hệc Sgl p 2 anything, hệ Gr, hec Gr (Zb) any. — amē hēči nes xolok Sgl p 2, hič waqt Sk never. - Prs haf sar Sgl p 3 officer (in tale) - Engl (h)aftāδ Sgl 18., p 2, 3 seventy — Prs har Sgl 18, p 2 every — ce har xöridah 'az har xar'. - Prs hör Sgl p. 2 every, all - hör hull-šon 'hama ıšān' — Prs ? haš Sgl p 2 mind. — wok čize tar haš bi 'yak čizi ba dılı mā-st' — Prs. huš'yār Sgl p 2 wise — Prs (h)ot Sgl is, p 3, hot s, hot p. 1, 2, of Zb, Gr (Zb), Sk., at Ishk, at Gr, ut Zar., hat Sgl eight - Cf Yd. aščo h- from Pis. hōt>8ōs Sgl p 1, 2, hotodos 13, hot>8os

Grammophone, otodos s, oldos p 3, haždāu Zb (Prs) eighteen hate Sgl p 1 loosened, released - ho kenen, ho-em kul V ya¹lē Cf the following word hat Sgl 18, p 2, at Gr open - vor (h)ət-or p 2, ər hub p 2 'yala kat', dar waze her kenef! p, 3 - Cf Wkh ət, Sar hāt, Shgh het - Lw? (h)a'uā Sgl p 2, 3, a'wāi is, hauå Sk air — a° $na^{\dagger}v\bar{o}\bar{i}$ Sgl is it is raining, tar hao arazo p 2 it flies through the air, ao dūd p 3 he sent (it) into the air (hawå dåd) - Ar-Pis hāuz Sgl 18,8, āuz p 3, hauz p 2 lake Ar ·Prs. ha'zār Sgl p. 2 one thousand - Prs haž'dān, v hotedos

\check{J} (cf \check{Z})

jā Sgl p 2, Gr. (Zb), jō Sk, jå Gr place. — wok jā īðən Sgl p 2 I come to a place, az jo kənum Sk I hide - Prs. jε, v ža ju bår, v jo vār jufta kī Sgl 1s, juftē p. 1 twins *Prs, cf. Yd jift ji|gar Sgl. p. 1, 2, Zb, Ishk, Sk, Sgl p 3 liver - Pis jih- Sgl. p 2, s, jē- 1s, jēh- p 3 jest 1s, s, jist p. 2, jas jast Sk to flee, run away. - psā be ji hīm, jistəm Sgl p. 2 'gurēxtam', jehen p 3 I am fleeing, imper 2 sg je is Cf. Gr justuk fast (horse) - Prs ji hān Sk. world - Prs. jīl Sgl p. 2 bridle — Prs jilau. jald Sgl p. 2 quick — jald is come quickly. - Ar.-Pis

juāl'dōz Sgl p 1 packing-needle — Prs 'jalsa Sgl. p. 3 gathering, meeting -Ar.-Prs jila'yōk Sgl 19. spider — Prs julāh weaver V gilimbofak jån Sk soul. — Prs jnūb Sk south. - Ar.-Prs $j\bar{a}n^{\dagger}d\bar{a}r$ Sgl p 1, 3, s., $j\bar{a}an^{\circ}$ is ram jo kolan p. 2 they kill a ram — Prs, cf Or jondor ram $j\breve{a}n\check{j}$ Sgl p 2, 3, s, $j\bar{o}^{\circ}$ p. 1, $\check{z}\breve{o}^{\circ}$ Ishk, Sk woman. - < *jani-či, v. §§ 26,Cf Yd žinko jan'uar Zb, Ishk male markhor - Pis V žūok. jang Sk. war Prs jangal Sgl 18., p. 1, 3 forest, jungle -Prs jā¹rū Ishk broom — Prs jehāb Sgl 18, p 1 stockings — Prs jəs-, v jıh-. $jo^{\dagger}v\bar{a}r$ Sgl 18, p 3, ju° p 2, $juv^{\dagger}w\bar{a}r$ p 1, ju'bår Sk, ju'bār Gr irrigationchannel, watercourse - Prs ju rab Sgl p. 2 answer — j° de wok čīzī answer me one thing - Ar -Prs. ju wān Sgl, p 2, jo won Sk young. — Pis. juvale Sgl. 18. she-calf, three years old, $ju\mathring{a}^{\dagger}na$ Sk heifer, $ju(w)\tilde{a}^{\dagger}n\tilde{e}$ Sgl. p 2. 3 male calf one (to two) years old — Cf Wkh ju'āna, M₁. ju'åna juwånmar'di Sk courage — Prs. ju wārī Sgl p 1 jowar — Prs joz Sgl 18., joz p. 1 mosquito

K

ki, ke Sgl, Ishk that, when, etc — Tıra'mā ke šīð when autumn came, he warf dēð, nºs kō-kuān Sgl p 2

because snow fell we could not (cross), yaižed ke he said that, kasef ke bo kunjay-o look where he may be, moni zi Xudāi nost ko uo žanen p 3 I have not such a God that they can kill him — Prs?

kai ken Sgl s to eructate(?) — Prs

kan ken Sgl s to eructate(?) — Prs
qay vomiting

 $k\bar{o}(i)$ Sgl who? — V § 119

kō ken- Sgl. p 2 to be able. — pāruzd-ım šo'uārı ke'nūk nəst-əm kō-kuδ yesterday I could not come (dina rafta būdan na tånıstem), arı ke'nūk kō kenen 'kår karda metånam', nəs kō kwān we could not (nə tånıstīm), nēr əm kō-ko (= °kuδ) va hārı-dāk to day I could do the work.

ka'būl Sgl p. 3 agreeing, believing —

'az pə tō Xu'dāi k° 'nəsimō I don't

believe in thy God — Ar-Prs.

qabr Sk tomb (high style) — Ar-Prs

kabar'yɛ Sgl p 3, qabr'yā Sk 11b —

 $ka^{\dagger}b\bar{u}t$ Sgl p 1, Ishk, $ka^{\dagger}v\bar{u}t$ Sgl p 3, kabut Sk blue — Prs

Turk -Prs

koc· kozd Sgl s, p 2 to copulate kocen buš 'mēgāyam'. — Cf kačāk? qav'či Sk scissors — Prs kōci Sgl p 3 anybody Cf § 119

'kuč(i) Sgl. p 3, k'ūč Sk wife. — kot ke kuč-i oyod he saw that his wife had arrived, ua xē kūč O, my wife — Cf. Prs kōč

ka'čāk Sgl p. 3 embrace — k° nasen. qadam Sk. walk, pace — Ar-Prs qa'dīm Sgl 1s ancient — mə waxtı q°. — Ar-Prs

— Ar - Frs

ka¹δĩ Sgl p 2, k⁵οδῖ Sk when? — ama

āδam k° σγōδ ? — Cf Yd kɔ²la

ka¹δũ Sgl p. 2, Sk gourd — Prs

kuδ, k⁵υδ Sgl. 1s., p, s, k'ud Zb, Ishk,

kəδ Sk dog — kuδ lavõi the dog barks — Cf. Shgh kud, etc, (v Turner, Nep. Dict s v. kuti).

kuðum Sgl p 2, 3, kudum Gr which? —
V § 119 — Possibly < *hatama(cf Skr), but Av katāma- V § 78 h
ko'ðos Sgl p 2, 3, °los p 2, s, Grammophone, ko'ðos p 1, ko'dos is; 'yōzda
Ishk, °'da Sk, °'dāu Zh eleven —
Cf. §§ 93, 109

kıf- Gr to pierce — Cí Shgh čaf-Prs kaftan to split

kāf Sgl. is, p 1, kiēf p 3, kōfān Gr, kūjān Zar. hump — Cf Yd kÿzfo
kāfč Sgl p 2, Gr, kōfč Sk, Zai ladle
— Pis

kafer dest Sgl 18, p. 1, °dəst p 3, °dast Sk, kuf Ishk, haf Gr palm of the hand — Prs

kaf-v-pā Sgl p 3, pu-kaf Gr. sole of the foot — Prs

ka'fas Sgl p 3 (in tale) cage — Pis kafš Sgl p 2, Sk shoe. — Prs

kuft Sk ill (from fever) — Cf Prs
kufta bruised?

kūh Sk, 1s, p 2, kōh p. 3, kō p 1, kū
 Ishk mountain — co kū yūzo xašom
 SgI p 2 we bring firewood from the
 hills — Prs

kāk Sgl p 1, qåq Sk, kåk Gr dry —

'qōq-ikənum Sk I dry — Prs

kaig/k Sgl is, p 1, 3, Ishk., kaig Sk, kāyiy Gr flea — Prs

k'al Sgl p 2 bald, kal Gr. hornless — Prs

kal Sgl p 1, lshk, Zb. skull. — Cf. Shgh., Or kāl

gallā Sk fortress — Prs

kəl- Sgl. p 2, kul kut s, kəl- kəld Sk, kəl kut Zar., kut Gr, ket Gr. (Zb.) to kıll, slaughter — kuləm be Sgl s,

huštan, etc

- Prs

- Prs

kəlba Ishk plough — Pis

kul'čā Sk small cake - Prs.

həlf Sgl p 2, q° Sk lock — Pis

kə lāč Sgl p 2 fathom — Prs kullax Gr haid — Cf Prs kulūx a clod, Bad Prs kulux thick, stout, Psht Llak hard ka'lān Sgl p 2 big, large — miš tāt xān $wo'k\bar{\imath}$ -ak k° - \bar{u} the house of our father ıs a little bigger (yak taš kalāntar-a) - Prs ka'land Sgl p 1 hoe, mattock - Prs köla'vā Sgl p 2 wooden bowl — Derived from Prs kōlāb pond, reservoir? hala på Sk down — Cf Yd kalāpo, Sk Mater, p 262 kul'vår Sk small mussuck — Cf Lentz kal'wor 'rucksack '(scarcely fr Pis xar/l-war). But of Prs (mod coll) kūlabār knapsack, Taj kulvor mussuck haule'žik Ishk tadpole -- Cf Prs kafčalēz(ak) id, kaflēzak, etc ladle kallī Sgl p 2 key - Prs, cf Yd kalıyo $k\bar{\imath}/\bar{e}l$ Sgl 13, p 1, $k\bar{\imath}\bar{e}l$ s, $k\bar{\imath}e^{i}l\bar{a}k$ p 3, $k\mathbf{r}l$ Ishk, kĕl, hıl Sk, "kırh" MFB, kel Gr knife — Cf Yd $k\epsilon i o$ holian (-1-2) Sgl p 3 donkey's saddle. kām Sgl p. 1, köm Zar palate — Prs ka'mak Sgl 18, p, k'amok Ishk, ka'muk ar qa Sk, kamuk Gr, kâ mī "Wkh" back, spine — $p-t\bar{o}$ $ka^{\dagger}m\bar{a}^{m}-m\bar{o}$ I am

jān dār kə kə lān p 2 — Cf Prs

p 1 we all see thee, $h\bar{v}r kul(l)$ -š $\bar{v}n$

p. 2 'hama ıšån' Cf §§ 114, 119

kull Sgl p 1, 2 all - kull va tfak kasem

hu'lē Sgl 1s, p 1, ku'lā Sk. cap — mənā khu'lā 'nıst Sk I have no cap

behind thee. — Cf Prs kam waist, < *kamb- to bend? kar'mok Ishk cream - Turk-Prs $k\bar{u}'mak$ Sk help, assistance — k° $k\partial n$ help — Turk,-Prs ka'mān-i Res'tam Sgl is, p 1, ka'mån i Rus'tem Ishk, ostom Sk rainbow. - Prs kam'pir Sk old woman. — Prs — Cf sv tandur kalmar Sgl p 2, Zb. rock — Prs 'kamar Zb rıb(?) — Prs. k° waist ke'mur Sk pit coal - Turk kamar band Sk belt - Pis komay- komaid Sk, kam- kimd Gi (Zb) to wish - Cf Wkh lami-, Shgh čemb-, Orosh čin- (with -nfrom) čīnt, etc., Oss komun kond Sgl. p 3, kan kund Sk to dig - 'kanen Sgl p 3, 'kanum, kan, kūndum, kūnduk, kanuk Sk — Cf Prs kandan ken- Sgl, 1s, p, s, Ishk kul Sgl 1s, kul p 1, kv8 p 2, kv8 p 3, kol s, kul Ishk, $k \ni n$ - $k \bar{u} l$ Sk to make, do arī kenen, arī-m huļ Sgl 18, az-əm arı kul, az (h)ārī kenen, az əm hārī hub, arī m kuō vəb 'harda būdam', -o kuōk 'kardast' p 1, nēr-əm kō-ko va hān dak to-day I could do the work, to-wa ān kuō vô i? p 2 hast thou done the work? kenem, arī-m kol s, k'enum, azı arı k'uluk Ishk. - Cf Yd kon-'kī'na Sk hatc — ko konum I bate — P19 'kūna Sk. ancient — as'tā 'kūna gap('hā) is there an ancient word? - Prs kund Sgl. 1s, p 1 blunt - Prs kan'dāk Sgl 18, p 1, 3, kondok Zb, 'kåndak Gr thorn -- Borr from IA ?? kundē Sgl p 2 stem, stump of a tree
— Prs

kun'jā Sgl p 2, °jăı p 3, 'kənjā, kə'dəmjā
Sk. where? — am e-kunjā-ē Sgl p 2
from where is he? (mə) kunjāy-o p 3
where is he (da kijō st)? Amır 'Bek
xån kə'dəmjå? Sk — Wkh kumjaı,
ef kuðum

kun dar ken- Sgl. p 3 to tear to pieces, ef Gr kan dar kul — IA, ef Panj handhar ruin?

la'pāl Gr. skull — From Khow. (Cf Charpentier, MO, 26, p 39)

kar Sgl p 1, 2, Ishk deaf, Sk dumb — kar-mö šyuk 1 have become dumb. — Prs

k/qār Sk anger — az-ım 'kār kənum, mun 'kar-xtuk I become angıy (my anger has risen) — Ar-Prs

ku'rā Sgl p 2 why? — k° nēst σγσδ why didn't he come? — Adapted from Prs čuā

kīi - kuit Sgl. p 2, kīi od Zar to plough — zaⁱmīn kīi en, zaⁱmīn im kuit —
*kāraya-, cf Yd. kār-, Sak kerto sow, v EVP s v karil, Charpentier MO, 26, pp 101 sqq

kōi Sgl 1s, p, kūr Ishk., Sk, Gi blind — kōr·o šyuk — Prs

 $q/ka^{\dagger}rib$ Sgl p , is close, near — am $x\bar{a}n$ q° - $\bar{u}i$ is , $a\delta a\ \bar{a}\delta am\ dir$ - $\bar{u}i$, $ama\ \bar{a}\delta am\ h^{\circ}$ - \bar{u} p 1 — Ar -Prs

krīč Gr but on the summer-pasture — Cf Wkh ktīč V § 22 But also Prs kurīč, kurīz, etc.

kur'čūn Sgl 18, p 1, s, "Wkh", 'kur'o

p 3, ker'o Gr (Zb), kər'čīn Zb,
Gauth., kr'o Sk, kərčīn Ishk fowl.

— *kṛka- + cūn (cf. § 26) V Yd.
kirio

kur cun zəmanı Sgl 18 chicken

'kīrūg Sgl 1s, p 1 plough — Cf kīrkōr'gar Sgl p 3 dust (misunderstanding of Prs gard?)

kark'sang Ishk handmill — ? + sang kur'pē Sgl p 1, kər'pā Sk (large) bedding, kurpa'ča Sk (small) bedding — Prs kurpa'ša Sk. mosquito — Cf Yd id ka'rār Sgl p 3 (in tale) stopping, waiting

— mə asmān k² šīδ it stopped in the sky — Ai ·Prs

ka'ıēr Ishk yesterday — Cf Prs kardā yesterday (cf fardā), and parēr day before yesterday

kər'sī Sk chan — Ar-Prs

kərə'sī Zb back-tooth

ko'rost Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, 'kurust Ishk, Gr hru/ost Sk skin (of human beings ace to Sgl) — Cf Yd ka'r ăst, Wkh. kurust

ka'ı åš Sk brown beans — Cf Wkh.

'hīrīš Sgl p 2 ploughing — V hīr hu'rūt Sgl p 2, qu'rīt Sk diied butter milk — Turk

kərvr'sĭk Sgl 1s, p 3, °ve'sĭk p 1, kar'baš Sk lızard (karbåš) — Cf Yd. karbəsa, etc

kon'yŏs Sgl 1s, p 1, 3 vulture — Cf Yd kanyəz

kas- kot Sgl p. 1, 3, kas- kast Sk, kaskut Sk to see, look. — 'az t²fak 'kasen, 2 sg. kasī, kull-mōn-dak va t²fak 'hasem p 1 we all see thee, kasef look out, h'as look! 'na kasī, "mum-bō kasū it seems to me(?), tar-fak ka'sūk(?) Sk — Av kas-, cf EVP s v. katəl

lkāsē Sgl p 2, k'āsh Sk. big wooden dish — Prs

qaus Sk late autumn — Ar-Prs kus Sgl p 2, 3, 18 vulva. — Prs V huš kis kūd Sgl p 1, 3, s, "Wkh", koskūd Ishk, ko° Zar, kş'kū Sk roof — Cf Yd. iščīy, Wkh iskakut kas sal Sk illness — Ar Prs qa'sam Sgl p 2 oath — q° be xwāren I swear - Ar -Prs qism Sgl. is kind, soit - Ar · Prs kas yok Sgl is leather strap in a pellet bow. kuš, kš Sk. vulva — Cf Wkh kiš, Or kawuj (kau- < *kušā ?), Saka $k(u)\underline{v} \bar{a} ysa < *ku \bar{a} za \cdot (?)$ V kus həsikår Zb., Ishk ram — Cf Wkh. kuškor male urial, Bad Prs kiškār, etc qišilåq Sk village — Turk kištī Sgl p 3 boat. — Prs kaš viš Sgl. 1s., p 1, 3, kašviš Gr armpit - kaš prob from Prs, cf bayalviš, viš, Wkh kaliban, Sogd 'pkš 'flanc' (not with Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 48 lw from IA). ka'ta') Ishk., Gr (Zb) big — Turk, cf Shgh, Or kat ta ka'ta 2) Ishk he-goat — Cf ka'ta 1) kūtī Sgl p. 2 rock-crystal, bulūr — Cf. Prs gutt a box in which precious stones are preserved?? $ka^{\dagger}t\bar{a}n\partial k$ Sg1 p 2 linseed $(z\partial^{\dagger}y\tilde{e}r)$ — Prs katān a grain from which oil is extracted katta-nar xåk Sk thumb. — V ka ta kı tāv Sgl p. 2, kı töb Ishk book mənə wo kı'tāv östö I have a book. - Ar.-Prs. kutox Sgl. p 1 butter milk — Turk -Prs qātiq. kut Sgl p 1, kot Sk short - IA, cf Shgh k'ut (borr. through Ishk.?) qīv ken- Sgl. p 3, qēw- qēwd Sk, qīvd Gr. (Zb) to summon — Cf Wkh qīw, etc

kō'vīs Sgl 18, p 1, s, kovis p 3, koi də Ishk, 'kůwid Sk, ku° Gr, kovid Zar., kolužδ "Wkh" pigeon — Cf Yd kovioqwat dar Sk. strong — Ar-Prs kyēv'žāk/g Sgl 1s, p. 1, s, kēv° p 2, kevžuk Gr, ooq Zar magpie, yalbok — Cf. Yd hyunyo $k\bar{a}w$ - $k\bar{o}nd$ Sgl. p 2 to dig — $za^{\dagger}m\bar{t}n$ be k'āwən, z° em k'ondəm — Cf Sar kauam, Shgh Sk kōu-. — V kankāx'link Sk calf of the leg (? Prob shinbone) - Cf. Shgh. kâk-e-ling, etc kāz Sgl. 18., p. 1, qåz Sk goose — Turk -Prs l'åz Sk duty. kå'zī Sk judge — Ar ·Prs $k\bar{\sigma}^{\dagger}z\bar{\epsilon}$ Sgl p 1, 2, $k\bar{u}za$ Ishk jar — Prs $ku^{\dagger}\check{z}\check{u}k$ Sgl 18, p 1, 3, s, $ki^{\dagger}\check{z}ik$ Zb, $ku^{\dagger}\check{j}uk$ Ishk, $h^{u_1} \check{z}uk$ Sk. bull — Cf Yd. $q \iota^i \bar{a}_{\gamma} g$

\boldsymbol{L}

la hen-Sgl 1s, p 2, 3, s. to leave behind. - la-ku¹2 ō-mō1 1s. 'månda-1m', lākuδ 'månd', la kūān 'måndan' p 2, wok čīzī la-kenen p 3, s, paša wok nest la-kot not one mosquito remained — Cf Shgh., Or $l\bar{a}(k)$ ken., Wkh. la-car-, Khow lā-klo'i Ishk clay — Prs lāy mud, sediment lab Zb, Ishk., lavč, lav (in a transferred sense) Sk lip — Prs labla'bū Sgl p 2 beetroot. — Prs lef Ishk bedding, coverlet - Bad, etc lef, Ar-Prs lihāf la'vat Sgl p 2 step, trace. — Prs $l\bar{a}'k\bar{\imath}n$ Sgl p 1, 2 belt 'līnjek Zb, pešur līnj Sk. cheek — Prs, Wkh lunj (ef Sar $n\bar{u}rj$ < *nūnj, lunj?)

lang Sgl p 2 lame — Pis ling Sk leg. — Prs

lip Sk in fai lip very much. — Cf Wkh lup big?

lēs- let Sgl p 2, s, lēs lišt Ishk, līslīsud Zar to lick — lēsen, letəm Sgl. p 2, lēsum, -um lišt Ishk — Pis 'laškar Sgl p 3 army — mən l° mə mōð-o my army is here — Prs

laı- Sgl p 2 to bark — kuð lavön. —
Cf. Or lav, Shgh lūv- to speak —
V belav-.

lavz Sgl p 1 word, speech — azə va tö
 lavz pe'zīnen I understand thy speech
 — Ar ·Prs

lēw (muluk) Sk. idiot, madman, demon, leu, lēv Gr. stupid, mad, lēw nightmare — a¹wī lēw š³¹duk Sk he became mad — From M₁?

ləxč- Sgl s, bəlaxš- s, p 3 to slide, slip — ləxčö^{n.}š slides, bə-ləxčā-st s — Prs laxšīdan

la žām Sgl 1s, p 2, °ān p. 3, °ijām Sk bit of a bridle — Prs

M

mā Sgl 1s, p. 1, 2, mō Sk month, mā Gr moon — wok mā uōδa hast Sgl p 2 he stays there for a month — Prs

mai, v mēl

ma, mə Sgl. 1s, p 1n, to, etc — mə waxt-ı qadīm 1s 1n olden times, mə 'Kāfirɛn itīn they arrived among the Kafirs, tə ma xān darūn-dō thou art inside the house, vēk mə mālē nūšen I pour water into the cup, mən ingut mə šəlnai təð p. 2 my finger was burnt 1n the fire, ma mən xoðm-dak gab dehef p 3 explain about my 26 — Kulturforskning

dream — Prob an unstressed form of meδ Cf § 107

ma Sk look here — 'ma təməxbā, ma təbå, 'ma Imbå

mēi Sgl 1s, p 1, 2, mē p 3, mē s., mi Gr (Zb) day; mai Sk, Gr noon — wog, dō, iōi mēi p 2 a few days. — Cf Yd mix

-mo I am. - V. § 120 f.

mõi Sglis, p cloud — Cf Prs měy, etc V § 31.

 $m\bar{v}^{\dagger}\bar{v}$ Sgl 1s, p, s, $m\hat{u}^{\dagger}\bar{v}$ Sk fish — Prs. $m\bar{u}$ -b \bar{v} Sk hither — Cf am(a) $mi\dot{e}$, etc us, v amax

māčik Sgl. is., °'čik p 3, moča-kod Zar, she dog — Cf. Yd ma'cīo

'maida Sgl p 2 small, fine — va durk tovor m° kenen — Prs

mav'dān Sgl p. 1, 2, marðān p 3 a plam, flat. — Turk -Prs

mådi'yån Zb, Ishk. Sk. mare — Prs mēð Sgl 18, p, Zar, mēd Ishk., Sk Gr.

(Zb) waist. — Av maidya-, ef Wkh mād, Shgh. mīd, Yd məlān

möð(ak) SgI 19, p. 2, 3, madak Ishk, Gr (Zb), mā(da)k Sk here — az-mō mo möð nilöstok I am sitting here, mō šo come here(?), mō nīð p. 2 sit down here, mən fauj mə mōð o p. 3 my army is here, azi madak anı k'enum Ishk I am working here, azī māk fərīnum Sk I am left behind here

māδ/dar Sgl p 3 mother — In the expression ma rām-i māδar in his mother's womb — Prs.

moγοδαk(?) Sgl p. 3 = moδ ογοδαk? Cf Texts V, 35

moγ¹δūk Sgl 1s, s, moko¹d/δok p. 1, 3, můkdůk Sk, muhuduk Gr., "Wkh" frog

may'rıb Sk. west — Ar -Prs

moyz Sgl is, p 1, 3, mayz Ishk, Zan marrow (Sgl p 1, Ishk also 'brain')

— Prs (or moyz genuine?)

moyz i sor Sgl p 3, sor moyz is brain mu'ja Ishk, mažo Zb eyelashes — Prs meh'mān Sgl is, mē° p 2 guest — Prs mak me, v § 110 f, cf az

māhək Sgl 18. hen — Cf Wkh. mōk,

Prs mākīyān

maikēnī Sk noon — V mēi

māl SgI p 2 property, possessions — Ar-Prs

mēl Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, s, Zb, Ishk, Sk Gr female sheep, "Wkh" female oonal
 Cf Yd mūo

māl'dār Sgl. p 2 rich — Ar -Pis mulůk Sk. dinner.

mə'lāim Sgl p 3 soft — Ar.-Prs

mul'təq Sgl. p 2, mə° Sk gun — pə m°
pcūn dehen p 2 — Turk, ef Wkh
ma'lax Sgl. 1s, p, s locust — Prob
Prs

māļ Sgl.p 1, 3, s, mõl Sk husband — mən māl Sgl.p 1 — Cf Yd mer V mā'ļōk

mā'lök Sgl 1s, 'möluk Ishk, 'muluk Sk, målāk Gr. (Zb) husband, man — far m° arr k'enū Ishk many men are working, urwēsak- (xūg-) gnik ma'ļūk Sk a fox-like (pig-like) man — < *martyaka-

mičimbuči näi wdūž Sk female cousin. — Cf s.v wuδδηδ

mar'mun Sgl p. 1 monkey — Ar Prs min- mind Sk to sleep, v mis. mon my, v. § 110 f

-mon encl pron 1 pl, v \S 114

mo'no kən- Sk to resemble. — Prs.

'mındük Sgl p 1, Ishk. sleep, asleep am āðam mınduk-ūı, hama āðam mınduk-ūn p. 1, azī madah mınduh-um Ishk I am asleep here, $az\bar{\imath}$ $c\bar{\imath}$ m° $xz^{\dagger}tuh$ I have risen from sleep — Perf of mis-

mun'dal Sk chair(?) — Cf Prs mindal table-cloth, etc?

man'jē Sgl. p 1 bed. — Cf M_J 'mānjo, Wkh manja — 1A.

mēl Sgl is,s, mīēļ p, mēn Zb, mēnd Ishk. Sk mīnd Gr, mend Zar apple.
— wok mīēļ əm yō-iē dūdū ved Sgl p 2 'yak sēba ūna dāda būdam'. — Cf "Wkh" mə'nū, Wkh mūr, Shgh mūn, Yd d'muno

man'yār Sgl p 1, 3, man'ār Zb, Ishk mist, fog — Par man'yār mist, Shgh steam, Taj (Wakhio Bolo) maniyāl 'tuman' Kislyakov, Trudy Tadž Bazy, III, p 55

mānd- Sgl 1s, p 3, s, māndr- p 1 māndað p 1, s, mənd- Ishk, mənd- Zar to rub, smear — mānd(r)en Sgl 1s, p 1, māndaðəm 1s, məndum Ishk — Cf. Yd magy-, Wkh mānd-, etc

mur- məl Sgl p 2, my-, məl- məld Sk, mur- mul Gr (Zb), mor- mol Zar. to die — am ādam mu'rō be (be mu'rō) p 2 this man is dying, ā ādam mər, šənāy-əm məllōk p 2 my?) fire is dead (has gone out), məlum, məll (myl), məldum, mluk he died Sk — Cf Yd mər-

mūr Sgl 1s., p. 1 centipede — Cf. Pis. mār snake

mərē (-3) Sgl p 3, mārē s red ant, murē Ishk ant — Borr from Prs mörēa, ef Shgh mūrj, Wkh murēa, Par mūēō, etc Cf

mār'elk Sgl. 1s., s (black?) ant — < *marwi-el-Cf. Orm. mar'el-T, Yd moryo mur'dik Sk, Gr small ring — V cām-

urdik Sk., Gr. small ring — v. cam mərdiköq mar'dum people. - Prs mēry Sgl p 2,3 meadow - Cf Yd mīryo. mar'γōk/g Sgl 1s, p, s, "Wkh" mar'γōk, mr'vuk Sk, murvuk Gr sparrow Cf. Yd brayiko. mər 'yāvî Sgl 18., p 1, 3, s, mur 'yauī Ishk duck. - Prs mī'ros Sk inheritance — Ar -Prs mis Sgl p 2, 3, Sk. brass - Prs. mis Sgl s, mind- p 1, min- mind Sk to sleep -- Prob Sgl mis- mind (cf foris forind, frinduk tued), mis < mus < *ham-hufsa (et Sak hūs, Yaghn. ūfs-,-but Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 49 $\bar{u}fs < \text{Sogd } w'\beta s$ = Bal wafsay(?)), with preter on the analogy of for is-, and secondary pres min- - Cf minduk, misūk mīs Zh, nose — Cf Wkh, mis mus Gr clothes - For *muc < mauča-? mūisa fēd Sk old man — Prs muså fer Sk tiaveller - Ar-Prs mi sūk Sgl p, ouk Sk sleep, dream, Sgl p 1, Gr pillow - bēdār šīd ce misūk p 2 he awoke from sleep; me $mis\bar{u}(k)$ -mo p 2 I am asleep, misuk-um 'vēnd Sk I dreamt, mo mag 'naduk Sk I will sleep (sleep has seized me) - V mis. mau'som Sk season - Ar Prs māst Ishk curds — Prs

māst Ishk curds — Prs
māst Sgl p 2 fat (adj) — Prs mast
mūš Ishk. mouse — Prs
moškrl Sgl p 2 difficult. — Ar-Prs.
moškrl Sgl p 2 difficult. — Ar-Prs.
moškrl Sgl p 2 difficult. — Ar-Prs.
moškrl Sgl is oorial — *Prs
maškrl Sgl is oorial — *Prs
maškrl Sgl is ,p 3, mot p 2, mot p 1, Zb,
mot Ishk, mut "Wkh", māt Sk,
mut Gr, mot Zar fist — < *mušti-,
cf Yd mīšč Shgh, Or mut prob
from Ishk

må tou Zb, Ishk., mātāb Sk moon. —
Prs

'mēva Sk fiuit. — Prs mux, v amax.

mēx 1) Sgl p 1, Ishk, Sk nail, peg. — I'rs

mēx²) Sgl. p 1, 2 table(²) — kıtāv mēx sor-o 'sar-ı mēz', kıtāv mēx sor-əm nūšəδ — Cf mēz.

maxluk Sgl p 2 people — maxlu'hān gu'ðömxaðtān,cf Texts II, 2 — Ar -Prs. mux'lis Sk honest — Ar.-Prs.

mi¹yān(e) Sgl p 2, mayō¹nē Sk. middle, mi¹yån Zb waist — ma xān mi¹yāne·mō I am in the middle of the house — Prs

mēz Sgl. p. 2, Ishk, Sk, table — ce mēz viš under the table — Prs V mē.x²) məz Sk? — Cf s v lbefår.

mu'žik Sgl. 13., p 3, undžik p 2, mu'žik Ishk, Sk. green peas, mušeng — Cf Bad Prs mužuk a kind of pulse or bean, Wkh mu'žek harl

N

na, no Sgl p 2, 3, Ishk, Sk, Gr, no Sk
not, don't — Cf Prs na, etc
nai Ishk., na Gr. (Zb) reed. — Prs
nai—nai Sgl p 2, nō—nō Sk. neither—
nor — nai xēsta, nai podf neither
bread nor meat.
nou Sgl is, p 1, s, Sk, nou p 2, 3, nåu

zb, nao Ishk, naw Gr, nữ Zar nine — Cf Yd nõu

na'bat Sk a plant. — Ar -Prs. nabt.

mc Ishk, Sk., Gr, nīc Gr. (Zb) nose
— Cf "Wkh" nīc (< Ishk), Sogd</p>
nyč, Shgh nēj, Or. nēj < *nāh-čī</p>
(or *nahya čī? Cf Meillet, BSL, 23,
p. 108).

nīδ nīlost Sgl p, s, nīd- nīd Ishk, nīd- nulust Gr, nalāst Gr (Zb), mid- nolost Zar to sit down, nīdnītt Sk. to sit, to put (?), 'nəlūst Sk to set — nī moδak Sgl is sit down here, az-mō nilōstog p 1 I am sitting, aza nīδen I sit down, nīδum buš, nīdef, nilosto mo p 3, nīdam, nilostam s, nīdum, nīd! nīduk-um Ishk I am sitting, šak-o nilosiok Sgl p 2 dew has fallen, 'rēmuz 'nolūst(uk) Sk the sun (has) set - *nv-hida ni-šasta-, cf Sak natta < *ni-hidati nitasta-< "nı-šasta-, Yd nıč. noδ·, v nas- $^{1}n\bar{\imath}\delta\hat{u}k$ Sgl p 1, 3, s, $^{\circ 1}d\bar{u}k$ is, nuduk Ishk buttermilk, $d\bar{u}_{\gamma}$, nuduk-uek Gr whey, "neduk" MFB curd (corrupted by Tomaschek, BB 7, into newak, and by Geiger, Et Bal., s.v němay, into newak) — Cf Yd niya nāf Sgl 19, p, Gr, nåf Ishk, Sk, nōf Zai navel - Prs nāyδ Zh night — Prob a Wkh word na'hāng Sgl p 3 (in tale) sea-monster, crocodile - Prs nēk Sk good — Pis nıkā Sgl p. 2 wedding — Prs nagl kon Sk to tell — Ar-Prs 'nahma sa,bab (ki) Sk therefore — Cf $naks\bar{o}$ nau'har Sk servant — Prs nokal, ē Sgl is, p 3, okrē p 1, nûgli ā Sk -silver. - Ar -Prs nakiso Ishk now - Cf nakma, Gr. nak-dås thus, nak-ua this, ef Wkh. mik-hazi so, Sar nak dâs so, nak-yam this same, Yaghn nah-it 'hamīn' (Junker, Drei Erz auf Yaghn p 23) $-s\bar{o} < sat$, A1-Prs $s\bar{a}$ 'at? nul Sgl p 1, Zar, nul Sk beak - Pra

nūl'sor Sgl 18, sole of the foot nēmē Sgl p 2 half-full -- Cf. Prs nīmapm, etc nīm Sgl p 2, Sk, nēm Gr (Zb) name — tə ce nīm dō? Daulat Bēk-ō mən nīm p 2, in nīm čīz? Sk — Av nāmannamb Sgl is wet — Early lw from Prs, of Shgh namb, M1 nob nn moδ Sgl p 1, no° p 3, mamad Sk felt — Cf Yd 'nāmyo. $n = m = \sqrt{2} \delta$ Sgl is, $e = \sqrt{2} \delta k$ p 3, ne mēvels, (na'mak Zb, nu'mok Ishk), 'namuryāk, namul'y/j ŭk Sk., namulyah Gr salt — Cf Yd nə mālyo numul Zar to shut one's eye - Cf Yd nəmıž nam'nåk Sk wet, moist - Prs nīm'šab Sk midnight - Pis. nəmay- nəmayd Sk. to show — tə 'nəmay 'məmbå Amı Bek xån show me A B.'s house - Prs? na'māz Sgl p 3, °ōz Sk prayer — n°-i īδι Rama'zān Sgl. p 3 — Prs nān Sgl p, non Ishk, nån Sk., Gr (Zb) mother - Cf Yd nino $n\bar{e}nd$ - $n\bar{e}d$ - Sk. to plant $-< *nih\bar{a}(n^{2})d$ aya-, cf. Wkh nund nutt nār Sk irrigation channel, aryq (largei than jubar) — Ar-Prs nahr nēr Sgl 18, nēr p 1, 2, Ishk, Sk, Gr, (nyēr p 2, neēr p 1) to-day. — nēr hēči a'mō nes xorok p 2 to-day I haven't eaten anything, ner'sab Sk -Cf Wkh ner, but Shgh, Or nur < Av nūrəm nūr Sk light, brightness — Ar Pis nēr-fər'sou Sgl p 2, nēr'sab Sk yester night nārk Sgl 18, p. 2, 3, nark Gr, Zar male, Sk male sheep — Cf Yd nar

narm Ishk soft Prs naran'gsšt Sgl p. 3 thumb — Prs nar'asp Sk stallion - Prs nar'vəz Sgl. 18, ovuz Ishk he-goat — V vəz nar'xōk/q Sgl 18, p 1, 3, s., na'xuk Ishk., nar xåk Sk, narxa "Wkh" nail -*naxra ka, ef Yd anaxno, Wkh. $d \ni g \in r$, and Notes on Shgh. s v $n \hat{a}^{\dagger} x \bar{u} n$ nau'rōz,e) Sgl p New-Year festival — Cf Texts, III, 5 — Prs nas- nod Sgl 18, p, s, nas nad Gr to take, seize, nas Sk to hold - nasem bəš, be nasöe 'mēgirad', nöðəm, nasök Sgl is, nasen, nodem p 1, 3, de ropē nod, xofuk-o no'dok 'silfa giriftast', nasem be po dand p 2 I bite, cofur koryos nas 'bigīr', ka'čāke nasen p 3 I embrace, na'sem, 'nodem s, 'na nasī Sk dost thou not hear? - Not fr Av $ni-y\bar{a}s$ - (or, better, $y\bar{a}$ -, ∇ Meillet, BSL 24, 117) to keep down, hold, Sogd. ny"s- to hold, seize But of Yaghn nās- nāt, Sak, nā- (nās- nāta-), Psht nas nīw-ul, Orm nas- nōk (*nafta-??) n∂sın Sgl p 3 mıddle — In n∂sm-ı asmān - Ar -Prs, cf Farizandī, etc næsm nesme'šav Sgl p 2 midnight — Ar-Prs nest, etc., Sgl p 2, 3, nas, nist Sk, nast G1 (Zb) 18 not — pāruzd-im šo wāri ke nūk nəst-əm kō-kuδ I could not go yesterday (dina rafta būdan na tånistem), am xan mənen nest-e this house is not mine, nos kō-kwān they couldn't, awe heer nes xolok Sgl. p 2 he has not eaten anything, paša wok nesi la-koi p 3 he does not leave a mosquito, 'čiz tot 'nist joyad Sk why didst thou not come? az-im 'nas-pzind Sk I did not understand this — From nest (Prs?), ef § 123

nūš- nūšəδ Sgl p 2, nešt Gr (Zb) to throw, put - wok čīzī be nūšen, čīzī-m nūšəb, kı tāv mēx sor-əm nūšəb I put the book on the table. - Cf Sīwandī nōš- nōt 'andāxtan' < *nāššnūš Sgl p 2 tasting. — nūš konen 'mēčāšam', — Prs ne'šān Sgl p 2 showing - no be deem — Prs m'sorm Sgl is, orm p 2,3 the shady side of a valley — Cf Wkh $ni \tilde{s} i r(u) m$, etc, Mj nosiy nāštē Sgl p 2 dirty — Cf Prs našt spoilt, withered nušt, v nēznāštar Sgl 18 pine tree — Cf Psht naštai (< Pre mištai a laucet??) nat Sgl p 2 play, game - šā nad kenuh 'mērim, bāzī mēkim', - IA nav- Sgl 1s. to rain — a'wāi na'vōi — Cf "Wkh" nav rain, Yd novnīv- nīto Sgl is to bring (an animated being) - nīven 'mērasanem', nīvo 'rasånd', niv δ et' daryåvat (= dar yāft) kat' - Cf. Av nay- (scarcely *ni apaya-), and Yazdı nīv- 'to send' with unexplained v no'voh Sgl 18, na° p 1, 3, nok MFB 181n - V navno vos Sgl p 1, "Wkh", ne våsa Ishk, navus Gr grandchild — Cf. Yd nowisa Ishk from Pis noviš novišt Sgl 18, p 2, ni wiš- nivišt Sk to write — pəsā(d) be nevišen Sgl p 2. — Prs na¹wāδ Sgl 1s, p ninety — Pis. nowoδ/dos Sgl grammophone, is, nouδos p 1, 2, °δοs p 3, 'novoδos s, nuz'dāu Zb nineteen nəlwok Sgl p 2, nou Ishk, mill race — Cf Yd nawo'yo.

nu'wōk Sgl p. 2, nauuk Gr. new - Cf Yd. nowo'vo newar- Gr (Zb) to draw (water) - Cf. Yd navor-. na¹x∂δ Sgl p 2 pea -- Prs nax šīn Sk striped. — Ar.-Prs. *nagš īn? nå y b Sk under bailiff - Ar Prs nı'yōk Sgl 18 reed - V naı nēz- nəst Sk, nušt Gr, našet Gr, (Zb) to go out, emerge - Cf Wkh nuuzniešt, Yaghn nīž. nīšt, possibly *nıžıta- > *nıšt, with secondary present stem nēz (and Sk. secondary past base nost), cf Yd s v nenuz'dāu, v noweδos - Prs na'žār Sgl. 1s. carpenter — Ar.-Prs

P pa, po Sgl p 2, 3 on, with, etc. — nasem

be pa dand I bite, pa miltag pčūn

dehen I shoot with a gun, pa ryeyn

ba pacen I cook with ghee, po tovor with an axe, po wāda hit 'ba wāda rasid' - V 107 c, cf. Yd po par Sgl p. 2, 3 tendon - Prs. poi Sgl. p 1, 1s, Gr, pai Ishk, pai Sk sour milk, juryāt - Cf Yd poya pū- Zar to become rotten, pūduk rotten. - Cf. Yd plo. pəb pəld Sgl p 3 to blow — pəbəm bəš, pəvdəm — V puf (pəb- second pres from pavd-) pu'band Sk instep — Ishk-Prs, v. pūδ pac-Sgl. p 1, 3, s., Ishk. pux-Sgl. p 1, 3, pax-s, puxt Ishk, paz-. pazd Sk. to cook, pīz- puxt Sk. to boil. palcen, pubf-um polxem Sgl p. 1, pulxo has boiled p. 3, palcom, polxem s; pacum, putfum puxt Ishk, azi pīzum, azım puxt Sk — paz- from

Prs., $p\bar{\imath}z$ < $pa\bar{c}aya$, with z from Prs., puxt either from Prs., or, more probably, from Sgl pux, cf. Shgh $p\bar{e}xt$ — Cf Yd. pēča Sgl 1s, p 1 curl - Prs pelčuk Sgl 1s., p 1, pucuk Gr worm -< *porčuk, ef Wkh poriče? pə'cūn Sgl. p. 2, pucun Gr, pə'cen Gauthiot (I-hk) bullet - pa miltag pčūn dehen I shoot with a gun -Gauthiot (MSL, 20, p. 70) compares Prs. $vaik\bar{a}n$, Arm $patkan^{\circ}$, but $k > \check{c}$ is not probable $< *pu\vartheta + čun, cf.$ Yd pix? V § 37 pəču'uaxšt(?) Sgl p 2 at last — Incorrect for owaxt? pai'dā Sgl p 2, 3 born, appearing zot p° šīd p. 2, wok šēr p° šīd a hon appeared, dušman p° šuo p. 3 - Prs pe'dar Sgl. p. 3 father - In the expression post-i po his father's loins - Prs. pād'šā Sgl. p. 3, påd'šå Sk king - Prs. $p\bar{u}\delta$ Sgl 18, p, s. $(p\bar{u}^d\delta p 1)$, $p\bar{u}$ Ishk, Sk, pu Gr, pūd Gr (Zb), MFB, pud Zar foot - Cf. Yd palo podf Sgl 18., p 3, podf p 1, "Wkh", padf p 2, padf s, putf Ishk, pudf Gr flesh, meat - pudf-um po'xəm Sgl. p 1 Cf $d\bar{a}n$ - $p\partial f - < \Lambda v$. opidwa- food (or *pitudwa-, cf. § 59), cf E.Oss fid < pitu-. (Not convincingly Eilers, ZDMG, 90, p 195 reg Anc Ir. * $pi\theta fa$ -(?)). pe'din- pe'dit Sgl p 2, s, po'den- po'dend Sk, pe'din- Gr to light, kindle a fire - pe'dinen, pe'din! "dar bede!" p 2, pa'din či'råy Sk light a lamp. - Cf. Shgh pedin-, Or. padin-, Yazgh. paδay, intr Wkb pīδιης-, Yazgh padays- Connection with Saka padays-

to ignite, to burn ($< pati + dag \cdot v$ Saka Studies, p 163) seems probable, but the phonetic development is not clear (< *patr-dagna ya??) puf ken- Sgl p. 2, s, puf- Zar to blow - puf ke xe dost Sgl p. 2 blow at your hand — Cf. Yd puf- V pob $p = g\bar{e}$, $\nabla s\bar{a}har p^{\circ}$ to morrow morning - Prs pagāh $p\bar{a}_{\gamma}'z\bar{e}$ Sgl p 2 $p\bar{a}g'za$ Sk clean — Prs, cf Sligh poyža, Khow pagza, etc pōk ken-Sk to cleanse - Prs pa'kol Ishk, Gr cap, pakōl Gr. (Zb) a woman's mantilla - Cf Yd pakoro pālū Sk flank, side - Prs piā'lē Sgl p 1, °a p 2 cup — Prs. pul Ishk, pal Zb bridge - Prs pūl Sgl p 2 money — miž be pūl dē - Prs pallaftuh Sk., in remuz po rise of the sun pa'lang Sgl 1s, oang p 1, Sk, pa'lang Sgl. p 3, s leopard - Prs pāling Gr saddle Denied by Sk. pe'lās Sgl p 1 rug — Prs. pilta Sgl p 2 match of a gun — Cf Madagl, Turki id.-Taj Prs. corruption oi fatīla pāla'wån Sk a hunter — Prs pām 1) Sgl 19, p 1, 3, pōm Zb, pom Ishk, påm Sk, "Wkh", Gr wool — pāme dəmben I card wool — Cf Yd pam pām²) Sgl p. 1, Sk, Zar., Gr wide, broad — Bad Prs. $p\bar{a}m < p\bar{a}n$ pumec-, v panecpī'ān Sgl. 18., p 2 below — tə cə-mak p° -do p. 2 thou art below me — Prs panec- Sgl 18, panec- p 2, s, panic- p. 3 ponayδ- p 2, pumec- pumext Ishk, pomuc- Gr to dress. - Cf Wkh pūmec-, Sar pamez-, Shgh peniz-, etc. Sogd ptmwč., Av. parti maoč-

pan'ja Gr, Sgl. 18, p 2, 3, oāh Gr (Zb) fifty - Prs. pan'jå Zb finger — Prs po'nuk Sgl 1s, p 3, po° p 1, 2 a pass fə rındı fər sou mə pə nuk, o yosam $pc'nuk p 2. - pn(d)\bar{u}k < pantāka$ cf Oss fandag road, etc? pə'nīr Sgl 18, pa° p. 1, Ishk, Sk, pa'nēr Sgl s cheese, $p \partial^{1} n \bar{\imath}(?)$ Sgl, p 3 a kind of som milk $(d\bar{u}_y)$. — Prs pu-nar'xâk Sk toe(?) ponz Sgl. 18, pons p 1, 3, 8, ponzs p 2, pones Grammophone, pons Zb, pong Ishk, pūnz Sk, Gr, pung Zar five ponzodos Sgl 18, °δοs p., s. ponzdau Zb. fifteen poru Ishk horsedung - varok po. -Cf Yd pāru păr δē· păr-dūδ Sgl p 2, 3, pare-δē· par dūd s, pa'ra-day- paradūd Sk. to sell — par deen Sgl. p 2, par be δēn, pār-em dūδ p 3, pare δēem, par-em dūb s — Cf Yd plar prok Sk - In wok xo'rok prok xar, bād šu eat a bit, and then go (said to an arriving guest). park Zb ashes — Cf. Wkh parg Gauthiot, MSL, XX, p 9 regarding Lith. pelenai, etc pa'rık Sk., parak Gr rıb — Cf. Wkh pareh, Prs par(r) side, skirt ponk Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, Zb, Gr, park"Wkh" mouse, purk Sk. rat - Cf. Yd parv pīrmār Sgl is name of a large bird, pumā p 3 a white bird resembling a vulture (kargas) pər nič Sgl p 1,3 threshold — Cf Or $pa\delta \bar{\imath} n(d)$? V. § 22. pa'rında Sgl 18, oenda p 2, lshk bird, paran'da Sk small bud - po tar ha'wā ara'zo Sgl p. 2

parenda xān p 2 bird's nest — Prs parr Sgl is, p 1, par Sk feather — Prs

pər'sāl Sgl p 1, 2, 'pən söl Sk last year — Cf Prs pārsāl

 prēšt Sk armlet, Gr. wrist. — Cf Sar parðust, Or par'δēst (Lentz) V §§ 22, 32

pə rəštem Sgl. 18 pərə štin p 2, pər šə ° p 1 the day after to-morrow — Cf wəcərin

purta(w). Ishk to throw — purtaum — Prs

par tầwī, par tầstuk Sk lagging behind, tired — Prob < thrown away, v purtaw.

par'varıš Sgl p 2 protection, nurturing
— p° kenen — Prs

parwine kog Sgl is, par wēnikōg p 1 moth — Cf

par winek Sgl p 2 butterfly — Prs par wina Gr parparinuk is an onomatopoetic transformation of this word

pā'rūzd Sgl 1s, p 2, pō'rəzd Sk, paruzd Gr yesterday — pa'rūzd wok čīzī tō bē be spārðōvē yesterday he entrusted something to thee, p° arı-n ku'ō vəð p 2 I had worked yesterday, p° šab Sk yesternight. — *pāra + aznı Cf. āluzd, Yd žirizen

pasī Sgl p 2, 3 after(wards) — čend rōz pasī, pası nau'rōzə wuðiļ xašām, pası-va dəvīnuk p 2, pası vənəf after that(?) — Prs pası?

pəs Sgl. p 2 afterwards(?) — Cf Texts, II, 3 — Prs

pusī'da Sk. rotting — p° šūm I rot — Prs

pāsk Sgl 1s, p 2, "Wkh" posk, skin, hide (of cows) — Cf. Av pasta

(= *pausta-? Cf Endzelin, Anu Acad Scient Fenn, Ser B, 27, p 25)

psāt, p(ə)sā(d) Sgl 1s., p, psah Gr (Zb.)
now, then — psāt-əm sēr kəd then
I became satisfied, pəsā(d) be nəvišen
now I shall write, psād ba xēsta
xwārī? Sgl p 2 dost thou cat bread
now? psā-mō astōk, 1s I have risen
now, psā vrēlen p 1, pəsād šīd, pəsā
oyod p 3 — Cf Yd psāt.

past SgI p 2, Zar low, pāst Sk. down — Prs

pəs ta Sgl p 2 pıstachı — Pıs pūst Sk leather — Prs

pos'tāk Sgl is, pus'tak Sk baik of a tree.

pa'šē Sgl 1s, p 2, 3, 'paša p 1, Ishk,
Sk a fly. — Prs.

pāš va ken-(°) Sgl p 3 to hide, conceal

— Read wa? Cf Prs pāš scattering?

pūš Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, "Wkh", pšī Zb, pu'šuk Ishk, peš, pšək Sk, piš Gr, puš Gr (Zb), p³šuk Zar cat — Cf Yd pišho, Prs pušak, etc

pīš-i bar Sgl 1s, pēšubar Sk, pēšbar Gr breast — *P1s

pəšbažgī Sk kitten — *puš bača gī pošk Sgl 18, pəšk p 1, pəšk p 3, pušk

Zar dung of sheep — Pis push, cf. Shgh pažė, Yd pəškedii

pšai mānī Sk regret. — Prs

påš'nε Sgl 1s, pā° p 1, 'pāšnε p 3, pāš'nα Sk, Gr heel. — Prs

 $p\bar{e}^{i}\bar{s}\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$ Sgl 1s, p 1, 2, $\hat{n}_{i}\bar{\imath}(?)$ p 3, $pe\bar{s}\hat{a}^{i}n\bar{\imath}$ Zb, Ishk, $p^{e^{i}}\bar{s}\hat{a}_{i}n\bar{\imath}$ Sk forehead — Prs

pe'šīn Sgl 1s. afternoon — Prs pšūr Sgl p 1, 2, pošūr p. 3, pu'šīr Ishk, po'šīr "Wkh", pešūr Gr cheek, pšūr Sk face, pešūr'līnj face — ${}^{1}par{e}$ šten Sgl p 2 udder — $c
ilde{v} u^{1}\gamma ar{u} p^{\circ}$ — Cf Yd ${}^{1}par{s}$ stan

 $p
i \delta t$ Sgl p 3 loins — In ma p° -i $p e' d \bar{a} r$ - \bar{o} — Prs

pušt-i pā Sgl p 3 instep, upper part of the foot — Prs

pē'š-āzəi Sk place where the horse is bound — *Prs

pa'šār Sgl is porridge, āš

put Gr parched grain ground into meal
— Cf Yd pušč, Wkh post V
tūt pət.

putf, v posf

pātik Sgl is, p, Gr, 'pātik Sk eyelid (p 3 eyebrow?) — pātik dē Sgl. p 2 wink — Wkh pātak, Khow phatuk, patok, Madaglashti patik, Or pōdē, cf Yd. pelek

poltān Sgl. 18, p 1, 3, s, paltān "Wkh" thigh — Cf. Yd. piščan

pi tav Sgl 18., p. 2, 3 the sunny side of a valley — Cf Yd pitou, Psht pitao, etc

patek Sgl p 2, patuk Sk lentils, patek

— Cf Wkh patek, Mj pateko

pov- povô Sgl p 2, pav pavd p 3, pəvpīð s, pəv- pəid Ishk, Sk to dink

— 'vēk 'poven, 'az-əm 'vēk 'povôəm
p 2, iē pa vən, 'pavdəm p 3, vē pə'vəm,
vēk-əm pīð s, vēk 'pəvum, pəvdum
Ishk, Sk. — Cf Wkh pōv- pītt-,
Skr píba- pītá-.

 $p\bar{e}x$ Sgl p 3 span from thumb to forefinger — Cf Yd $p\bar{t}x$

pxōk Sgl 1s, pə° p 2 cooked — V pacpax ta Sk cotton — Prs paz-, pīz-, v pae.

pī^lāz Sgl 1s, p 2, pnyås Sk omon. — Prs

*puz MFB breast — Written yuz, (נפל), but acc to Shaw this is a mistake

for puz (بورز) — Cf Wkh p'ūz, Yd fīz.

pə'zīn- pə'zīnd Sgl p 1,3,s, Ishk., Sk, pəzin- pəzind Zar to understand, to learn. — azə va tō lavz pe'zīnen Sgl. p 1, az-əm va tō lavz pe'zīnen buš p 3, az-īm 'nas pzind Sk. I didn't understand it, fai p'zīnuk(°)š Sk he who knows much — Cf Yd vəzān-, Wkh pazdan-, Sar pajân-, Sogd ptz'n-

 $p\bar{e}z$ - $p\bar{e}z\delta$ Sgl p 3 to wrap up — $p\bar{e}z\delta/l\partial m$ ' $t\bar{a}u$ $d\mathring{a}dum$ '. — < * $p\delta\bar{e}rz$ - < *patrdarzaya-, ef M3 palarz-, Psht. $bl\bar{e}zd\partial l$, (10

pr¹žīn Sgl. p 2 clay-pot for milk — Cf Wkh pržīn udder < *payah čayana *

R

rā Sgl p 1, s, rāh Zb. road. — Prs

νδ Sgl p 3 face — In rō p xē Xədā kəδ he turned (his face) to God, rū ba Xudā kat — Prs

1ōi Sgl 1s, p 1, rôc p 3, rōi p 2, Ishk,
 1ōi Sgl s, rūi/y Sk, Gr, Zar, trāi(?)
 MFB three — rō(i) 10 pē — Cf §
 109

nu Sgl p 3 on - Prs

rēč i k Sk. belly, rēč i k Gr., roč i h Zai entrails — < rēd i (< rauta·) + č i k, cf KZ, 61, p. 32 — V § 37

rêf Sgl 18, Sk., rēfak p 1 broom — Cf Yd. rufo

rag Sgl 18, p 1, 3, Sk vein, sinew — Prs

rēg Sgl 1s., p. 1, 3, s, rēg Sk sand — Prs

 $r\bar{e}\gamma^{o}n$ Sgl is, ° γn p 2, s, "Wkh" $r\bar{e}^{a}\gamma n$ p 1, $r^{n}\bar{e}\gamma n$ p 3, $r\bar{e}\gamma^{a}ne$ Ishk clarified

butter, 1evn Sk. butter — pa ryevn ba pacen SgI p 3 - Cf Yd 1 ūy2n rahlzan Sk robber - Prs rikāb SgI p 2, odb Sk sturup — Ar-Prs rago'sī/ē hən- Sk to dance - Ar -Prs ra mē Sgl p 2 herd of goats — Pre rām Sgl p 3 womb — oyob mə rām-r māδar — Prs i ēmuz, v or mozd Rama'zān, v īδ. rön Ishk., rån Sk thigh - Pis rang Sk colour - Prs rangā i gūnagūn Sk multicoloured rangizārd Sk pale. — Prs rū pē, ro pē Sgl. p 1, 2, rūpaye is, rupya Gr (Zb) rupee - az tō bē wok rōpeē dayen Sgl p l, awaī be wok ropē deyen p 2, azə im be wok rūpa'yē dayem bəš is — Ind ius Sgl. p 2, ris p. 3, 18, s thirty - Cf § 109 i ūisa'fēd Sgl p 2 old man — *Prs, cf My səpī rūy Wkh, Or mūisaifēd means 'white-muzzled' acc to Zar rosk Sgl p 2 truth - aməxə rosk yežəm, az 1° yēžen — < *rāst(a)k, cf Tıralıı rāsko truth (< Ir). But Yazgh rāzg? rismon Ishk thread, cord. - Prs ra'san Ishk 10pe - Prs rost Sgl. 1s, p 2, 3 right (hand), straight, råst Sk. right, true — xūb r° durk-ū Sgl. p 2 it is a quite straight stick - Prs råst'gū Sk. truthful — Prs.

rīš Zb beard. — Pis

roš dov'suk Sk. wild oats Cf da'sīn

nušā nī Zb light (noun), rū šan Sk.

rašt Sgl 18,8, Ishk morning, dawn -

dawn, raušan Gr daylight - Prs

noušan Sk light, bright - Prs

 r° ši δ — Cf Wkh $r \ni \delta t$ day, Khow. $\mathit{rošt}$ daylıglıt < Prs $\mathit{rūšn}$? raš'tē Sgl 18, rāšta Sk, rēšē p 1 rootfibre - Prs rēša id, rišta thread, line — Cf Badakhshi rēša, but Madagl 11sta, Wkh 11sta, raxte (< Prs.) rušt Gr a fur robe - But Zai vušt, cf. My viška. vūv Sgl. 13, p 2 rhubarbe — Cf. Yd vīv vīv'lav Sgl 18, s, rivo p 1, 'rigo p. 3, lav Gr, $l\bar{a}w$ MFB hp $-r\bar{i}v$ < *rapya, (cf Kurd lew), the genuine Sgl form corresponding to Prs lab? ra'wan Sgl. p 1, Gr moving, starting r° šīδ. — Prs rəx'sat Sgl p 2 leave — ro šī'ān they took leave. - Ar -Prs 10z SgI p 2, 3, Gr, 1 ūz Sk day — čand $r \bar{o}z \quad pas \bar{i} \quad \text{Sgl p 2}, \quad r \bar{o}z \bar{i} \quad (= r \bar{o}^{\dagger} z \bar{a} n \bar{i})$ šīš ke p 3 it happened one day that . - Prs. 'naucan Sgl p 3 window. - Prs nz yāk Sgl 18, p 1 small — am xān žəšt, hab xān rızı āk p 1 — Prs. icza, ef Yd riza. ıēž Gr. platform (for sleeping) - Cf. Yd 1aža, Wkh răž n'žuk Sgl p 1, 2 male kid, one year old, p 3 be-goat - Cf "Wkh" re'žā he-goat, Sar rezapai goats and sheep (Khow lešpai < *iežpai from Ir?), of Prs. rēza the small of any animal.

S

sō Ishk now(?) — In azī sō uazum 'mēyaltam'. — Cī nak-sō now.
sū Sgl p 1, 3, Zb, sī Sk, Gr. hare — Cf Yd sīy
sub Zb morming — Ar-Prs

sa'bab Sk reason — A1-Prs. sa'buk Sgl p. 1, 3, Ishk light, not heavy -- Prs 'sābūn Sk soap — Ar-Prs sabi Sk patient, — Ar-Pre sə'dik Sk porridge, ås saudo gar Sk. merchant - Prs. sāb Sgl 1s, sab p 2, 3, sad Sk., Gr. (Zb) hundred. — Sk. sadə'yak 101, sadəbīstə panj 125 — Prs salfēd Ishk, Sk. white - Prs safē dor Ishk., Zb. poplar — Prs saglă vī Sgl 18, p 3, olovī p. 1, sago vī Ishk otter, - Cf Yd. sangla ū, Prs sag i lau, sag(i) ābī. so'yond Sgl is., sa'yand Zb eurl, seyund Gr. (Zb) hair. - sor + yūn? sa'yēr Sgl p 1 orphan — Cf Mj sayīr, etc from Prs 'sāhar ') Sgl p. 1, sāar p. 2, sa'har, sā'rī Sk morning, at dawn - so be xotan p 2. - Ar -Prs sa'hār²) Sg1 1s, sa'ār p 1, ba-sa'ār p 2, 'sāhar Ishk to-morrow — Ar-Prs sakāu Sgl p 2 sneezing(?). — so mo šĩok 'sakau čudam' 3. skonok Sgl. 1s., p 1, 3, o'nōk s, s3konuk Zar puppy, cub — Cf Yd. cokelna sāl Sgl. 18, p, s, Gr., sōl lshk, Sk year. - Prs sēl Sgl. p 1 flood — Prs sal'löt Sk soldier — Russ såmb-, v sawsəmb Sgl 18, p 1, sumb Ishk hoof Prs? samba'ka Sgl 18. tortoise - Prs Turk sang-baga, Tajiki sambaga səmibok, suo Sgl p 1 hole (of the ear) - Cf Prs sumb.

son Sk linen - Cf Khow. san id,

Kabuli Prs shirting

st'na Sk breast -- Prs 'sanduk Sgl p 1, ouq Gr box. - Ar -Pis song Sgl p. 1, 3, s, sung Ishk, Sk, Gr stone, Ishk mill stone - Early lw from Prs 'sinni Sk. light, bright. (e)spēδ Sgl p 1, 3, "Wkh" white. — Cf Yd. spī espel Sgl 1s, s, p 3, spel p 1, sepul Ishk., Zar louse - Cf Yd, spūo. sper Sgl is, p. 1 iron plough-share, (w)uspīr Sk, Gr. plough. — Cf. Yd sporo (also with ancient a-) spār- spārd Sgl. p. 2, buspor- ord Zar to entrust. — čīzī to bē spāi 80-vē he had entrusted something to thee. - Prs siperz Sgl. 19, ourz p 1 spleen - Pra sēr Sgl p 2, 3 satisfied. — psāt sēr šiān 'sēr šudīm', psāt-əm sēr kəδ p 2, sēr-əm šīð p 3 - Prs. sir Sgl p 2 garlie. - Prs sor 1) Sgl. 1s, p. 1, 3, s, Gr (Zb.), sur Zb, Ishk, Sk, sar ("younger form" Sk) head — sur-'cpåsšt Sk back of the head. — Cf Prs sar (from which sar is a lw), etc. sor 2 Sgl p 2,3 on — kitav mēx sor-əm nūšəδ p 2 I put the book on the table, vost ma kafas sor p 3 he tied it at the top of the cage. -- V sor 1 sn b Sgl is, sərb p 2, sərv p 3 lead sard Ishk, Gr, sart Sk cold. - Prs. sa'rāk Sgl 15, p 3 road, — Afgh Prs sarak < Hmd sarak. 'sārek Sgl 18., p. 1 cream — Cf Prs. sar-i šīr sormoyz, v moyz-i sor sərx Sgl. 18, p 1, Ishk, sərx Sgl. p 3,

surx Sk., Gr red - Prs?

'sörox Sgl p 2 ear of corn — Cf Yd sor sur'xūn Sk white - Prs sor-'waš Sgl p 2 wild, arrogant, sarkaš — vərvəs so-5 the fox is wild — Adapted from Prs sarkaš sīā sar Sgl p 1 crow(?) — *Prs sust Sgl p 2 lazy, sost p 1 soft — ama ādam fai susto this man is very lazy - Pis (< *grusta-, cf OE Infotan to tire, etc, etc) ²stīn Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, stīn Sk., ustun Isbk post, pillai. - Cf. Yd ustuno, ustun < Prs sitar, v astarsat aån-may'zı Sk. brain, sutxān mayzuk Gr thigh - *Prs Original meaning 'marrow' sav. v tovsevδ Sgl is, oveδ p 3, selδ p 1, s, sord Zb, sovd Sk shoulder — mu sovd ō it is on the shoulder. - Cf Yd suvdo se'vār Sgl p 2 horseman. — Prs savz Sgl p 1, sobz Ishk, sabz Sk, Gr green — Prs sav'za Sgl p 1, ozī p 2, sab'za Ishk grass, lawn - Prs sawd Sk to rub, såmb. Gr to smear - Cf Prs. sāwīdan, Yd sa-, Wkh siw, and, with nasalization, (Hjuler) såman, såyam to rub saxt Sgl 18. hard - Prs 'såyε Sgl is, 'sāya p 1, sā'yē p 2, 'sōya Zb shade, shadow - Prs s'yå-číråy Sk native candle made from a plant with the same name - *Prs $s\bar{u}'y\bar{u}k$ Sgl. p 3, $s\bar{u}^{\circ}$ s spleen — Cf Wkh. $sik < *s(y)\bar{a}wya\cdot ka$, cf se mantically Psht torai, Torwali šam spleen (the black entrail)? 'sēzda Sgl p 1, 2, o'da p 3, sīzdāu Zb thirteen - Prs

Š

- -š Sgl. pion encl 3 sg V § 114 — Prs
- š- šīð Sgl. p, s, šəw '\(\frac{5}{2}d\) Sk, šu- \(\frac{5}{2}ud\) Ishk. to go, to become \(-az^\gamma\) šān, \(az^\gamma\) ni \(\frac{5}{2}am\), \(az^\gamma\) ni \(\frac{5}{2}am\), \(az^\gamma\) ni \(\frac{5}{2}\text{\text{off}}\) no \(\frac{5}{2

šab Ishk, Sk, Gr might — Prs

šā'brut Sk. moustache — Prs. *šāh burūt (contam with Wkh šapar, etc.?)

 $\delta \delta \delta x$ Sgl. 1s, p 1 goat's hair — Possibly < * $\delta \delta \delta x$, cf Yd lirs V § 72 $\delta^2 f \bar{u} n$, v $\bar{a} f^{1\zeta} \bar{u} n$

šaf'tal Sgl p. 2 tiefoil — Prs šaf'tōlū Sgl is, Ishk. peach. — Prs šag'nam Sgl is, šabnam Ishk, Sk dew — Cf Prs. šabnam, Mj šak'lam V

 $\tilde{s}\tilde{\sigma}^{i}g\bar{a}r$ Sgl p 2 plastering, $\tilde{s}\tilde{e}dg\bar{a}r$. — Prs $\tilde{s}\tilde{\sigma}^{i}r\tilde{o}l$ Sgl is jackal — Prs.

šak.

ša'yor Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, Ishk, "Wkh." hedgehog — Cf Yd ša'yur

Sal Sgl p 2 dew(?), Gr hoar-frost —
Cf Wkh šak, šak, Sar. žok whitefrost, Tajiki šaq dew — V šag'nam
šakk Sk, šak Gr bad, wicked — šakk'wēnān to hate — Prs. šaq' blaming,
reproaching, viewing with an evil
eye? — Cf Wkh šāk

šak- Sgl. p 2 to rub, crush — šakem be-š 'mēšakam'. — Prs.

²škōð Sgl 1s, p 2 cattle shed — < *fšukata-, cf Orm škāu (but not Oss sk'at)? — But Shgh žəð, Bartangı šōð cattle-shed < *srāda-, cf. Prs. sarāi.</p>

šikam Zb belly - Pis škarr- škūl Sk to seek — Ct Wkh škūr-, Pis čikār chase šikår bēd Sk willow škovd Sk to be cold, to catch a cold — Cf Wkh škāvšal Sk lame — Pis ša''la Sk spark -Ar -Prs šu'la blaze, flash šal'yām Sk, p 2 turnip — Prs šəllāk Sgl 18, šlāk p 1, šuluk Sk, šuhluk Gr wet, damp -< *a šušaha, ef Ski šusa- dry and a-śuska- moist? šel'moh Sgl 1s, p 1 resin. guin — Cf Pis šil(i)m gum of a tree, šalmak n of a medicine, prob < NW Prakrit 'šilimha-, cf Tunner, Nep Diet, s.vv liso, sep V Wkh lisp ši lax Sgl 18, p 2 naked, needy — to š°-do p 2 — Cf Yd ši'lex šam Sk candle - Ar-Prs šām Sgl p. 1, 2, šōm Sk, Zb evening - Prs šūm Sk travel — Cf Av šyaomanwork (šiyav- to go, move)? ša māl Sgl p, s, oål Sk wind, šu mål Sk north -- nēr šo-ō, šo paidā šīd Sgl p. 2 — Ar ·Prs tam'šēr Sgl p 2 sword — Prs -šon encl pron 2 pl, v § 114 šona Zb shoulder-blade -- Pis šə nowane kən- Sk to bathe. - Pra. šūnzdāu, v xuāļsūs šaupa'rek Ishk bat — Prs. šār Sgl p 2, 3, Sk town — Prs šēr Sgl p 3 tiger, lion — Pis šarm Sgl 18, p 2, Sk shame — Pis šūrm Sgl 18, p 1, 3, s, "Wkh", šurn Zar horsedung $- < *š\bar{a}nm < *š\bar{a}mn$ Av šāman-? šůr můk bēd Sk, šurmok Gr. a kind of willow

šarmın'da Sk ashamed — š° na, šauī fie, shame - Prs šī'nīn Sgl 13, p. 1, 3, Ishk. sweet. -'šurang-zård Sk brown — V šūi šarša re Sgl 18, p 1, 3, o rā Zb waterfall šər wā Sgl p 1, šir bo Sk soup — Prs šāst Sgl 18, p 3, šāšt p 2 sixty šast-in git Sgl p. 2 thumb — Pis Sgl šīša Ishk looking-glass — Prs. šo'še kon- Sk to make water — Pis šāt Sgl. p 1, 3 honey — Ar Prs. šət Sgl 18, p 1, šit p 2, šət p 3, šet s, šət Ishk., šut Sk, šit Gi. dust, soil, earth - ps šət nīd Ishk sit down on the ground, sot kon Sk to bury, šr't-ån van kol Sk they [have] buried him - Cf Wkh šət, žet, Shgh sit šā'tūn Sgl. p 1, 3, otu Gr ladder — Prs šālū, Bad šotūn, etc < Turki oston Sgl 1s, p 1, oen p 3, ston s, sutun Gr. sy Sk needle, Ishk šoton thom — < *sčon < *sučanı, cf Psht ston $< *s(u)c \ni n$, cf Yd šunjo - s y <*suči-. — Cf Wkh sic šaitan Sk Satan - Ar-Prs štonok Sgl 18, p 1, 2, ušteo p. 3, šutu nūk Zb, štu'nuk Sk., Gr, šoto Zai, newborn kid, naušudagi -- Cf Par $išten(\bar{u}k) < *f$ stănya-kaoštor Sgl. 18, p 2, s, osr p 3, štur Sk, Gr, ustur Gr (Zb), sotur Zar camel - Prs. or genume? Cf Yd 'škr'i ö šutur Gr calf — Cf Wkh štūr. $\check{sot} \imath p \circ \delta f$ Sgl p 3, $\circ p \bar{u} \delta$ p.1 calf of the leg — Cf Shgh pura-1-gōšt (< P1°) id Psht šat-garai ankle < *si ašla-? šov, šovok Sgl p 2 weeding — az-əm šov(ok) an i kenuk I have weeded (amī hār az darūn-ı zamīn mēkana(I)), šövök šuān, kə š° xıılā(š) šıān.

ša'vōl Sk, ša'wālah Gr trousers — Prs šo'vel Ishk, šō° Sk, Gr road — <
*šyaw-, cf Phl.Ps šwb'n (šovān) roads?
But suffix?

šav'zåd Sk bug. — Cf Shgh (Sk) šavzōd,
Wkh xpuzrt, cf Prs. šab-gaz 'bug'
šāw- šāwod Zar to chew — *gžaw 's
šuwīn Gr, šuen Gr., Zb cradle — <
*xšaubanya-9

šāx¹) Sgl 1s, p tw1g, šōx Ishk, Sk šōxća Zb, °ćuk Sk, Gr branch — Prs šāx(ča), Bartangi xax¹ċak.

šāx²) Sgl. p 3, Zb, Ishk, šåx Sk horn
— āhūīn woh šāx da vəð p 3 the
stag had one horn — Prs

šox Sgl is, p, šûx Zar hard, locked — vor šox-or Sgl. p 2, ma tāhamē šox koð mo kafās sor p 3 he fastened the food at the top of the cage — Cf Wkh šoh, šux, Yd šax

\$\(\) \(

saxa yer Sgl p 3 hill — Cf Prs sax mountain

šəu'žī Sgl 1s., p 2, šov'jī p 1, šəu'jī p 3, s, šu'jī Zb hip — Cf. Wkh šau'žī, šūjīš, Shgh sēvje, (sēuja Sk.), Or sāw'jē Proh a Taj. word, *suvjī < *suft jī?</p>

šūž Sgl p 1, s eagle, hukāb, šuž p 3 black eagle, siason — Cf Yd. šūž

Š

šou Sgl. 1s, p 1, s, fou p 3 horn —
*srăw-, cf Wkh sou, Yd sū

šūi Sgl. p 1, 3, šū Ishk. black, pupil of the eye, šu Sk, Gr., žūi "Wkh" black. — Cf Wkh šīu, Khow (lw) šā — < Av syāva-, but note š</p>

¿se Sgl 1s, p 2, šse p 3, šue Gr female
 Ace to Hjuler Wkh šse 1s used as a fem suffix — Cf Yd. štyo.

šud Gr heard — Prob *šud, cf Shgh šud

šið Sgl 1s, šəð. p 2, 3, s. šīð. 1s., p 2, 3,
šīn- šīd Ishk, šīd- šītt Sk, šīd
Zar to weep — šiðen, šīðəm Sgl 1s,
šəðen buš šīðum p 2, 3, šīnum šīdum,
-um šīd, šīduk Ishk., šīdum, šīttum Sk

šēn Sgl 1s, p. 1, 3, Zb podex, p 2 anus, Ishk hip, kšīn Gr podex, šing Sk hip — mo šēn kenen-et p 2 'mā tui a mēgāyam-et'. — Cf. Yd šīno, Shgh šūn

§*nā'ī Sgl is, p 1 light, fire, i*ə'nā'ī p 2, 3, rəšnā'ī s, rəš'nī Zb, Ishk fire rišnē, i*snē Sk fire šə'nāā do'hō it lightened, va šənāi žan p 2 blow out the fire, mən in'git mə šə'nāā təð p 2. — Cf Wkh rəx'nī(g), Khow (lw) roxnī, Kab. Prs rušnaī — Cf rušā'nī

šoš Sgl 1s, p 3, s, šoš p 1, 2, šoš Zb, Sk lung — Pre

ša'vī Sgl 18, p 1, 2, ša'vē' Sk shirt, 'šawī Gr woman's shirt Pis. šabī

T

tēu Sgl 1s, p 1, s husband's brother —
Oss teu, cf. Mj sv yū.
tu, to Sgl, to Ishk thou — V § 110

tũi Sk wedding - Prs tablar za Sk., Gr fever - Pre tåbistån Sk summer -- Pre tə bət Sgl is down of birds - Cf Mj. tubut. taf Sgl p. 1, Sk steam, Zar foam. -Prs təf Sgl p 2, 3, tof Sk, tuf Zar. salıva Prs. toyd Gr. he went, walked - < *taxta-, cf Shgh tüid tā'yo Sk mother's brother — Kabuli Prs $tay\bar{a}^{\dagger}\bar{\imath}$, Bad tayatiēy(a)m Sgl 13, p 2, 3, tēyum Ishk, tēym "Wkh", Gr gram, seed — tēym $d(e)\bar{a}n p 2$ they sow — Cf Yd $tu_{\gamma}^{u}m$ ta'hām Sgl p 3 food — ta'hāma dēi! — Ar -Prs tāke Sgl p 3 alone — pād'šā to foirīnd 'pādšā yah tāke månd' — Cf Prs taka a single volume, Yd toko taks Sgl p 3 male kid, one year old - Prs tuk ma Sk. button - Turki. tok sa'rī Ishk, pillow — Or taksa'ra, cf Par taiso'rī, Madagl toi-i-serī + Prs takiya tākut Sgl p 3 (m tale) endurance ovzūi to nos kod 'dil-iš to na kaid'. - Ar · Prs tāl Sgl p 2 cooking-pot. — Cf Yd, tāl ti'lā Sgl 18, p, til'lā Sk gold. — Prs. tūl- tūld Sgl. p 1, 2, s, Ishk, tūd Gr (Zb.) to shave — 'tūlin, 'tūldəm Sgl.

p 1, t'ūlum, 't'ūldum Ishk — Cf.

telf Sgl p 3 child, bača-i maida — Ar-

tə lap- Sgl p 2, ta lap- talapt Sk to

wish, seek - Ar -Prs.

tal'pak Sk, Gr. fur cap. — Turki

Yd. tīž-

Prs tifl

talx Sgl p 1, Ishk bitter - Prs təmba Sgl. p 3 to thee? — In wok to asteen 'yak tara 1 awån mēkenīm' təmux, oəx Sgl., Ishk you V § 110. ta'mūz Sgl p 3 autumn. — Ar Prs tan Sgl p 2 person — cəmənd tan ān ma təməx xān? ma mič xān iði tan ān. — Prs ta'na Sk body — Prs t≥nd Sgl p 2 steep — Pis tandur Sk thunder - Prs. tang Sgl p 1, 2, Sk narrow - Prs tanik Sk, tanuk Gr. thin, narrow -Prob genuine tar Ishk wet, moist - Prs tar Sgl p 2, 3, Gr through, amongst, ın(to), to — parenda tar hauā arazī the bird flew through the air, wok čī-e tar məne[n] həš-ör 'yak čīzī la dil-i mā st', tax'sīm kenān tar xāa p 2 they divide amongst themselves — Cf Yd tro. V § 107. tīn Ishk roof-beam, Sk arrow - Prs *tor.. tor & Sgl p 2 to fart - tor &m Cf tərə bā[d] dyem 'gūz kardam' Sgl s id tar boz Sgl. p 2, tar būz Sk water-melon. - Prs tərəf- tərəft Sk, təruf- Zar to steal — Cf Yd terif. 'torik Zb, 'tå° Ishk, Sk, °'rik Sk dark(ness) - Prs tur kī Egl 1s, p 1 darkness — *turk dark (ef Yd. tīro) + Prs -1. tīra mā Sgl 1s, p. 1, 2, tīra må Ishk, $_{1}ti^{\circ}$ Sk autumn. — t° k' šī δ , ce $k\bar{u}$ yūzə xašəm — Prs t(3)rās-Sgl p 2, 3 to fear — trāsen ke fransen be p 2 I am afraid to lose it. Cf the foll word tros Ishk, toros Sk, tras Gr fear —

to kenum, to-um kul Islik, to kon-Sk I fear, to deyum Sk I frighten - < tars? But of Sar intrâs to shy, etc təris- Sgl p 2, 3 to sneeze — tərisəm buš, pf trīšūk 'axse mēzanad' (pres !) - Cf Wkh štrof-, Yd čirf, etc te roš Sgl 18, troš p 1, toruš Ishk, toruš Zar sour, truš Gr bitter - Prs trošp Sk sour milk, — Cf. Yd trišp tarå zē Sk scales — Prs tcske Sgl p 3 -? - Cf Texts V, 72 tas mä Sk a strap - Prs tå i-sai Ishk. top of the head - Cf Mj. tō-i sar Prs təš kən- Sk to empty out. - Cf Wkh. taš, EVP, s v taš, Nyberg, Studia Indo. Ir, 211 təšna Sgl 18, °ē p 1, tašna Ishk, taxm Sk thirsty - tošna, etc < Prs Reg taxm (also in Wkh), v s v. Wkh tax těša Sgl 18, °'čě p 1, 3, °ča Ishk adze - Prs $t\bar{a}t$ Sgl p 1, 2, tot Ishk, Gr, $t\hat{a}(t)$ Sk, Gr (Zb) father — mič tāt xān, tāte xē māl taxsīm kub, xē tā be yēžəb he said it to his father - Cf Yd tat, etc tūt Sgl, Zb, Ishk, Sk mulberry (tiee). - Prs tūtī Sgl p parrot — Prs tūt-pət Sgl p 2 mulberry-flour, talkån — Prs V put tav Sgl p 2 fever - Prs $t\bar{a}^{\dagger}v\bar{\epsilon}$ Sgl p 2 griddle — Pis təv- tə8 Sgl p 1, 2, ted Gr (Zb), 'Wkh" tīwd, sav- sad Ishk, saw- sud Sk, Zar. to burn (intr), sīw- sud Sk to burn (ti) — təvvi Sgl, savū Ishk it burns, mon ingit mo conāt tob p 1

my finger was burnt in the fire -Cf Shgh, Wkh Baw-, Khwarizm ϑw , etc. V § 37 to'vor SgI is , p 1, 3, Zb , tu'wur Sk , Gr. axe - va durk to maida kenen p 2, f³rēδ kuδ pe t'ovor p 3 — Prs tāvelstān Sgl 1s,p, tōvəlstön Zb, tåbrlstån Ishk summer — Prs. təximəng Zb., taxmur Sk egg — Prs tuxm-1-mury, of Wkh texmory, etc. tax-1 ū Sgl p 3 plank V Texts V, 14. Prs *taxt-rū tax'sīm Sgl p 2 dividing — va māl to kel - Ar Prs taxt Sk curtain - Pis taxta Sgl p 1 roof-board, p 3 plank taxta-pāre rū p 3 on a piece of plank 'rū i taxta-pāra' — Prs təxt¹x\overline{v}\overline{e} Sgl. p 3 steam (?) — Cf Yd tux ta'yāk Sgl 19, p 3, tây Sk colt — Cf Yd taya, Cf tiya-xa'rak Sgl is donkey's forl tēz Sgl 18, p, Ishk, Sk sharp — tēz hən Sk. to sharpen, whet - Prs

V

ia a particle denoting the accusative V. § 104.

vəcə'r īm, v. wəcərin.

vī di'ōk Sgl p 2 iriigation, watering, xākāva — v° kenān — V vēk.

və Sgl, vud Ishk, uə Sk. was — Cf. § 125

 $v\bar{a}_{I}^{\gamma}d$ Sk, $v\bar{a}_{I}^{\gamma}d$ Gr nightmare — Cf Wkh $v\bar{a}_{I}^{\gamma}d$, Sar, Or $v\bar{v}id$ < Av baxta- fate, misfortune

vē(k) Sgl, Ishk, Sk, Gr water — vēhī diān — vē diōk kenān (q v). warfə vē šiuo the snow melts, vē mə pīālə nūšen Sgl v 2, vē pavdəm, vēk xənuk-ö, daryāo yəx-o kuōk p 3 the water is cold and the river is frozen, arāz mə v'ēk is fly into the water.

— From a purely phonetic point of view *ăpāk(î)ya- seems to be the most satisfactory reconstruction. Cf. Orm wōk, with loss of ă-

võ kõ līn Sgl p 1 day before yesterday vən Sgl p 2 — V Texts III, 2.

vīn Sgl 1s, p 1, 2, Ishk, Sk, Gr., vīn Sgl s, p. 3, vanū "Wkh" beard — Cf Shgh. bån < *upā(ha)na-, cf Gr ὑπήνη(v NTS, VII, 120, cf Kretschmer, Glotta, 18, 204, 22, 246, Pīsanī, Misc Etym, 107)

vānd võst Sgl p 1,3, s, võnd- vüst-Ishk, vund- vust Sk to bind, tie. vānden Sgl p 1, °em s, võndum Ishk, pret. võst, pf võsto-mõ- p 3 — Cf Yd vad-

vond Sgl 18, p 2 stick

vor Sgl p, var Zb, Ishk, Sk, wår "Wkh" door — vor šox (hət)-or p 2 the door is closed (open) — Cf. Yd. levor

vūr Sgl p 2, 3, Sk burden — vūr kenen p 3 I load — Cf Yd vīra, Wkh vūr

vrīc Sgl. 18, p 1, 2, vrīc p 3, Sk, v⁹rīc Zar, v⁹cēr(!) 'Wkh' eyebrow. — *brūči-, cf Yd vrīyo.

v³rūð Sgl, v³rū Ishk, wrūd, wru Sk, v(³)rūd Gr, Zır brother. — Pl vrūðār m' amič xān hōvð vrūðār-ān p 2, am xān m³š v³rūðaien is this house belongs to me and my brothers, am xān m³m v³rūðen-ē p 2 this house is my brother's. — Cf. Yd vrai

vrūðkuč Sgl. 1s., p 1, vru'kŭč Sk, v³) ūðarkuč "Wkh" brother's wife

v⁹rōk Sgl., Zb., Ishk, wruk Sk., wrok Gr., verāk Gr. (Zb.) horse — am v⁹rō 27 — Kulturforskning məm v^ərūδen-ē Sgl p 2. — Cf Shgh vâr^əj, Or vōrj, Yazgh 'varāk < *băraka-

võrok Sgl p 2 window. — Cf võrvrēl- Sgl 1s., p. 1, 3, s võrēt- p 1, 3, vits, võlēl- võlēld- Ishk, vrand- viðt Sk, võrēl- võrūt Zar to break. — psā vrēlen Sgl p. 1, vrandum, vrətum, vrət, vrətkum, vituk, vranduk Sk — Cf. Shgh. võraž-, Yd vrī- — Reg võlēl- v § 74 vrand- has been influenced by *škand- (Wkh škəndiv-) vrõn- vrõnd Sk to scold — Cf. Wkh

vər'vəs Sgl. 1s, p., °ves s., ur'wəs Zb,

'wu° Ishk, 'urvəs Sk, urwus Gr
barley — vərvəs sör-xaš-ö Sgl p 2.

— < *rpasiyā-? Cf Yd yeršio

vārand-.

vər'vēs Sgl 18, 8, wə° p 3, wər'uēs p 1,
ər° Zb., wurwist Ishk, 'urwēs(ak) Sk,
Gr, wurvēsāk Zar, wər'iēs "Wkh"
fox — < rāvēs < *raupāsya-, v § 88
Cf Yd rūso

 $v\partial^1 r\bar{a}z$ Sgl. 1s, p 2, $w/vr\bar{a}^1z\bar{a}$ Sk above, $vr\bar{o}z$ Sk up, $wer\bar{a}z$ Gr (Zb.) high, tall, up, $vr\bar{a}z\bar{a}$ Gr a mountain hight — $c\partial_1 t\partial_1 t\bar{a}k$ $v\partial_1 r\bar{a}z-m\bar{o}$ Sgl p 2 I am above you — Cf Khow (lw) $v\bar{a}rz$ above (v BSOS, VIII, p 664), Ingush (lw) barz tumulus < Av $bar\partial_2 ah$? But note Or $vu^1r\bar{o}z$ hillside = Prs $far\bar{a}z\,k\bar{o}h$ (Lentz), (Zangana Kurd. $war(\bar{a})z$ high < * $abi\,r\bar{a}za$ -g).

v²rūz²man Sgl 1s, p 2 nephew — V v²rūδ.

və sīn Sgl, 1s, vasīn Gr. whetstone, ausān.
— Cf Yd 'afsεno

viš Sgl 1s, p 2, 3, Gr, viš Gr (Zb) below, višt Sk. floor, ground — co mom viš 'az tā-i mā', co mēz viš p 2 under the table, co kafas biš (1) under the

cage, ce viš from below, ce āsmān xavo me viš p 3 descended from heaven. — V bayalviš, yālviš, kašviš viš 2) Sk, viš Gr bed võš Sgl. 1s, p 1, 3, vuš Gr. rope — *bastra-, cf. Shgh, vâš, Psht. wāš, Prs. dial. baš bandage vəz Sgl, vuz Ishk, Gr, vz Sk goat, Sgl is also female markhor - wok vəz-əm wend p 2 — Cf Shgh vaz, My voza vozd Zar, pillow — Cf Yd virzane və zok 1) Sgl. 1s, p 1, 2 branch. və zōk²) Sgl 1s fat, vzzuk Sk thick. — Cf Sar. divēz, Yazgh də'vūz, Wkh baj(?) < *dwaz-, cf Yd sv $lvz\bar{\imath}n$ $v \ni \check{z} \mid d\check{u}k$ Sgl. p, Ishk., $v \ni_{\gamma} \mid d\check{u}k$ Sgl is, wůždůk Sk long, Ishk (and Gr wužduk) high — Cf Wkh. vərz, Shgh $vu\check{z}\check{j}$, Psht. $\bar{u}\check{z}d < b$ ərəzantv(u)žēr Sk, vajer Gr. (early) evening — Cf Ishk wajer day before yesterday, v wəcərin — Scarcely from uz ayarcf. Yd uzīro

W wa¹), wa≀ Sk. oh. — wa xē kūč! oh,

my wife — Prs wa, dem. pron., v §§ 115, sqq.

'wū·bō Sk. thither. — A dative form Cf. wōδ.

wuc- wucud Gr. to find room. — Cf.

Mj. wuj-, Yazgh wiżwəcə'rīn Sgl p 1 yesterday, p. 2 day
before yesterday, vəcə'rīm is three
days ago, hence, wə'jēr Ishk day
before yesterday. — The correct
meaning prob. is the one given by
Sgl is, the true word for 'yesterday' being Sgl. pāruzd (and Ishk

 $kar\bar{e}r^{g}$), and for 'the day before yesterday' Sgl $v\bar{o}k\bar{o}l\bar{t}n$ If that is the case, $v\bar{o}c^{2}l^{2}n/m$ may be derived from *upa-ča $\theta ru + \bar{t}n/m$, cf. $p\bar{o}r\bar{s}\bar{o}t\bar{t}m$, and Shgh ve'der < *upa-turya V. $v(u)\bar{z}\bar{e}r$

wuč Zar up — Cf Wkh. wūč < usča wāda Sgl p 3 marriage, marriageable age — po w° hīt telf 'ba wāda rasīd' — Ar Prs

wēd Ishk willow — Cf. Yd wīya.
wēd- wētt Sk to put — Cf. Yd wulwōd, wōda(k) Sgl p 2, wədok p 3, wadak
Ishk., Sk, wāk Sk., wōda Gr (Zb)
there — ce wōd šīd he went from
there, mo wōd šīd he went there,
wōdak oyōdast, wōda (h)ast Sgl p 2,
'oyod mo 'wədok p 3, wadak xōn
tīn-ō, wo tī xōn Ishk Av avada

wu'δογδ Sgl 1s., p 1, s, °uγδ p 2, °σγδ p 3, °duγd Ishk, wo'dūγd Sk, udōγd Gr, widογd Zar daughter — māmbuċi'nā-i wdūγ Sk female cousin (my uncle's daughter) — Cf Yd. luγdo Reg wu-cf. § 92.

wu'ðil Sgl is, p 2, s, wuðiel p 3 (and wuðihēl 'kūh' for 'gūh'?), wū'del Zar goat's dung, manure, pošk, pårub, wu'dil Ishk cow-dung — pasi naurōz² w° xašān Sgl. p 2 — Cf. Yd p³škedrĭ wu'ðīt Sgl., °īd Zar span from thumb to little finger. — Cf. Yd wulēyo, "Wkh" wu'lēt

wah Sk bad smell

 $wa^{\dagger}j\bar{a}b$ Ishk, $^{\circ}ab$ Gr span from thumb to little finger — Ar-Prs

wəljēr, cf vužēr, wəcərin

wok Sgl 1s, Zb, Ishk, Gr, wôk Sgl p, wök Sk, wûk Zar one — wok kıtāv, paša wok nesı lakor the flues dıdn't leave one — Cf Yazgh wug V § 87 wo'kī Sgl p 2 'yakī' — wo wo zamīn kul·šon baxš kenen I give all of them one field each

wokiăk Sgl p. 2 a little — mič tāt xān w° kalān-ū our father's house is a little bigger, 'yaktaš kalāntar-a'

wulāī Sgl p 2. 'wulo Ishk, wulo Gr (Zb) before, in front of, formerly, ulō, wlō Sk forwards — azī w° γ̄zd Ishk I ran in front, w° žwondok-əm vəδ, psāt əm sēr kəδ formerly I was hungry, now I have become satisfied walē Sgl p 3, Ishk rafter — V wāļ². wu'lākī Sgl p 2 first (adv) — am 'āδam w° ο'γοδ this man came first — V. wulāī

wul'mēk Sgl 1s, s, °žh p., °ž "Wkh", ilmēk Gr (Zb), dulmik MFB (with > instead of 9) — *uxšmāhyaka-, cf Yd imoyo

wulyēka Sgl. p 2 alone. — az womō wullāt Sgl 1s., p 1, 3 village — Ar-Prs, cf. Khow (O'Brien) wallāt village, cultivation.

wəl'wōš Sgl p 1, 'wulvuš Gr, valvāš MFB trouser-string V wāl') and vōš, cf Yd warwalen

wāl¹) Sgl is, wāl p 1,2, wīl Zar, var MFB trousers. Cf Yd 'woro (prob an ancient pl)

 $w\bar{a}l^2$) Sgl 18, p, $w\bar{o}l$ "Wkh." roof beam — Cf Yd. $w\bar{a}r$.

wolk Sgl 1s, p 1, woo p 2, s, woo p 3, woo "Wkh", wolk Zb kidney — Cf. Yd wulya, Wkh walth

ww'|ōk Sgl 1s, p 1,3, wuluk Ishk., w°
Gr, (w)ŵ|lu/dk Sk, wuluk Zar flour
— *ārtaka-, cf Yd yāre

wρ¹löx Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, wuo p 2, wu¹lēx
"Wkh", u¹lĕx Sk, ulex Gr rıb —
V å¹lax hıll, cf Yd alīxa rıb,

NW Ir Turf. "rg side, Psht arax side, Georg alagi direction (lw)

wan, v wa

win- Sgl 1s wind 1s, p 2, wēn- s, Sk, wēnd- s, p. 1, 2, 3, Ishk., Sk, win- wint Zar, vin- vind Gr. (Zb) to see. — nə winō-š Sgl 1s he doesn't see him; windom-ön 1s. I saw them, az-əm wēnt, wēndum, amax va-tfak wēndan p 1, uēnd əm va-tfak, xōdm-əm winduk p 2, wēnem, wēndəm, xōdm um wēnt s, wēndum, azı fak uēnduk Ishk — Cf Yd. win, Shgh win- wint-

wēn Sgl, Gr, Sk., wēn Zb, Ishk, Zar, wan "Wkh" blood — wēn be zīδū blood flows, wēn zənē wash off the blood, wēn-ι šuwūι he is bleeding(?).
— Cf Yd īno

uānīc Sgl 1s, p 2 female calf, two years old, turpīk (cf Par torpī), fəryəmc, 'wanıc p.3 heifer, three years old, 'wānic Gr fem calf, wå° Sk heifer — < *yuwānīcī- — Cf E Oss wanīg, W Oss īwonug young bull < *y(u)wān.

'wanjī Sk, Gr (Zb), 'vanjī Gr. cloak, coat — Av varənā- name of a part of the dress

wont Ishk calf of the leg

wə'nīž· wə'nīšt Sgl p 2, ww'nīž· ww'nīždp. 3, s, wə'nīγ- wə'nīγd- is to go
round, walk about — wənīγ, īs
'baγard, bīā!' is, cə wōð wənīšt p 2
they returned from there, psā be
wənīžəm 'mēgardam', wunīžəm be,
ww'nīždəm p 3 — Apparently from
*wi-nai(γ)ž-. Cf Shgh. nēž-, *naž(Sk) to turn, nōž- (ABC) to wander
about??

wē'rē Sgl p 3 gums — Bad Prs. wē'rā, ef EVP. s v öraī Cf also Skr velā gums

- wöre Gr, Zar. quail Cf Yd woryo
 wur'eūn Sgl 1s., p 1 (°n 1s.?) smoke-hole.
 Cf Yd nūžen, Wkh rīcņ. V § 88
 warf Sgl, Ishk, Sk, "Wkh" v° Gr
 snow warfo dehō 1t snows, w° tē
 šuwōi Sgl p 2 the snow melts, ¡å'laxnå-i warf Sk snow of the hills. —
 Cf Yd warfo
- wərōfs. wərōft Sk to stand Cf. Wkh wurufs., Mj wurafs. See EVP. sv rıyawdəl, and Balley, Or Stud Pavry, p. 22
- wērak Sgl. p 2, we'rāk p 3 female lamb — Cf Yd. wōryo
- wo'rok Sgl 1s, Zb, wa'rōk Sgl p 2, wo' p 3, 'waruk Ishk, Gr, Zar u'ruk Sk. male lamb. — Cf Yd wərəy, "Wkh" warī.
- work Sgl 1s, work p 1, 3, s, Zb., Ishk, "Wkh", Zar, urk Sk, Gr wolf Cf Bur. (Iw) urk, Yd. wury wo'rokok Sgl. 1s demin of wo'rok.

wur'mēk Sgl 18, °īk p 1, wər'mīk p 3

poplar

wārv- Sgl. p. 3, wōrv- Zar. to boil (tr.).

— va vēk wārv. — Cf Mj wurv,

Par yarw-, etc

wa'sē Sgl. 1s, p 2, 3 wide — Cf Yd. wosa

- wösi Zar., vāse Gr cotton thread Cf. Wkh wəsai, Yd wušüles (?)
- wus- wud Sk. to carry, uss- wud Gr.,
 wūs-, wūd- Zar to take, lead away
 'wusum, wus, wudum, wuduk,
 wusuk Sk Cf Yd 1s-.
- wo'sōk Sgl 1s, p 3, wa° p 2 calf, up to one y. old, naušudagī, wa'sŏk p 1, s., uå'suk Sk, 'wa° Ishk. calf. — Cf Wkh wəšk
- wu's $\ddot{u}k$ Sgl 1s., "Wkh.", u'suk Sgl. p. 2, 3 elbow.

- wōst Sgl, wāst "Wkh" fat, tallow. Cf. Yd. wāzd, Sar. wāst.
- ¹wastuk, v. ostok
- $w\bar{o}$ \$\tilde{s}\tilde{o}\$ Sgl. p 2 w° $n\bar{\imath}\delta$ 'un $j\bar{a}$ bı\$\tilde{\varphi}\tilde{n}'. $< w\bar{o}\delta + j\bar{a}$.
- wišt Sgl, Gr. (Zb), bist Zb, Ishk, Sk. twenty — V § 24. Cf Yd wišto
- wiiš Sgl 1s, p 1, Ishk., iiš Sgl p 2, 3, uš Sk, wuš Zar., iiš Gr. straw, kāh i safēd. — Cf. Yd wuš
- wəšt Sgl 1s, p. 1, 3, s, wəxt "Wkh."

 juniper, arča *haprsı-tă (cf Yd
 yovurso) might result in *vəšt, but
 why -tă, and why Sgl. w-? Katı

 'viște may be a lw. from Ir.
- wōtuk Sgl p 2, watık Gr. feast, tūı nēr-mō wōtuk, to-day I am feastıng (?), wətukə gāxān < *wadk < *waduka-, ef Yd waly?
- watan Sgl. p 2 country dīr w° ba šīð — Ar Prs
- wu'ter Sgl p 3, °er s, 'wusir Ishk, 'u°
 Zb, u'sur Sk, Gr, wu° Zar ashes
 *āvarya-, cf. Or. avīr, Shgh vīr,
 Saka āhara V §§ 37, 91
- wēx Sgl 1s, p, Zb, Ishk., Sk, Za1. root,
 vēx Gr. twig Cf. Yd woxo
- waxs Sk 'the earth, a planet' [?]
- wöxs Sgl, vuxs Sk, voks Gr, vuks "Wkh." snake — Cf Wkh füks, Shgh. de'vūsk, Or t(u) fausk, Sar tafusk, Yazgh δρ'yōvc
- uaxt Sgl 1s, waqt Sk time mə wo-i qadim — Ar-Pis.
- waz- Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk . wāt- Sgl. p 1, 3, wat- Ishk to fall. wa'zen, az-əm wāt Sgl p. 1, watəm p. 3, azī sō wazum Ishk 'mēyaltum', watum I fell Cf Wkh waz-, Shgh. wāš- (from pret wēšt), Psht watəl

waz min Sgl 18, p 1, 3, Ishk heavy - Prs.

wu'zinjak Sgl 1s., s., $wu\ddot{z}^{\circ}$ p 3 wife, $wu\ddot{j}inj\ddot{a}k$ Gr (Zb) woman — w° zəmanok oyod mə dēr $\bar{\imath}$ Sgl p 3 his wife became pregnant — Reg $z-\check{\jmath} < \check{\jmath} - \check{\jmath}$ v § 75 Cf $\check{\jmath} on\check{\jmath}$

wuznuk Zar ınflated goat-skin, mussuck.

— Cf. Wkh yāzn, Yd. 12ē.

wuz'nel Sgl, wuz'nel Ishk., "Wkh"; uznul Gr., wuo Zar daughter-in-law. — Cf Yd. zznzo

wa'zīr Sgl. p 3 minister. — Prs wož'dān Sgl p 3 back-tooth

wu'žižir Sgl 1s, p 1, wu'žir žir s, wuzerzer "Wkh", ujirj Gr partridge, kauk — Cf Yd žoržo

wuz'dan Sgl p 1, °den p 3, wəz'den s, woy'dan ıs, wuy'den "Wkh", 'üzdən Zb., wuz'dın Ishk, 'üzdan Sk, wuzdən Zar mıllet. — < *(h)ārzana-, cf Yd yurzon

X

xé Sgl p, lshk., Gr. own — xē döst Sgl. p 1 his own hand, šuān xē xān p 2 'buran xōna-i xud', wa xë kuč oh, my wife, xē māl taxsīm kuð he divided his own goods — < hwahya? Cf § 118 But Gr xadak (I my)self xāb Sk. sleep — Prs.</p>

xūb Sgl 1s, p 2, Sk. good, well, quite.
xūb āδam-ū, čīziā-i xūb p 3 good things, xūb rōst dui k-ū it is a quite straight stick.
Prs

xēb- xēbt Sk to beat. — Cf Wkh xēb-.
xēćē Sgl p 3 inflated skin, maška. —
Prs xīkća

xə'dā Sgl. p 3, xu'dō Sk, °dā Gr God — xədā az·mō 'xudā mā astım' — Prs xoôm Sgl. 1s, p 3, xôdm p 2, s dream — mo xoôm wēnd p 3 he saw in a dream, xôdm-um wēnt s — Cf. Yd xūbun.

xu'\darn Sgl 1\sigma, $xar{v}$ \darn P 1, 2, s, $x\pi'\darn d\darn$ Zb, xo° Ishk, $x^{\darn'}(d)\darn$ Sk, $xud\darn$ Gr, $^{\circ}$ \darn Var water-mill — $x\darn d\darn$ Y\darn \text{\text{\$\pi\$}}\darn \text{Sgl} p. 2 to grind in the mill — Cf Yd $x\darn ryo$

xalfa Sk anger - Ar-Prs

xof Sgl. p 3, s to cough — xofum bušCf Yd xof.

xôf Sgl p. 1, 3, xaf Zb, xafuk Gr scum, foam. — Cf Yd. xof

xōfuk Sgl, xo'fuk Sk, xa° Gr, xuf
Zar cough — x°-o noðōk 'sılfa
gırıftast'. — V. xof-

 $x\bar{u}g$ Sgl 18, Gr, $x\bar{u}k$ Sk wild boar — Prs

xåk Sk tomb. — Prs

xāke stār Sgl 1s, xākr° p 1, 2 ashes. —
Prs

xālī Sgl p. 2 empty — Ar.-Prs

'xōlək Sgl p 1, xu'lûk Sk maternal uncle, xuluk Gr paternal uncle, — Kab, Bad. Prs xåla maternal uncle, Ar-Prs xālū

xolm Sgl. p. 1, 3 mucus from the nose
— Prs

 $xa^{1}l\bar{a}s$ Sg1 p 2 finished — $bas_{1}x^{\circ}l$ \$ $\bar{s}w\bar{s}k$ x° $s\bar{t}\bar{a}n$ the weeding was finished — Ar-Prs

xuāl Sgl 1s, s, xo° p 1, 2, xol Ishk,
 xōl Zb, Sk, Gr, xāl Gr (Zb), xoār
 MFB, xûl Zar sıx — < *xwaša-
 V. § 55

xuālədos Sgl. 1s, xuālõõs p 1, 2, °əõos s, xuālədos p 3 (šõnzdāu Zb) sixteen xām Sgl 1s, p 2, xõm Zar raw — Prs xõm Sgl 1s, p 3, xom p 1, s, Ishk, xum Gr, "Wkh", xm Sk. milk — Cf.

Prs šama milk which flows spontaneously from the udder But Sgl x-= Prs. \S - is only possible, if $\langle x \S$ -Possibly ancient lw. from Prs. xam, ef Afgh -Prs sir i-xam 'fresh milk' xalməndək Sgl p 2 tick — Cf. Kab Prs xamandūk beetle, wood-louse (Bogdanov, JASB, NS, 26, 118) xãn, xã Sgl. 18, p, xån Ishk, Gr, Sk, "Wkh", xånavār Sk. house — ma mən xān, ō tō xān Sgl p. 1, tar xāa p 2 among the houses, families, rū-i xāna, amīn xon mun-o Ishk - Prs $x\bar{a}n(a)$ xān-bərš Sgl p 2 corner of a house -Prs *xān-burj xānd-Sgl. p 2, aond-Ishk, Zar, xondxund. Sk to laugh - xandum bus 'mēxāndam', psād ba xānden p. 2 - Cf Yd xoud-. xing Sk, bluish grey - Prs anni Sk. whey xan jar Sk dagger - Prs. xənək Sgl., Zb., x(a)nok Sk cold vēk xənuk-ö p 2, 'nēr fai 'xnok Sk - Prs. xap Sk. silence - Prs. xair Gr sweat. - = *xēð? Cf Yd xī Zar sister's son — Cf M1 xurī xor Sgl. 18, p., xur Ishk, Sk., Gr xor Zb. ass - Cf Yd xoro xūr- xərið Sgl p 2, xur- p 3 to scratch oneself - xurum buš p 3, xəridəm p. 2. — Cf Prs xārīdan xarā b̄ε Sgl 1s, °āb p 2 lean — Ar-Prs xaribəz Sgl p 2, obūlza Sk. melon — Prs. xarč Sgl p 2 expenditure — xarš xaštān -- Ar -Prs xů růk Sk food - Prs

xŏr mon Sgl p 2, xūrman Sk threshingground - xo xuyen p 2 'čuvul mēkum', xôrmō xūyūk - Cf Yd xu rom xarn Sgl p 1. x3r3n p 3, xern s, kurni Gr raven, zåy - Cf Yd xun xərn- Sgl 18, p. 2, xərn- s, p. 2, s. to buy. — Cf Yd $x\bar{o}^a n$ xars, Sgl 18, x118 p 1, 8, x3rs p 3, x2rs Sk, xurs Gr, Zar bear - Prs. xv'rūs Sgl, xů° Sk, xə'rus Ishk. cock - xº bon kenor Sgl p 2 - Prs 'xreseg Sgl p 1 n of an animal, smaller than a wolf, red and blue(?), with long tail and snort — Cf Yd xu'rūso xarav Sk. mountain-brook, x° vēk ravine water, xaraw Gr gorge with a stream. - Prs xarāba a small stream xu'i ūš Sgl p. 3 itching — Cf Prs xāriš, xarž'gār Sgl p 2 custom-official - Ar -Pis. xu'sər Sgl 18, 8, xəo p 1, xu'sur Ishk, °ůr Sk father-in-law — Pre xusərbə'rē Sgl p 1 wife's brother. — Prs, of Yd xasarbaro xēštē Sgl 15, p 1, °ta p 2, s bread az xº xwāren p 2, nai xeste nai pədf p 2 - Cf. Yd. 'xisto. xaš'tīrek Sgl p. 1 arrow, 1s small bow used as a toy - Cf Yd xəsmānek + tir 8 xăš. Sgl p 2, s., Zar., . xašəd p 2, 3,

xaš. xašt Sk to draw, pull, smoke

- čilim väšen, čilim-əm väšəd Sgl

p. 1; dam fāžek xašen I yawn, xarš

kašīdan', vəza xašān they kıll(?)

goats, cə kū yūz xašəm, wubil xašān

p. 2 they spread dung, pādšā xašə8

xē tīr-i dast p 3 — Cf. Wkh xaš-,

xaštān 'ambūr

 $gu\delta \bar{o}m$

xāštan,

Yd xoš-

xē xēš be I gave it to my kinsman - Prs xušk Sgl 18, ° kāk p 3, xešk Ishk dry. — Prs (Sgl. p 3 xušk + $q\bar{a}q$). rašipā Sk a kind of porridge, atala (cf Yd. atrle) — Cf Shgh xušpa xišt Sgl p. 1 brick — Prs xoš Sgl. 1s, p 1, s, xuš Ishk, Gr, xůš Sk., xuž 'Wkh' mother-in-law -Cf Yd x^u šo, Wkh \check{a} aš xō, əš kən. Sk to wish, want — Prs xuš'dāuman Sgl. 1s wife's brother's wife, zan-ı xusurberā — Cf Wkh xušdoman, Prs xušdāman, xušto mother in law xav- xavd Sgl. p 3 to descend - ca āsmān paše xard mosquitoes descended from the sky - Cf. Yd xafs. aāuand Sgl p 2 master - Prs $xw\bar{a}r$ - x(w)ol- Sgl p 2, $x\bar{o}l$ p. 3, 1s., xor- xūl s, xar- xūl Ishk, Sk, xai- xul Zar to eat - xwārən (cf § 131) Sgl p 2, xēsta xorem s , is xwār p 2 come and eat, az əm xēsta xwol p 2, xēstē-em xōl 1s, xēsta-im $x\bar{u}l$ s, $xw\bar{o}l\bar{o}-dak$ p 2 he has eaten, xarem, xūlum Ishk, xaram, xar! xūləm, xăruk Sk — Cf Yd xoar $x\bar{a}^iy\bar{\epsilon}$ Sgl. 18, ${}^o\bar{\epsilon}$ p 2 scrotum. — Prs xūy- xũiδ Sgl p 2, 3, s to thresh xormon xuyen p 2, xuyem s. 'xirmane kunum'. - Cf. Yd. xā. xăz- xŏt Sgl. 18, p 2 3, Sk, xaz- xət Ishk, xaz- xet Gr (Zb), xut Gr

to rise - az-em xot Sgl is, xazen,

xotem, bād cə wōδ xōt a wind arose

from there, sāar ba xōtan p 2,

'xazum, a'zī cə 'mīnduk xə'tuk Ishk.

I have risen from sleep, 'xazum, xaz',

xotum, xatuk, xazuk Sk - Cf Prs

xāstan, Psht xatəl, etc

rēš Sgl p 2 kinsman, relation. — dūδum

xažok Gr sweet — Cí Wkh xūžg, Shgh. xīž, Psht xōž, etc

Y

yå Ishk. or, yō-yō Sk either-or -Prs yō. v. ō you Sgl 18, p 2 grain (coll), yalla, yau Gr cereals, provisions — Cf Yd. uōu. věča Zar nest Cf Yd věžio yūd Sgl 1s, p 1, s husband's brother's wife, zan-ı evar - Cf Mi yün yəγ Sgl p 1, yōγ Gr, yuγ Zar yoke — Cf Yd yūy yak Sgl p 2 one — In yak sal fauž oγοδ. - Prs Prob only used in special expressions $ya^{i}l\bar{e}$ Sgl p. 1. $\circ\bar{a}$ p 3 released, opened - yo-əm kul p 1, kafas ranzan yo kaδ p 3 he opened the window of the cage. - Prs $y\bar{a}l$ Sgl p 1, $v\bar{a}'r\bar{o}(k)$ -' $y\bar{a}l$ is, p. 2 mane - Prs yelyār'band Sgl. is rope fastening the yoke round the bullock's neck yūn- Sgl 18, yūl· yūrd r 2, yūn yūrd p. 3, yūn- yūrd s, yūln- yūld Ishk, yurn- yurd Zar to grind - xudarı yūnūk 18 xö dārī yūnuk, yūniš p 3 grinding - Cf Yd. yāņ V. § 138, and sv wulōk 'yūnsk Sgl p 3 pine-marten - Cf Wkh wīnek, Yd. wūn y = r Sgl is, p 3, y = r p 1, y = r p 2 stone, rock - Cf Yd yar V § 27 yur'ya Sk ambling — Wkh id, cf Turk. Prs yarya a swift horse yārč Sgl 18, p 1, ārč Zb avalanche yarx Gr animal's droppings - Cf. hiwra- thin excrements?

ya'sīr Sk prisoner — Ar-Prs
yŏ'tuk Sgl., 'yetik Sk, Gr, ya° Zar
bridge — < *ētk, v § 24 Cf Yd
yeya
yĕv- yŏvδ- Sgl. p 3, s, yiw- p 2, īv- īvd
Zar to spin. — yēven boš, yēvδəm
Sgl. p 3. — Cf Yd γīyiv'δōk Sgl. is, p 2, iv° p 1, ivduk Gr.,
kivduk (?') Sk thread — V yevy³x Sgl is., p 3, yex p 1, yəx p 2, yex
s, yax Sk., Ishk, Zar ice, frost. —
daryāo yəx-o kuōk p. 2 the river is
frozen, — Prs

"Wkh." rax, Zanganī Kurd rex id,

Sar riš excrements *irx < Av

yə'xōaı Sgl 1s, ə'xōaı p 1, 3, u'x° s., ıxwāi p. 2 əxōi "Wkh", ıxo Sk, Zar 'āxā Gr sıster — rōī-xwāī mənen-ē Sgl p 2 — Cf Yd ıxō V § 92 Cf also Shgh ka(x)wōı woman < *ka-hwahā-?

yōz Sgl 1s., yūz p 2, Zar, yås Sk, yuz Gr, yū MFB firewood. — cə kū yūz³ xašəm Sgl. p 2 — Cf Wkh γūz, Shgh žīz firewood, Psht γōza faggot, γaz, Prs gaz tamarısk, Sak ggaysa-, Oss qaz(a) reed — V Walde-Pokorny, l, 569 *ḡĕg(h) (cf. eg Norw. kage low shrub)

yōzda, v kosos

Z

za Sk — ? — In a zı za cē-wûnəm, tə zə cē-wûnē, au zə cē wûnū, məx ze cē-wûnān

zē Sgl is bowstring. — Prs

zĭ Sgl. p 3 such, like that — mənī zı Xudāi nəst, kə wo žanan 'az mā ītarī Xudå nēst, ke ūna bukušan', tə-δō

ma zī cē-va qaxtog? 'čīrā hamī kårī kardī-ast' (1) why hast thou done such a work? — Cf Wkh azī such, hazī like that V Texts, V, 78

 $zd\bar{a}r$ - $zd\bar{u}d$ - Sk to sweep. — V astar-, cf. Shgh $zcd\bar{a}r$ -, etc. V § 63

zīð zűst Sgl p. 2, 3, s to flow, run — uēn be zīðū, wēn zust p 2, vēk rīðen p 3 I let the water run, 'åwe mērēzəm' — Cf Yd zəyal.

 $z\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ SgI p 1, s raven, $z\hat{a}_{\gamma}$ (with sed beak), $z\hat{a}(\gamma)$ Sk erow, $z\bar{a}_{\gamma}\check{c}uk$ Gr chough — Cf. Yd $z\bar{a}_{\gamma}o$

 $z \partial^1 \gamma \bar{o} log \text{ Sgl p 1 humble-bce } -< *uz-gartaka-?$

 z^{ϑ} yēr Sk linen — Prs zayēr linseed $z^{u}ka^{m}$ Sk a cold ('another word exists') — Ar-Prs

zol Gr sleeve of a garment — Cf Shgh. zuž, Or zū, Sar zul, id < *zuša·, Oss. dis, dus < *dušā·, Sangisari dū'še < *daušaka, *dū°, or dušya°, Prs (BQ) jušša < *zuš(y)aka (?) Derivation from Av zuš· 'pretty, ornament' seems improbable Possibly < *duš (with z· from zasta·?), of Prs dōš, and, with reduced vowel, Lett pa duse armpit, breast of a garment But *dus-o, with vowel gradation, from *deus-/dus- would have to be an extremely ancient formation.

zzle^lžem Sgl p 1, 1s earthquake — zaminžem (q.v.) + zılzıla

 $z\bar{a}l$ Sgl. p 1, 3, $z\bar{o}l$ "Wkh" yellow — Cf Yd $z\bar{t}t$

zam'būr Sgl 1s, p 1, 3 wasp. — Prs zə'mūð Sgl 1s, p 1, 3, "Wkh", ze° s sonın-law — Cf Yd za'maı

zema'nī Sgl s, kurčūn zəmā'nī is chicken — V zəma'nōk

Sgl p. 1 floor — zamin-əm köndəm p 2, $cof\bar{u}r$ z° - $\bar{\sigma}$ p 2 I have four fields. — Prs zəma'noh Sgl 18, p, "Wkh" boy, zo'man Sk, zāman Gr (Zb) child — mon $x\bar{a}n$ kov δ zəma'nāk-o Sgl p 3, z° tawalid šid p. 3 — Cf Yd zəmon. zamın'zəm Sgl p 2 earthquake - Prs zamīnjumb V zīle'žem zemi'stān Sgl 1s, zəme° p 1, zəmi' p 2, zami'stån Ishk, ze° Sk winter. -Prs $z = n\bar{e}$ Sgl 18., p 2, 3, $e\bar{e}y$ p. 1, s, $z = n\bar{u}\delta$ p 1, s, ze'ney-. ze'nūd Ishk, z(3)nay $z^{\mathfrak{d}} n \bar{u} d$ Sk to wash. — $z \mathfrak{d}^{\dagger} n \bar{e} m$ Sgl. 1s., xē dost ze nēyen p 1, wēn zə nēl p 2; zenūδəm p. 1, ze'nayum, ze'nai, azi xe dust ze¹nūd Ishk — Cf Yd zənayzm, v zūng, zīn Sgl 18, p 1, 3, Sk. saddle — v³r ō-zīn Sgl. p 2 — Prs. zīna Ishk ladder — Prs zında Sgl p. 2 alıve — az z°-mō — Prs zındə gö'ni kən- Sk to live — Prs zin'hōr 'bō zin'hār Sk never(??) — Prs zenz-Sgl p 2, zənj- p 3, zönz- züyd Ishk, Sk, z dnz- z dy d Gr to seize, catch, lift up, take on one's back - zenzen

za'min Sgl 18, p, Ishk, Gr. field, earth,

zaza- (haz-) to get hold of (with secondary nasalisation) does not explain zūyd, etc., while Skr ud-añc'to lift, elevate' does not quite suit the meaning of the Sogd, word Cf also Saka biysamj- to grasp?
zūng Sgl, Gr, zin Ishk (?), zng Sk, zong Zar knee — Cf Yd zīk, Wkh zun, etc

Sgl p 1 — Cf Shgh zēz- zâšt, Or.

 $z\bar{o}z$ - to seize, Sogd $z\gamma t$ to hold Av

zūngviš Sgl. 18. calf of the leg — V viš zangiāk Sgl 18 wooden pegs for keeping the two strings of a pellet-bow apart zār Sgl p 2, Sk poison — Prs zor Sgl p 2 strong, powerful - az zor-mo 'ba sar-ı tu zör astım' — Prs zard Ishk, zård Sk, zord Zar yellow - Prs 'zardək Sgl. p. 2 carrot — Prs zar dolu Ishk apricot - Prs ziāt Sgl p 2 much. — Ar -Prs zot Sgl, zus Ishk, Gr, zes son, zāt Gr (Zh.) son — $z\bar{o}t$ paidā $\check{s}i\delta$, $c\bar{o}f\bar{u}r$ zöt-ö mənēn Sgl p 2 — Av zaða birth, Turf Phl zhg boy V § 37 $z \partial^l v \bar{u} k$ Sgl p. 1, 2, °uk p 3, $z e^l v \bar{u} k$ 1s, s, Zb, $z^{\mathfrak{d}|v}\overline{\varrho}k$ Ishk, ${}^{\circ}uk$ Sk. tongue, language — tī zə'vūk pə'zīnum Sgl ıs , tə 'məmbå yaž 'kūna zəvək-å Sk tell me if there is an ancient word - Cf Yd zavly Also the Yazgh, Yaghn, Sogd, Oss forms go back to *hizwāka- (> Saka *wizwāka-) *hızwā is retained in Shgh, etc (zev) and prob in Psht (žiba), while Wkh zīk goes back to *hizūka W Ir have*hizwan-, which is influenced by dantān.

zaxm Sgl. p 2, zaxm Sk wound — z° -0 š $t\bar{o}k$. — Ar.-Prs $zax^{l}mt$ Sgl p 2 wounded — az- $m\bar{o}$ z°

šīāk — Ar-Prs

Ž, Ž

ža Sgl. p 2, $j\bar{e}$ p. 3 before, in front of.

— az tū ža-mō 'pēš i tē-im', to mon ža-δō 'to pēš-i mā-st[ī]', aδa āδam tō ži-ō he is before thee, $o\gamma o\delta$ pādšā $j\bar{e}$ he came before the king, is men $j\bar{e}$ 'pēš-i mā $b\bar{e}$ '.

žň'ok Sgl 1s, p 1, yuvok "Wkh" male markhor, žuwāk Gr (Zb) deei — Cf Yd mā-žəyə?

žaduk Sk murderer - V. žan-

 ${}^{\dagger}\check{z}\bar{a}la$ Sgl 18, ${}^{\circ}{}^{\dagger}l\bar{\epsilon}$ p 3, $\check{z}\mathring{a}la$ p 1, Sk, \check{j}° Zb, Ishk hail — Prs

žan- žōð Sgl p 2, 3, jan- joð s, žanžad Sk. to kill — təfa(k) žanen, az-əm wa žōð 'ura huštam', šənāy-əm žōð I extinguished the fire, va šenāi žan! Sgl p 2, wayım Xo'dā 'zanem, va-tō Xədā im žoð p. 3 — Cf Prs zadan, etc

žān žək Sgl 1s, °žək p 1, 2, 'žānžək p. 3, 'žanjek s entrails — Possibly < *žānjek < *žarnačī, cf Psht žaņar catgut (with 1E. *gh-, but of Lith $\check{z}arn\mathring{a}$, Skr $hir\bar{a}$ with * $\widehat{g}h$)

žəšt Sgl 18, p big, large. — am ādam cə məcəf j/žəšt 18., am xān žəšt, hað xān riziāk p 1, cārvā cə vəz žəšt ō p 2, zəmanōk žəšt šíð p 3

žwondok Sgl p 2, žōn'dōk p. 1, žŭnduk Ishk, Sk, Gr. hungry — az ž°-mō p 2, wulāī ž°-m vəð p 2, az-m ž° šə'duk Sk — < *ā-j(i)nantaka-, cf Skr. a-jīvant- destitute of a livelihood žondokī Sgl p 2, žandāki Gr (Zb) hunger,

famine — yo ž° šīð p 2 — V žwondok

žie Sgl 18, p 1, 2, žie p. 3, zie Ishk, řie (ž-?) "Wkh" coal — Cf Or žėj

List of Placenames

Inji gan Sgl p 1, 3, s Lutkuh. Cf Yd —Mj Yidg —Leitner, Dardistan in 1895, map of the Chitral expedition, gives the form Hingan.

Izī vūk Sgl. p 2, 3, Īz° s. Zēbāk — Izīvū bē to Z

Baš'gal Sgl. p 2 the Bashgal valley in Nuristan

Čatrāδ Sgl p. 3, Čeltrāl p 2 Chitral — V. Šām-

Də'rā Sgl p 3, Dər'rā p 1 the Dorah Pass. Flaxma'rāq Sgl p 3, Fəlaxma'lāk s, Flakhmarikh Indian Survey, n of a village in Sanglech

Faizo'bod Sgl p. 2 Faizabad

Gögərd Dašt Sgl p 2 n of a place below Lake Dufferin

Gazke'stān Sgl p 2 "The Tamarısk Place"(?), n of a place near Lake Dufferin Kofər'stān Sgl p 2 Nurıstan, mə Kāfar en among the Kafirs (of Lutkuh)

Kō'stān Sgl p.1, Kōestān p 2 Chitral Kī'vī Sgl p 1, 3 Chitrali. — Cf Yd Kūa, v BSOS, VI, 441

Lan'dūr Sgl p 3 n of a place in Lutkuh below Shoghor

Mande¹žān Sgl p 2, s Munjan, Mande¹žī adj p 3 — Cf BSOS, VI, p 439 Pa¹rōγ Sgl p 2 Kafir — Cf Yd Pərâγο Nuristan

Pŏroγ Sgl p 2,3, Pōroγ 1s, Parch Indian
 Survey, Fareg Burhan ud-Dīn, Pōruγ
 Mj n. of a village in Sanglech

Pohūn Sgl p 2 Parun, Prasun in Nuristan.

*Skt'tūl Sgl. 18, p 3, s (p 3 also °ūδ), Skttūl p. 2, Iskttul Indian Survey, Curzon, Isketul' B u D n of a village in Sanglech — < *uska-? San'lēč Sgl p 3, °ēš p 2, °īč p 1 (Prs form?), Sang'lēž p 1 Sanglich Ind Survey, Curzon Sanglech — Can'lēš (= c-Sanlēš) p 2 from S — Not with Herzfeld, AMI, VII, p 59 < M Prs saxvališ(ā)n, saxvaličān

Šo'yot Sgl p 3, s Shoghor in Lutkuh — Cf Yd Šoyoyo 'Škåšim Zb, ¹Škåšim Ishk Ishkashim — Cf Anc Chin *Sək ka-siem (v Marqwardt, Erānshahr, p. 224), Beruni سكاينـــ

Šām Čatrād Sgl s Chitral — Cf. BSOS VI, p. 440

'Xōža 'Nīmkū Sar'vār Sgl p 1 Terich Mer in Chitral.—Cf 'Tiraj Mir or Sarowar', Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, quoted by Stein, Serindia, I, p 51.



INTRODUCTION

- Our chief source of information about Wakhi is still R. B. Shaw's valuable, but of course incomplete and now in several ways insufficient, account 1 The LSI (Vol X) adds further to our knowledge of this linguistically important dialect, besides giving a complete bibliography up to the date of the publication of the volume To this I refer once for all Recently S I. Klimchitskiy has published some Wakhi texts, together with a short vocabulary and important notes on phonology and morphology.2 A few Wakhi words are also given by Zarubin in his Munji Vocabulary,3 and some remarks of a general nature are found in my Rep NW. Ind, pp 67 sqq Still no comprehensive account of Wakhi has been published, and since Geiger's short survey 4 no attempt has been made to trace the historical development of the language. The following notes may therefore, it is hoped, in spite of the insufficiency of the new material on which they are based, be of some use for the understanding of one of the most archaic, and at the same time most peculiar, of living Ir dialects
- 2. The material utilized for the following account of Wakhi has been collected by the late Dr Skold, by Lt Colonel Lorimer, and by myself During my stay in Chitral 1929 I had occasion to interrogate

¹ On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarıkoli), JASB 1876

² Ваханские тексты, 1n Труды Таджикистанской вазы, том III, лингвистика pp 75—124, изд Академиа Наук СССР, 1936—I did not see this article till my own account of Wkh had already been written, and I have only been able to insert a few references to it

³ Cf above, p 3, note 1

⁴ Gr Ir Ph. I, 2

four inhabitants or natives of Wakhan, but each of them only for a very short time.

My informants were:

- 1. Nabī, a young man from Namadgūt in Russian territory. He N was born in Zebak, but had been brought up in Wakhan and had lived most of his life and had married there. He asserted that he had learnt Wakhi as his first language. Although his language was evidently Wkh, it was much mixed with Ishk words.
- 2 A man from Wark, on the Afghan side of the river His language was not really Wkh, but a kind of Ishk—Sgl interspersed with Wkh. words The small number of grammatical forms noted were all Ishk.—Sgl Thus a'ze 'I', tə'fak 'thee', tumux 'you', kenen 'I do'² As remarked above³ the Sgl—Ishk words given by W in the great majority of cases present the characteristic archaisms of the Sgl dialect, thus, e g ū for Ishk ī in pūš, kurčūn, δ for Ishk. d in kiskūδ, zəmūδ, etc
- 3 Alī Shāh a 30—40 years old inhabitant of Khandūt He admitted that he had lived for some time in Hunza, and, in spite of his assertion, I do not feel certain that he was really a native of Wakhan He used several Khow and other IA words, and his pronunciation of Wkh was in some respects incorrect or vacillating.

 —Regarding the sounds of Wkh he quoted a Prs. proverb: Fārsī hunar, Arab šakar, Waxī tinz-i-xar.
- 4 Shāh Nawāz Khān, a village headman, about 50 years old, Y from Yamg in Russian territory He was by far my best, and probably my only quite reliable, Wkh. informant. Unfortunately I could only work with him for a few, short sessions
- 5. Dr Skold's Wakhi material 4 consists of a list of words and a list Sk of verbs corresponding to those given by Hjuler He also gives a few

¹ Acc to Stein, Innermost Asia, II, p 871, "Namadgut, though inhabited by Wakhis . . is reckoned as belonging to Ishkashm"

² Cf Rep. N W Ind, p 68

Ishk -Sgl § 8

⁴ V. Preface

paradigms of verbs. I have not come across any information in his papers as to name(s) or home-village(s) of his informant or informants.

6 Colonel Lorimer with great kindness has permitted me to make full use of the copious vocabulary which he compiled from Wakhi settlers in Hunza in 1935. At the time when his vocabulary was placed at my disposal, I had already worked out my own, and I have only inserted a limited number of such words which appeared to be of special interest from the point of view of historical and comparative linguistics. Col Lorimer's valuable Wkh. material will, I hope, be published in full

The geography and history of Wakhan has been dealt with by several authors ¹

It has since long been recognized that the name of $Xand\bar{u}t$, the largest village in Wakhan, is represented by the Ancient Chinese form $xu\partial n - d'\hat{a} \cdot t\hat{a}$, given by Huan-Tsang It is also possible that Huan-Tsang's Hu-mu (yuo-muet) may be identical with the modern village of Yamt (<*Hamt(i)?)

The Prs. names for the valley and its language, $Wax\bar{a}n$ and $Wax\bar{\imath}$, are evidently related to the native forms Wux 'Wakhan', $X\bar{\imath}k$ 'Wakhi' (language and inhabitant) $X\bar{\imath}k$ is a curtailed form of $Wux\bar{\imath}k$, and Wux may be derived from $Wax\bar{\imath}u$, with the development of $x\bar{\imath}k$ mentioned below. This sound-change appears to be of some antiquity, since it is reflected not only in Huan-Tsang's name for the river U-hu (uo-xuo), but also in Skt $Vokk\bar{a}na$, $Bhokk\bar{a}na$, and in Mas'ūdī's $Aux\bar{a}n = Wax\bar{a}n$

¹ Cf Marquardt, Ēranšahr, passim, Olufsen, In the unknown Pamirs, Stein Innermost Asia, II, pp 863 sqq, On ancient Central Asian tracks, pp. 311 sqq {Cf now also Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, ed. Minorsky—Corr note}

² Acc to Karlgren's reconstruction

⁸ Ace to Skold Šīk is used in E Wakhan

⁴ Cf Marqwart, Eranšahr, p 244

⁵ Kṣemendra, Avadānakalpalatā (tiansl into Chinese 472 A.D.) — Vakṣu, Var.Br S and Vankṣu- M Bh. 'Oxus', ef Tib Pakṣu (Tanjur Colophon, acc to Lévi, JA. 1933, p. 27) may have been borrowed from some other Ir dialect

⁶ Marqu, Eranšahr, p 235 Cf ibid p 234 about Waxab and Waxšāb

^{28 -} Kulturforskning

4. The extent of the ancient fortifications in Wakhan, the ruins of which have been investigated by Stein,² and the description given by Huan-Tsang point to the existence of "an earlier population and resources far greater than those of to-day"

The present population of Russian Wakhan is estimated by Stein at some 3000 souls, living in about 200 households, and by Klimchitskiy at 5000 On the Afghan side of the river the population appears to be more numerous, according to Minorsky there are 3500 inhabitants, living in 64 villages and hamlets 4

Among the inhabitants of Wakhan there are some Munji and Shughni settlers who do not speak Wakhi ⁵

But on the other hand the hardy Wakhis, accustomed to living at high altitudes, have in recent times overflowed into the upper parts of nearly all the neighbouring valleys, and have established themselves above the settlements of the older inhabitants. In some cases permanent immigration has been preceded by exploitation of summer pastures and of local supplies of fire-wood.

The Wakhi settlements in the Yarkhun valley in Chitral have been described by Stein,⁶ and Colonel Schomberg ⁷ informs us that several villages in the Ishkoman valley in the Gilgit agency contain

- ¹ Lorimer, Bur. Grammar, I, Intr. pp IV and XXXIII
- ² Cf Innermost Asia, II, p 869, On Ancient Central Asian Tracks, pp 311 sqq—Stein is evidently right in rejecting Olufsen's hypothesis that these "Kafir" forts were built by raiders belonging to the Siahposh-Kafirs of Kafiristan (Olufsen, Through the unknown Pamirs, pp 176 sqq)
- ⁸ On Anc. Centr. As Tracks, p 311 In Innermost Asia, II, p. 869 another estimate is mentioned, which agrees with that of Minorsky (Enzykl d Islam, s v Wakhan), who counts 27 villages with 2000 inhabitants. Acc to Olufsen, op cit p 56, there are 172 households in Russian Wakhan, including Namadgut.
- ⁴ From Burhan-ud-Din, Badaxšan i Kattagan, p 154 Acc to Bud Din there are 27 villages in Russian Wakhan
 - ⁵ Gauthiot, MSL, XIX, p 133 f, Olufsen, op cit, p 145
 - 6 Serindia, I, p 50, cf also Rep NW Ind, p 68,
 - ⁷ From the Indus to the Oxus, pp. 81 sqq

a strong, but recently immigrated Wakhi element. The Wakhi settlements in upper Hunza, including the Shingshal valley, are mentioned by several authors, but the most detailed account of them is given by Lorimer who estimates the number of Hunza Wakh. It 2411. Stein mentions Wakhis living at Dafdar in Sarikol, and Dr. John has kindly informed me that according to information received by an from an inhabitant of Guma, on the upper reaches of the stand Darya, Wakhis had settled in the hills south of that place, out 60 years ago, and use to come down to the weekly market, speaking a language of their own to the settled in the hills are the settled in the hills south of that place.

Finally it may be mentioned that there is a village called Shund near the hot geysir in the Garm Chashma valley in Shughnan There can scarcely be any doubt that this name is identical with the Wakhi word *šundr* 'hot', but it is not certain that it indicates the presence of Wakhis, at any rate not in modern times

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of speakers of Wakhi, but we may perhaps guess that it lies somewhere about 10—15000

- 6. There is nothing in written records, oral traditions or place-names which points to an immigration of Wakhis into Wakhan in historical times. We are not able to decide how long the language has been spoken in its present home, but all circumstances seem to indicate that Wakhi, in its essentials, is derived from the dialect of the very earliest wave of Ir. settlers in these regions, and that it has developed in relative isolation for a considerable period. This does not exclude the possibility that Wakhi may once have been ousted from other
 - ¹ Eg, Stein, Sandburied Cities, p 42, Schomberg, op cit, p 215, Conway Climbing in the Karakoram, p 254.
 - ² Burushaski Gramm, Intr. pp IV, XXXIII
 - ³ Sandburied Cities, p 64, Innermost Asia.
 - ⁴ Acc to Jarring Pakhpos also are living near Guma, and besides at Kok-yar, in Karatagh, and in the neighbourhood of Karghalik The Turks believe that they speak Peisian among themselves—They do not appear to be Wakhis

valleys by later immigrants, nor that the language may have been strongly affected by the admixture of other Ir elements. The intricacies of Wakhi phonetical development can in fact only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that an assimilation of foreign elements, similar to that which we can observe to-day, has been going on for centuries

The isolated position of Wakhi among the neighbouring Ir dialects is shown by a number of phonetical, morphological, and lexicological peculiarities

Wakhi alone among the surrounding Ir dialects preserves intervocalic surd stops and—at least to some extent— \dot{s} , changes surd fricatives to stops (also in groups with r), assimilates n > r, does not change sn- into zn-, or $\dot{s}m > m$, and develops a mixed vowel from ancient \ddot{a} Note also the Saka—Wkh development of IE $\dot{k}w > \dot{s}$

In the field of morphology may be rentioned the very peculiar forms of the personal pronouns, the infinition and past participles containing an n, and the existence of three containing an n and the existence of three containing in some verbs. Note also the preservation of the ancient meaning of the root bawin with 'became'

The astonishing originality of Wakhı vocabulary will apper from the following short list of the more remarkable words not found in the neighbouring dialects ¹

Nouns avārt span, bəin knee, bīspur eagle, čərm(ū) canal, dəger nail, durukš bull, drost sleeve, dai man, duri stack, dus wasp, detk brick, kaš boy, mingas sparrow, mūr cloud, nayd night, noyordum bear, pəicōd girl, pert back, pīrz evening, regiš beard, rōyət young she-goat, ramet chewing the cud, rīp hair, rešip whip, rəwār day, rešip whip, skīd skull-cap, skōrd bridge, səpərdan) flea, sond raven, šafš hair, šung wood, sapt wolf, tap wing, vədek road, vōin light, vroks Ovis Poli, wuc arrow, wundr field, wān) belly, wuner stable, wīyīn pass, yijīn felt, yukš male ibex, yūm) flour, yīnōt dream, yāngəl finger, yīrk barley, yīsp shoulder, yīšək plough-handle, yaž twig, yīxūn bridle, zem snow, zaž thorn, žārž milk, žītr woollen thread

¹ For further details v Voc, passim

Adjectives baf good, yaf much, yeş male, ruxn white, sitrin barren, sundr hot, $s \ni \gamma d$ new, six near

Adverbs and Pronouns sak we, $s\bar{a}i\bar{s}t$ you, $v^{g}r\bar{o}k$ to-morrow, $w\bar{u}dg$ to-day

Verbs but to overthrow, car- to do, čalg- to wish, $i \ni rm$ - to enter, $dedi\check{\gamma}$ - to look at, gafs- to run, $\check{\gamma}at$ - to arrive, humu- to be, $k\check{s}uy$ -to hear, $l\bar{u}v$ - to slip, nesi- to lie down, nezd- to sit down, $p \ni d \ni me\check{s}$ - to swell, $perm \ni r$ - to wither, $p\bar{u}rind$ - to sell, putmui- to mimic, $r \ni \check{c}$ - to go, rand- to give, $rasu\delta$ - to break, $re\check{x}up$ - to sleep, $\check{s}and$ - to mix, tu- to be, $vi\delta \bar{a}w$ - to ride, $vi\delta \bar{c}$ - to become, $vi \ni zi$ - to come, $\check{x}\bar{a}n$ - to speak, $yi\delta$ - to pile up, $y\bar{u}nd$ - to carry, $y\bar{a}w$ - to eat, yaver- to select, yi- vi- to bear, vi- vi- to burst, etc, etc.

But although Wkh possesses a greater number of peculiar traits than most other Ir languages, it naturally agrees with one or other of the neighbouring dialects on special points. None of these resememblances, however, amounts to a special relationship between Wkh and some other language together with which it might be said to form a group

An ancient and important isoglott which unites Wkh with Saka is the development of IE kw into \dot{s} ($s\dot{s}$) We also find some lexical accordances between the two languages, cf Voc s vv δai and humu-But the retention of intervocalic tenues, the development of ϑr , ϑw , $-\dot{s}$ -, the forms of the personal pronouns, and several other important traits separate Wkh from Saka

The special points of resemblance between Wkh and Mj-Yd are mainly restricted to a number of words containing $l < \delta^2$ Some of these words may have penetrated into Wkh through the contact with Munji settlers in Wakhan, but in several cases the Wkh forms do not correspond to the Mj ones Thus we find Wkh malung 'middle', but Yd malane, Wkh žil 'sweat', but Yd xůl; Wkh w lând ³ 'tooth', but Mj of Wakhan låt (Gauthiot) It is

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¹ Cf eg Reichelt, Idg, Jahrbuch, I

 $^{^2}$ V \S 69 Cf. also Gauthiot, MSL, XIX, pp 133 sqq , and Rep N W Ind., p. 68

⁸ If correct

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perhaps possible that some Wkh. words with $l < \delta$ may have come from Saraghlani (or Saraghlani?), a dialect which is at present separated from Wkh. by Ishk., but which may perhaps at an earlier date have been in direct contact with it. One of the three Saraghlani words given by Zarubin is $wolk\acute{e}$ 'water', cf. Yd. wolo, Mj. $w\~ela$ 'irrigation channel', etc ²

And among the place-names from the Saraghlafii (Sarghulami) district given by Burhan-ud-din 3 we find Melengau or Melengab as the name of a village situated on the middle one of three tributaries of the Zardiv river We shall hardly be wrong if we identify meleng with Wkh malung 'middle', and au, ab with Prs $\bar{a}b$ 4

With the Shgh group Wkh shares the important suffix -ung/-enj, the development of the prefix fra- into re-, ra-, and a number of words, especially verbs. As might be expected, the accordances are most numerous between Wkh and Sarikoli, the only member of the Shgh group which is not separated from Wkh by other, intervening, communities

In some cases the Sar. word has apparently been borrowed from Wkh, ancient or modern Thus, Sar $s\bar{\imath}c$ (but Shgh $se\jmath$) 'needle' < Wkh sic, Sar $\check{x}\imath\vartheta p$ 'wolf' < Wkh $\dot{s}apt$ (< * $\dot{s}api\vartheta$, in its turn from Khow. * $\dot{s}ap\imath\vartheta$ > $\dot{s}ap\bar{\imath}r$), Sar kauk 'spring' < Wkh $k\imath k$ (< * $k\bar{\imath}k$), Sar $ga\check{x}nez$ 'earring' (but γaul 'ear') < Wkh $g\imath\check{s}niz$ ($\gamma\imath\check{s}$ 'ear'), Sar $w\imath\check{s}k$ 'calf' < Wkh. $wu\check{s}k$ (< *wasyaka), Sar $\imath mbat$ - 'to overthrow' < Wkh bit- (< * $\vartheta mbut$ -), etc

Other Sar words which have probably been borrowed from or influenced by Wkh are reb 'hair on the body', yax 'ibex', indīj

¹ Cf above p 24, note 6

² The meaning given by Zar may be due to some misunderstanding

⁸ Kattagan 1 Badaxšan, p 120

^{&#}x27;other Saraghl place-names containing l are $Lu\ddot{c}iv$ and Garaliv (عراليو) with may be the ancient obliple ending. Unfortunately our knowledge of Saraghl is restricted to these place-names and the three words given by Zarubin Repeated endeavours to get hold of some information about the dialect through local officials have so far not proved successful, in spite of the kind interest shown by the Ministery of Education in Kabul and the Afghan Legation in London

'slave', zamån (but Shgh żəni), etc) 'snow', pamez- 'to dress' (but Shgh peniz.) Wkh rīp, yukš, andag, zem, pamec Some of the Sar words given by Shaw as corresponding to Wkh ones, may of course turn up in some other dialect of the Shgh group. But it is safe to say that the contact between Wkh and Sar has been specially close The profound differences which in many respects exist between Wkh and the Shgh, group show, however, that the actual accordances are due more to secondary contact than to ancient On the whole Wkh has been the influencing part, relationship no doubt because Wakhis have settled in Sarikol from early times, but at least a few Wkh words appears to be of Sar origin żerax 'knot' < Sar žerež (with ž-< g-, characteristic of the Shgh group), $sud\gamma$ 'smooth', rauj 'flame' Cf also § 30

Also Ishk —Sgl presents a few instances of special lexical correspondence with Wkh Cf eg Wkh ktīċ 'hut' Ishk. krīċ, 1 Wkh pozov 'heart' Sgl. ovzu, etc; Wkh. gož- 'to do' Sgl. gax-, Wkh niwiz- 'to go out' · Sgl nez-, Wkh pov- 'to drink' Sgl pov-, Wkh škāv- 'to catch a cold'. Ishk škōv-, Wkh. wūz∂m- 'to bring' Sgl. žžīm, and other words 2 Note also that Wkh žəmak 'moon' agrees with Ishk -Sgl and Mj -Yd, but not with the Shgh group Some of the correspondences mentioned above are no doubt due to recent borrowing, but others, such as $p^2zov/\bar{o}vzu$, indicate a certain amount of contact at an early date

There are, however, no phonetical changes common to Wkh. and Sgl —Ishk, and only a small number of special morphological correspondences 5 The loss of the ancient distinction of gender 6 is common to Wkh and Sgl-Ishk., but it is also found in the neighbang IA language Khowar

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but v Sgl —Ishk § 22

Especially in Skold's material (from W Wakhan?)

³ Cf also Voc s v xədorg, fril-, kalıbən

⁴ Note, eg, Wkh srtəx, but Sgl wuznul < *snušā

⁵ Cf the abs gen in -an, and the 2 pl in -2v common to Sgl—Ishk. and Western Wkh

⁶ V § 105.

On the whole it seems probable that Sgl-Ishk belongs to a later wave of Ir. settlers than Wkh, and that this latter language must be considered to form a separate branch of the north-eastern Ir dialects

12. The numerous Prs lws in Wkh need not detain us here Their exact provenience, phonetical appearance, relative date, etc, present many interesting problems, which must, however, be discussed in connection with a general survey of the expansion of Persian in Tajikistan, Badakhshan and the Pamirs The extreme variety of pronunciation of many Prs lws points to repeated borrowing of the same words from various sources—One example of double borrowing may be mentioned here According to Skold there exists, besides the naturalized loan-word xalg 'person, man, people (люди) (coll)', also a more recent and 'literary' word xalq 'nation (народ)'

Also the provenience of the Turkish lws, many of which are common to Wkh and Sar, must be left to be studied by the specialist

I have not been able to detect any words of undoubtedly Burushaski origin in Wkh, and the derivation of $t\bar{o}r$ 'walnut' from Tibetan is highly improbable

13. There are a few IA lws in Wkh., the exact source of which cannot be determined. Thus 'čkər 'partrıdge', mutr 'augury', and possibly kend 'woman' Also a number of words containing a cerebral sound are probably of IA origin. Examples are cat 'horned cattle' (Sar. čāt), čut car- 'to tear asunder', kat- 'to throw', kət 'short'; qat 'mucus'; kutōl 'dagger'; mōn(?) 'male oorial', mānd- 'to rub' (v s v mānd-); pat 'penis', pet 'round', ptok 'bread', pəndək 'unripe apricots', etc, regarding which of Voc s vv.—There is also a curious, but possibly accidental, similarity between Wkh mingas, etc. and the Kati-Kafiri words for 'sparrow'

¹ V Shaw's Voc passim

² As for Wkh Iws in Bur, cf my Preface to Lorimer, The Burushaski Language, I, p XXIV—Add Bur diščik (Conway dishtik) 'brick', v § 73

⁸ Cf Voc. s.v

I have found no certain Shina lws in Wkh.,¹ but from Khowar are borrowed turt 'ford' (Khow thūrt), šiven 'rope' (Khow simēni), šapt 'wolf', Sar žiθρ (<*šapiδ > Khow šapīr). The number of lws from Khowar is, however, very restricted ² It is therefore most surprising that Wkh should have borrowed the personal pronoun 1 pl spā 'us' from Khow ispa (<*spā), and probably also sav, sab 'you' from Khow bisa (<*bsā <*vasā) Also the occurrence of a cerebral č is probably due to Khow influence ³

What renders the borrowing of Khow. pronouns into Wkh all the more astonishing is the fact that Wkh, which at any rate in our days is the language of the poorer and politically and culturally less important community, has supplied Khow with a considerable number of lws. It is not always easy to distribute words of Wkh origin from those belonging to other Ir. dialects, but in some cases there can be no doubt about Wkh, being the immediate source of the Khow words.

Examples are Khow u'xār 'ladder', andāw 'fever', do'yūr 'fingernail', $rv'gi\check{s}$ 'beard', $\check{s}a\eta'g\bar{u}r$ 'entrails', $\check{s}onthu$ 'raven', $x\bar{e}l$ 'sweat'; $p\bar{a}z$ 'breast', zox, yox 'thorn' Wkh. $wax\bar{u}r$, andav, $d\bar{s}g\bar{s}r$, $regi\check{s}$, $\check{s}\partial\eta'g\bar{s}r$, $\check{s}ond$, $\check{x}il$, $p\bar{u}z$, $za\check{x}$. Also Khow $ispr\bar{u}sk$ 'rafter', $ispr\bar{u}$ 'flower', $bizb\bar{u}r$ 'eagle, kite', axam- 'to descend', $ki\check{s}ipi$ 'magple', $no\check{s}k$ 'beak', yoz 'ice' may be of Wkh origin, cf. sipask, spray, bispur, $\check{x}\bar{u}m$; $kir\check{z}ep\check{e}$, $nu\check{e}k$, yaz It is also tempting to derive Khow. sipuik, Wershikwar sapa 'hoof', Burush sap 'horseshoe' from a lost Wkh form with p < f. On the other hand, Khow. sar- 'to appear' and vor 'smell' (Wkh. sudiy-, $v\bar{u}l$) may have come from any E.Ir dialect, and it is impossible to tell whether Khow $\check{s}\bar{u}$ 'black' has been borrowed from an older form of Wkh $\check{s}\bar{u}u$, or of Ishk. $\check{s}\bar{u}i$ There are also several words common to Khow. and Wkh the origin of which is altogether unknown

 $^{^{1}}$ As for Shma listik 'brick' < 4 Wkh, cf § 73

² The Khow words given by Wkh x, excepted They are, at the utmost, used within a very limited circle of Wakhi speakers

 $^{^{8}}$ Note, on the other hand, the striking difference in the treatment of ancient $\widehat{k}\!\!\!/\!\!\!/ v>$ Wkh §, but Khow. §p

⁴ Cf BSOS VIII, pp 261 sqq.

The crossborrowing between Wkh and Khow can hardly have been conditioned merely by scanty communication across the Hindu Kush passes, or by the slight and apparently quite recent contact between the two languages in the Yarkhun valley.

We know that the Khos won Chitral proper from the Kalashas at a comparatively recent date, and that their original home—original of course to be taken in a relative sense—was Upper Chitral, the valleys round Mastuj ¹ Also the Kho settlements east of the Shandur Pass, in the Ghizr district of Gilgit agency, may be fairly ancient. We are therefore entitled to assume as a possibility that the Khos in early times may also have crossed the easy saddle of the Baroghil Pass and occupied at least some part of Wakhan, mingling with the Ir Wakhis coming from the West

But this remains a matter of speculation as long as no further documents are found which may throw light upon the early history of the Khos

16. It is very probable that dialectical differences should exist within the extensive territory in which Wkh is spoken But so far very little is known about such variations Differences of pronunciation, especially of vow are frequent in the available sources, but it is not possible to assign to different parts of Wakhan. It may, however, be mentioned that we in accordance with Klimchitskiy's, Hjuler's, and Skold's informants, forms in -vv for the 2 pl of verbs, while Wkh x, Shaw, Stein and LSI had it The western neighbours of Wkh, Sgl.—Ishk and Mj.—Yd, have -of, but Sar. and Shgh have -id. It may therefore be surmised that an isoglott separating WWkh from EWkh. passes between the villages of Yamg and Khandut. Similarly Skold and Klimchitskiy give kart 'did' (cf Wkh y kerk 'has done') while Shaw has the more regular form cart. Also the variation between intervocalic -δ and -d- may be of a local nature, -d- possibly belonging to W. Wakhan, where influence from Ishk might be suspected As for the forms of the infinitive v § 157 sq

^t As for the ancient name of this region of BSOS VI, p 441

For reasons explained above 1 only one of my Wkh informants, viz Wkh y, can be relied upon with regard to the phonetical structure of the language In the main Y's sounds agree with those given by Shaw, Skold, Lorimer and Klimchitskiy. Discrepancies, especially in the pronunciation of vowels, may either be due to dialectical and individual variation or to inexact notation

Consonants.

18

	Labiul	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive .	p, b	t, d	$t, \langle \dot{q} \rangle^2$ \dot{c}		k, g	q	
Affricate		$[c, (j)]^3$	č	č, j	1	1	
Fricative	f, v	(3),3 8			$\dot{x}, \dot{\gamma}$	x, γ	h
Sibilant		s, z	š, ž	š, ž			
Nasal	m	n	$[n]^4$		[n] 4		
Lateral	ļ	1	⟨l⟩²	. 0	101	0.11	
Rolled	1	r					
Semivowels	w			y		14	

^{1 § 2}

² Not used by Y

^a Very rare

⁴ Not a separate phoneme

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- 19 The consonant system of Wkh appears, as far as it is possible to judge from our present limited knowledge of the language, to be based upon the following correlations
 - 1 Voiced b, d, (d), g (j), \dot{j} , v, $\dot{\delta}$, $\dot{\gamma}$, γ , z, \dot{z} , \dot{z} Surd p, t, t, k, c, \dot{c} , f, ϑ , \dot{x} , x, s, \dot{s} , \dot{s}

There are no voiced counterparts of q and \check{c} , and \check{d} and \jmath are rare and uncertain phonemes. The great number of correlations of voice in Wkh are worth noticing

- 2 Plosive. p, b, t, d, k, g, qFricative $f, v, \vartheta, \delta, \check{x}, \check{\gamma}, x$.
- 3. Plosive t, d, t, d.
 Sibilant $s, z, \tilde{s}, \tilde{z}$

But s and z have no plosive counterparts.

4. Plosive t, d, tAffricative c, (j), \check{c}

A very fragmentary group of correlations

5. Plosive p/b, t/d, t/(d), k/g. Nasal m, n, (n) [n]

Nasar m, n, (n) [η] 6 Labral p, b, m, f, v

Labial p, b, m, f, vDental $t, d, n, \vartheta, \delta, c, (j), s, z$

Retroflex t, d, n, \check{c} , \check{s} , \check{z} Palatal \check{c} , $\check{\jmath}$, \check{s} , \check{z}

Velar $k, g, [\mathfrak{F}], \check{x}, \check{\gamma}$ Uvular q, x, γ

Aspiration of surd stops has been noted occasionally in Y k'ōm 'palate' (Bell khom), p'ūn 'palm' (Bell. phūn), p'ūz 'breast'. Cf X k'ʌla 'ram', p'ūd X 'foot', p'ānzs N 'five', k'ənd Sk 'wife' But it seems to be much less marked than in most other Pamir dialects.

Labrals f and v are labro-dentals. w is a bilabial semi-vowel ² Dentals The voiced affricate j is very rare. I heard it only in $j\partial i$ 'bowstring' (L $j/z\bar{e}i$) Kl gives also $j\bar{u}\dot{\gamma}$ 'yak' and $j\partial ql\bar{u}i$ 'small'

¹ Either y, or (if x, y are taken to be velar sounds) q is without a counterpart

² Acc to Kl a bilabial, voiced "sonant".

(Sh and Sk. also j-). But Wkh y., etc. $z \partial ka da$ The numeral 'five' has j acc to Sk., Kl. and Z., but Sh and my informants had $p \bar{a} n z$, etc.

It is doubtful whether postvocalic d and δ are separate phonemes. Wkh. y. always has -d.

 ϑ is of rare occurrence, especially in non-initial position (cf Voc s vv. $pi\vartheta u$ L, $yo\vartheta$ L) Phonetically r is alveolar

Palatals y is phonetically nearly a fricative

Cerebrals Y had initial t only in $t\bar{o}r$ 'walnut' and no examples of d This may, however, be due to accident Kl. gives d also in initial position n is a variant of n before d (pandak Sk 'bud', $m\bar{a}nd$ - 'to rub', but Y $m\bar{a}nd$ -) Independent n was heard only in the pronunciation of W, and not with certainty true Wkh

Kl gives two words with j I never heard this sound.—To my ear š, ž and č were retroflex sounds, and Kl also at first took them to be "cerebrals". Afterwards he had the pronunciation of the Wkh sounds analysed by Ščerba, who comes to the conclusion that š is dorsal and resembles Engl. sh, while š is coronal and akin to Russ š. I have not the slightest doubt that this analysis is phonetically more correct than Kl's and my own (which was based on a very short observation) But I am still inclined to believe that the š series phonologically belongs to the retroflex sounds, and the š series to the palatals Kl. groups the s sounds with the dentals as 'dorsals', and the š sounds together with r as 'coronals'

A 'cerebral' l is used in a few words by X, and a similar sound is probably denoted by L's \hat{l}

Velars. I have followed KI in grouping \check{x} , $\check{\gamma}$ with the velars, and x, γ with the uvular q, although I am not certain about the correctness of this classification. Acc. to KI x is akin to Russ x, and identical with Shgh. etc. \check{x} (= \check{s}). To my ear Shgh \check{s} has much more of the \check{s} character than Wkh. \check{x} , which appeared to me to be a slightly advanced x (something between German ach and ach, but more allied to the former sound)

n is not a separate phoneme, but a variant of n before g^{1}

Glottal. In spite of Kl.'s remarks to the contrary I believe that h, at any rate in the speech of Y, must be considered as a phoneme, but one with a very limited range of employment and very unstable. It is chiefly found in initial position

21. Final voiced consonants usually become unvoiced. Thus, e.g. rīcņ, ruxņ, rūyņ, yāzņ, yīrzņ, tuxm, pətr, səkr, skōrd, nayḍ, fasl, qətb Wakhi possesses a geminated tt (common in preterital forms), and to some extent kk, perhaps also other geminates

Groups of Consonants

Groups of consonants are numerous and frequent. Especially to be noticed are groups of surd stops (in final position). kt, tk, pk, pt, etc. Acc to Shaw we also find δt and δt^2 . A number of other groups occur in the preterital stems and in the 3 sg present. In these forms we also find a number of morphonological changes.

Through loss of short, unstressed syllables more complicated groups occasionally arise, as in $k\dot{s}tg\bar{a}$ Sk, $\check{c}k\partial r$, $tp\bar{a}r$, dgor (v. s.v. $d\partial g\varepsilon$)

Characteristic of Wkh are the numerous groups of stops followed by i A short svarabhakti-vowel is sometimes developed, e.g. in $b^{3}r\bar{\imath}n$, $b^{3}r\imath t$, $d^{3}rev$, $p^{3}r\bar{\imath}\dot{c}$, etc.

tun X is a variant of *tung

² Cf also $spe\delta k$, $spe\theta k$ L. sole.

Other frequently occurring groups of consonants are. $k\S$, gn, γn , vd, vn, xt, xs, fs, ft, fst, γz , $\gamma/\tilde{\gamma}d$, rk, rt, rx, $r\check{c}$ (and all other possible combinations of r + cons.), nd, $n\check{\jmath}$, ng, nd, nz, mb, md, lg, ld, st, sk, sp, st, st, sp, zd, zg, zn, $\dot{z}d$, zg, xt, xn, etc.

Vowels.

I feel very diffident about the possibility of establishing the vowel system of Wkh from the material which I was able to collect, and it certainly varies a good deal in the different parts of Wakhan, but according to the pronunciation of Y, my most reliable informant, I believe it to be of the following type

	Snort	rowe	ıs	
ı		ı		r
	e	д	0	
		a		

C7. . . 4 17. 7 ..

Long Vowels

ī	i	ũ		ī	ī	\bar{u}
ã	5	ā	or, possibly	$ar{e}$		ō
e	и	U	\bar{a}		å	

- 24 is a wide sound (1): burst, dirs, dirgâ.
 - e is frequently open (ε) d³gεr, kεnd, xεšt But I have noted e in čey, dendik, d³rev-, dežd, yer, kerk, t³rešp, xeč, yez, zem, etc
 - a was frequently heard as a · samīn, sanduq, čažm But sak, šač à in s²pərdanj is prob. a palatalized variety.
 - u is wide (v): $n \ni m v k$, p v r s. Before y we find u in $k \not\ni u y$ -
 - is found both in stressed and unstressed position čkər, δəγd, gəzd, kət, kəž, məst, nə'δavn-, pətr, rəγd, rəxnīg, səkr, s'təx, wəsk, wəšk, xərz, żə'mak, etc The delimination between e and ə is often uncertain—p²zov probably stands for *p²zəv

- i appears in kirpa, kiš, δis , δitr , gizdim, kik, wiš It appears to be distinguished from \bar{i} .
- o in gož-, kipok, k²roš, noyordum, šolx, xošk, etc is an open sound (2)
- $\bar{\imath}$ appears e.g. in $\delta \bar{\imath} t$, $sk\bar{\imath} \delta$, $\vartheta \bar{\imath} n$, $r \partial x n \bar{\imath} g$ (but Kl. $r \partial x n \bar{\imath} g$).
- ē is narrow, and appears only in lw s bēd, bēwa, bēx, mēšak, pēča, etc
- is high, mixed, unrounded Cf γ̃iu, kind, kīrən, mədir, sīr, sīī, s̃īr. The vowels in c³būr, hūb, pū̄¹d (L puεδ), š̄īu, žūī probably represent attempts to denote varieties of this sound, conditioned by the nature of the neighbouring consonants
- \bar{a} is a palatal a Examples are, e.g. $y\bar{a}r$, $n\bar{a}n$, $y\bar{a}ng\partial l$
- ū occurs, eg in xūn, pūn (pū'n), p'ūz, yūnd-
- \bar{o} is a low and wide \bar{o} , sometimes of a rather advanced type Examples are the Prs lws $amb\bar{o}\gamma$, $d\imath or$, $d\bar{o}r\gamma \bar{o}$, $k\bar{o}m$, $k\bar{o}na$, $r\bar{o}n$, $r\bar{o}st$, but cf. also $p\bar{o}\iota$ -, $šk\bar{o}rd$, $šk\bar{o}r\check{c}$, $t\bar{o}r$, $t\bar{o}rt$, $v\bar{o}\check{c}$, $v^2r\bar{o}k$, $x\bar{o}d\bar{o}rg$, $y\bar{\imath}n\bar{o}t$, $y\bar{o}\check{c}$ In a number of Prs lws I have noted \mathring{a} (or \mathring{a} 1) $\mathring{a}t^2\dot{s}ak$, $d\mathring{a}m\mathring{a}d$, $k\imath t\mathring{a}b$, $t^2r\mathring{a}z\bar{u}$, $x\mathring{a}l\bar{\imath}$, etc, but I am inclined to believe that this notation represents merely a variant of \bar{o} (\bar{o}), and not a separate phoneme. Cf also $w\hat{a}ft$ (pret of $\bar{u}f$ -) = $w\bar{o}ft$ Z
- The phonological distinction between short and long vowels appear to be clearer than in Yd.—Mj, but dubious cases no doubt occur. The overshort vowels are probably either unstressed variants of short ones, or svarabhakti vowels, e.g. in d^urukš, d^araxt, d^zrev-(drov-Sh, Kl), k^urust, δòg^zn, etc

I have noted the following dipthongs $\bar{a}\iota$ $(p\bar{a}\iota)$, $\bar{u}\iota$ $(k\bar{u}\iota$, $tr\bar{u}\iota)$, $\hat{o}\iota$ $(\hat{j}\hat{o}\iota d)$, $\hat{\iota}u$ $(n\bar{\iota}u$, $\bar{\iota}u$), $\bar{\iota}u$ $(\hat{y}\bar{\iota}u)$, au (yau, v^*rau).

¹ Swedish long ā

Written u, \bar{u} in some of his notes, but corrected into i, \bar{i}

Sk gives vocalic r, n and m (e.g. rndag, rndag), but these may be variants of ∂r , $r\partial$, etc.

The vowel system of the village of Langar Kishm¹ as described by KI agrees fairly well with that of Yamg We find the short vowels i, u (corresp. to i), u, ϑ , o (o), a (a), and the long vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} , \bar{e} , \bar{u} , \bar{a} , \bar{o} (\bar{o}) KI's \bar{o} (\bar{o}) corresponds to my ε , at any rate in some cases ($k\bar{o}nd = k\varepsilon nd$) The total number of his vowel phonemes amounts to 13, the same as I believe to have found in Yamg

¹ The above section was written when I got his paper.

HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Consonants.

Initial Surd Stops and Affricates

Initial surd stops remain Thus, e.g. $k\bar{u}i$ 'who', $kib\bar{i}t$ 'pigeon kerk 'hen'; tu 'thou', $t^{ai}p\bar{a}r$ 'axe', $ta\check{x}$ 'thirsty', pac- 'to cook $p\bar{u}^id$ 'foot', patr 'son', $p\bar{u}nz$ 'five', $p'\bar{u}(a)n$ 'palm of the hand Regarding aspiration of above, § 19

We find a change into a fricative in $\vartheta \bar{a}w$ - 'to burn', $\vartheta \bar{i}n$ 'hot', $x\bar{u}f$ 'foam'; $x\bar{a}\bar{s}$ - 'to pull' Cf. Sar ϑau - 'to burn', and v above Yd—Mj § 63, Sgl.—Ishk § 18.¹ If we are right in assuming that ancient ϑ -, x- resulted in Wkh t-, k- the change into fricatives in these words must be late, or they must be lws The change of *kaf-> xaf-, and of *taf-t> ' ϑaf -t might be due to a kind of assumilation

Sonorization has taken place in gahal Sh 'lazy, slow' (< Prs kahal) and possibly in $g\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to rise', if < * $k\bar{e}z$ - < *xaiz- * The derivation of $go\check{x}$ - 'to do' < * $kar\dot{s}$ - is very uncertain, and with $g\bar{a}\check{c}$ - 'to totter' of not only Sar. $wa-ko\check{c}$ -, but also Yd. $\gamma o\dot{z}\bar{\imath}$ -

 $\check{c}\check{u}\check{\gamma}$ Sk 'multicoloured' is borr from Shgh., and $\check{c}ir$ - Sh 'to sing' from Sar (cf Av kar- 'to praise', etc.) It is tempting to derive $\check{c}\check{\jmath}\check{x}$ - 'to kill' from $ku\check{s}$ -, but the \check{c} - may have come from a present base $\check{c}au\check{s}$ -

28 The fate of ancient & is uncertain, just as in Yd -- Mj and & Sgl -- Ishk

- ¹ V Gr Ir Ph I, 2, p 299 Cf also Saka khara- 'foam' < *xapa- < kafa-, etc.
- ² But a derivation < *an-gez- < *an $k\bar{e}z <$ *han raiz is more probable

In most genuine Wkh words we find c-, e g, c ents b u r 'four', c u m 'how much', c ents - waxt 'when', c ents r r 'to do', etc.\(^1\) But we also find \check{c} -, not only in lws and words of unknown origin, but also in $\check{c} ents r r r$ 'canal', $\check{c} ents \check{r} r r$ 'eye',\(^2\) $\check{c} i p$ - 'to pick'\(^3\) As for $\check{c} u v$ - 'to go', v § 55

Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates

29. Intervocalic tenues are, as a rule, retained 4 Thus -k· in maks -ifly', tuk- 'to go', tik 'willow', and, with ancient suffix -ka-, δεtk 'brick', morth 'dead', purk 'mouse', yupk 'water', wunuk 'willow', wūrk 'lamb', kik 'spring', δοck 'inflated skin', yašk 'tear', zīk 'tongue', žīk 'Wakhi', and past ptc, such as žinak, žanetk 'said' —yūk L. 'dewlap' is of unknown derivation

Intervocalic -t- remains in ət Kl 'and', bət Kl 'again', δīt 'smoke'; kıbıt 'pigeon', kūt 'roof', kat-δīt 'soot', ktīč 'hut', pıtvår 'small mussuck', rɔ̄yət, rɔ̄yd L. 'young she-goat', sắt 'baking-pan', wīst 'twenty'; (y)ət, -et 'this', in pres 3 sg, eg, pīt 'he drinks', and in preterites and past participles such as vīt 'was', xatum 'I said', δetem 'I gave', pītk 'drunk', 'rotten', pəčētk 'cooked', setk 'satisfied', etc—gōt- 'to obtain', ȳat- 'to arrive', sɔt L 'early supper'; dētər Sk. 'memory' are of uncertain origin.

The unstressed preposition pu < pati has lost its t, but it is

¹ V Voc

 $^{^2}$ With assimilation < 4cažm 9 Cf. Kl \check{c} 9 $\check{z}m$ with complete assimilation.

 $^{^3}$ Probably with retention of & before \imath –V $~\S$ 33 Cf. the parallel development in Saka –But cf Yd —Mj $~\S$ 44

⁴ V Geiger, § 20 -Cf. the retention of -s- as an unvoiced sound

⁵ Cf. §§ 76, 80 But of parg 'ashes', perg 'necklace'

retained in piitmui- 'to mimic', putruz- 'to lean against'; putžårm 'wooden trough', and, with sonorization, in pazdan- 'to recognize' (Sar padzån-) It is doubtful whether pūmez- 'to dress', peterô- 'to spring from one root' and other verbs with pax- contain ancient pati-. More probably they have ancient api- or upa- Also the derivation of pətun L. 'repair' from *pati-dāna- is uncertain.— It is not likely that paè- in pačrax- 'to arrest' goes back to pati- $\{+*ra\check{x}-\langle rax\check{s}-\hat{s}'\}$.\frac{1}{2}

The geminated postvocalic tt which occurs in some preterital bases must be due to internal development in Wkh.²

Verbs in original $\check{a}u$ or $\check{a}\iota$ have past stems in d, e.g., staud (stau-) 'praised', $sod \check{o}\iota d$ ($sod \check{u}\iota$ -) 'appeared', $w\check{o}zd\check{o}\iota d$ ($w\check{\iota}zdey$) 'washed', $por\check{o}d$ (puru-) 'washed', $varo\iota d$ 'howled'. This is possibly due to influence from Sar., where we find staud, parod, varaud, etc

xədōrg (xedōrg) 'watermill' is prob. borrowed from Ishk (we should expect genuine Wkh *xətirk), suδγ 'smooth' from Sar

Also madāž 'mare' must be a lw And pārd 'last year' < *parut-may have been influenced by *sard 'year', cf pardīngī 'of last year' sērdīngī (*sardīngī) 'of this year'.

The only instance of ancient -p- given by Geiger is nəpūs 'grand-child' Other examples are yupk 'water', təpūr 'axe', režup- 'to sleep', rīp 'hair on the body', repk 'refuse, sweepings', dərepè 'broom', nipes, etc. (v s v nəbəs) 'comb', rešip 'whip', šipk 'twig, rod', škop 'castrated', šūp 'night's halt', èip- 'to pick', šūp- 'to suck', žip- 'to spin', and, with early contraction, špūn 'shepherd' Of unknown derivation are èup 'small hawk', drup- 'to scratch'; kipok 'cuckoo' (?), lup 'big', rapic- 'to lose the way', sup 'spider', šilūp- 'to splash' Regarding ripk 'neck-rope' cf sub -b- ruparu Sh 'opposite' is adapted from the Prs form.

We find -b- in kibīt 'pigeon' (influenced by the lw. kabūt 'blue'),

¹ Cf corm- 'to enter' < *ati-ram-?? But v Voc s v tanê- 'to fold sheep'.

² After a stressed vowel?

 $k \partial b \bar{u} n$ 'wooden bowl, dish' (of uncertain derivation), and in $n \partial b \partial s$ 'comb' (v. above).

tovn, tov cerāk 'to twist' is borr from Prs. $t\bar{a}v$, cf Sar tuv čeigao Also $pavv\bar{e}y$ - 'to attain' may originally belong to another dialect andav 'fever' might be derived from 'han-tafya-, and $\vartheta\bar{a}w$ - 'to burn' has prob got its -w- from the past * $\vartheta awd < *tafta$ - The causative suffix -v- is probably of foreign origin. The derivation of $t\bar{e}tv\bar{a}rt$ 'the year before last' < *transparanteta, and of $v^{\bar{e}}r\bar{o}k$ 'to-morrow' from *aparaka- is quite uncertain

The retention of intervocalic stops appears to have been the rule in the dialect which forms the main base of Wkh. Cf the similar archaism in the much less isolated W Bal But in this respect, as well as in many others, the development of Wkh may have been troubled by the admixture of foreign elements in various ways, and it is very difficult, perhaps even on principle impossible, to decide which irregularities are due to the internal development of the language

The treatment of intervocalic -č- is parallel, on the one hand to -c that of intervocalic surd stops, on the other to that of initial č-.

The regular outcome of ancient -č- is -c-. Thus. sic 'needle'; rīcn 'smokehole', dic- 'to milk', ce 'from', pac- 'to cook', pec 'face', dock 'skin bag' (< *dačaka-?). The derivation of rapic- 'to loose one's way', rucopc 'cousin', and iska-cusk 'top of the shoulder' is unknown

Before an \tilde{i} ancient \hat{c} retained its palatal character. Thus: $\hat{s}a\hat{c}$ 'dog' ($\langle f. \ ^{t}swa-\hat{c}i\rangle$), $io\hat{c}$ 'paternal aunt', $d^{3}rep\hat{c}$ 'broom', $\Delta nt\partial r\hat{c}$ 'sister-in-law', $wol\hat{c}$ 'quail'; $yo\hat{c}$ 'duck', $wi\hat{c}$ 'moth', $d\bar{a}r\hat{c}$ 'thread', $va\hat{s}\hat{c}$ 'milkpail', which all may go back to feminines in $-\hat{c}i$ -. In secondary contact with n we find $-nj^{2}$ Thus, the adj. suffix -enj, -unj (f of -ung), stranj 'durree, rug', $s^{2}p\partial rdanj$ 'flea';

¹ Cf § 136

² Cf § 79

 $\S\bar{u}nj$ 'corner'; $w\bar{a}nj$ ' 'belly' Cf. $y\bar{u}mj$ 'flour'.— $\imath\bar{\imath}\check{c}$ 'outside' may go back to *abyačī rečey 'fasting' is a lw,¹ and the derivation of nuċk 'beak', $\S a\grave{c}uv$ - 'to strain', and $tir\bar{\imath}\check{c}$ L 'dark' is uncertain. Regarding $z\bar{a}r)/\dot{z}$ 'milk' v. Voc sv $r\grave{a}uj$ Sh 'flame' is probably borr from Sar²

As to the development of -čy- cf. § 55

Voiced Stops and Affricates

34 Wkh belongs to the group of N.E.Ir dialects in which voiced stops were changed into fricatives at an early date

Ancient g-, from which γ -, has become slightly palatalized ($\check{\gamma}$ -), at g any rate in the dialect of my best informant Y, and in the varieties of Wkh described by Sk, L, Z and Kl The same sound is probably denoted by Shaw's italic g —X pronounced g-, e.g. in $g\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}$ 'cow'; $gv'd\imath m$ 'wheat', etc. One would certainly be inclined to regard this merely as an incorrect rendering of Wkh. $\check{\gamma}$ -, if it were not for the past ptc. kv'tetk (= $\check{\gamma}atetk$ Sh) 'arrived' (<*ktetk < *g(a)tetk) of gat- ($\check{\gamma}at$ - Sh, etc) 'to arrive' Cf also $k\check{\gamma}uy$ - 'to hear', if < * $gu\check{\gamma}aya$ - It is therefore possible that a certain section of Wakhis really pronounce g-

Examples of $\check{\gamma}$ are $\check{\gamma}\bar{\imath}u$ 'cow', $\check{\gamma}\imath d\bar{\imath}m$ 'wheat', $\check{\gamma}\bar{a}r$ 'stone', $\check{\gamma}\bar{\imath}\check{s}$ 'ear', etc.—Cf the parallel palatalization of \check{x} γ - appears chiefly in lws, but, according to Y, W, Sk, Sh, etc, also in a number of genuine Wkh. words Thus, e.g. $\gamma a\check{s}$ Y, W, $\gamma \bar{a}\check{s}$ Sk, Sh 'mouth'. It is impossible to decide whether this notation does represent the real pronunciation of Wkh

gi 'excrement' is an early lw.

¹ Cf above, § 29

² This would also account for the diphthong. But Sh gives Sar. sàuz

³ Also in some of the words given by W.

^{&#}x27;Note the further palatalization in $\check{z}ip$ - 'to spin' (if not early lw. from Sar, ef. $\check{z}er\bar{a}x$ 'knot'), and $y\bar{i}p$ L 'fat' (= Khow γip)

⁵ Which I have transcribed with $\tilde{\gamma}$

35 In intervocalic position we find γ, γ in δῖγ Y, δῖγ Sk 'butter--g-milk', τ∂γῖš Sk, τεγιš Sh, regιš Y 'beard' (Khow. rɪgιš, borr from Wkh), rəgūm Sk, rayūm Sh 'heifer', spιογ Sk 'flower', rōγət, rōγət 'young she goat' (if < *fra-gatā), yūγənε γər L 'anvıl' (*ā-gana-?) The derivation of žirov-· žirogn Sh (ἐərογn Kl) 'to be stuck' and of prigīn Sh 'horse-clothing' (Sar parwein) is unknown. tǔγ 'shegoat' may be a lw

36 Examples of δ - < d- are. $\delta \partial \gamma d$ 'daughter', $\delta i t r$ 'sickle', $\delta \bar{\imath} t$ d'smoke', $\delta i c$ - 'to milk', $\delta \bar{\imath} \gamma$ 'buttermilk', $\delta \bar{\imath} r$ 'distant', $\delta \epsilon t k$ 'brick', $\delta \bar{\imath} z$ 'wall'

A number of words with d- probably go back to ancient forms in *han-d-, e.g. diš- 'to know', durz- 'to seize', possibly also dārċ 'thread' deðiž- 'to look' is due to dissimilation.¹ dast 'hand' is borr. from Prs, and dūr 'belly' may, in spite of its vowel, be an ancient lw from lshk dūr All sources agree in having d- in dendik 'tooth'. In this word the initial may have been influenced either by Prs. or by Ishk—X has δīγ, δūr, but degd, ditur, dic-, etc This may, however, be due merely to his imperfect knowledge of Wkh² lēw 'demon' belongs to a dialect of the Yd—Mj type, cf also W lând 'tooth', lâst 'hand', and məlung 'middle', žūl 'perspiration', vūl 'smell', wulun- 'to shake apricots' (*wi-dunau-?).⁴ Note the rendering of Wkh δ- by Shina l in listik 'brick', v Voc s v. δεtk Burushaski has, however, dīščīk

For ancient d- Sh, Z, Kl, L, W and Be. have the expected d-sound d-, while Y, X., Sk., St and Hj in most cases have d-. Cf the Voc s vv $m\bar{a}d$ 'waist', $p\bar{u}'d$ 'foot', $m\bar{a}d\bar{r}$ 'noon', $s\bar{k}\bar{u}d$ 'cap', $v\bar{u}d$ 'canal', $s\bar{d}d\bar{u}i$ - 'to appear', $v\bar{u}dg$ 'to-day', $v\bar{d}de$ 'path' the lws $m\bar{d}d\bar{x}$ 'mare', $k\bar{s}dd$ 'wide', $x\bar{s}d\bar{o}rg$ 'watermill', and also $s\bar{u}d$ 'six'

37

¹ Cf Yd -- MJ § 52

² Cf § 2

³ If true Wkh words Hayward's 'las' '10', 'shal' '6' are prob misheard for δas , $\check{s}a\delta$.

⁴ Cf § 9.

⁵ Written (d)z by Be

Note, however, Y $po\delta n$ 'saddle', $n \partial \delta avn$ - 'to embrace', $p \partial v g$ - 'to take fire', 'St $ma\delta \ddot{u}r$, $wa\delta uk$, and Sk. $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}d\imath$ 'theft' but $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}\delta$ 'thief'. This variation must be due to difference of dialect '2

Other examples of $-\delta$ - are Sh ško δ - 'to break', $ro\delta$ - 'to flee', $nu\delta n$ 'to sit' (v. Voc s v nezd-), $zube\delta$ - 'to burst', $vr\delta\bar{a}w$ - 'to ride', L $na\delta un$ 'quiver'; $wa\delta$ 'handle', $spe\delta k$ 'sole'; $p\bar{a}\delta$ 'ligature', and, with unknown etymology, $s\bar{i}\delta$ 'uphill', $pe\delta e s\bar{s}n$ 'breast work', side 'riped crops' Note Kl. side 'velt' with side from Prs. As to side 'side' v. above.

Y rostov- 'to break' = Sh rasediv- does not prove any great age for the no doubt secondary transition of $-\delta$ - > -d-, since a similar form is also given by Kl (rostv-), who always has $-\delta$ - in modern postvocalic position

If $\dot{s}apt$ 'wolf' is borr from early Khow, it goes back to $\dot{s}ap\vartheta$ $< \dot{s}ap(\imath)\delta$, cf Sar. $\dot{x}i\vartheta p^3$

38 Initial b- results in v-, e g in vānd- 'to bind', vīr 'load'; vīt b- 'was', vərz 'long'. X hesitated between vīt and bīt 'was', and gave bidek 'road' corresponding to Y vədek. Cf his pronunciation of γ- and δ-.

All sources have furz 'birch', with unexplained f- for v- Cf also Voc s v. fuks 'snake': Ishk vuks.

39. Intervocalic -b- results in -v- pōv- 'to drink' (pres. 3 sg pīt), -bð'viy- 'to steal'; d'rev- 'to sew'; səmvər 'yoke' (*samı-bara-); nuv'to soak' Also viðāw- 'to ride', viş iv- 'to sweep' (*abı-xs waıb- ?), vizam'to rub', and vīč 'outside' probably contain ancient *abı-. With
yūv Sk. 'cornbin' cf Ishk yōv, and with pəziv 'heart' Sgl. ōvzui
Be gawust 'fist' may stand for *yaiust, if connected with Skr
gabhasti-.

X has, as might be expected, -b- in pob- 'to drink', sab, sav 'you', and $dr_{I}p$ - (for $dr_{I}b$ -?) 'to sew'

¹ Ancient prefixed forms

² Cf § 16.

⁸ V Voc. s.v., and cf § 14

40 The only certain instance of j̄- is Y jəi, L j/zēi 'bowstring'; cf. Kl. jēl 'string of an instrument' juy 'yak' and jək/qlai 'small' (v s v zəkalaı) are not true Wkh words—But cf. či- < *či (§ 33) Intervocalic -j̄- is perhaps found in wuzem- 'to bring', if < *ā-jamaya- sprēž- L 'to blossom' < *sprāj(a)ya- The derivation of L yōž- 'to bear' and wižīk 'ibex' is unknown.</p>

Cerebrals

41. St gives t in $h\bar{a}t$ 'eight', but all other sources have the regular t ($< \tilde{s}t$) I have noted dental and cerebral t in Y $b^{u_t} rt/t$ 'elbow', cf St $b^{a_t} rut$, but Sk $b^{a_t} rt$, Sh boret.

All other words with t are of IA, or unknown, origin Thus ∂t Sk. 'open', band X 'walking stick', $\check{c}at$ 'horned cattle', $\check{c}ut$ Sk 'asunder', dotki X 'calf, 1 y. old'(?), kat- 'to place, throw', $k\partial t$ 'short', $kut\bar{o}l$ W 'dagger', pat 'penis', pet 'round'; $pt\bar{o}k$ Sk. 'bread'. The only word with t- is $t\bar{o}r$ 'walnut'.

We find $n\dot{q}$ in $m\bar{a}n\dot{q}$ (but Y $m\bar{a}nd$ -) 'to rub', $p \ni nd \ni k$ Sk 'unripe apricot', n only in W $m \ni n\bar{u}$ 'apple' and $m\bar{o}n$ 'urial', which are certainly no true Wkh. forms; and l in X $kel\bar{i}$ 'yoke peg' which is a Khow. word

Surd Fricatives

42 We find ancient fricatives retained in $x\bar{u}r$ 'ass', $x\bar{u}n$ 'house', $f\bar{\imath}ak$ 'shoulder-blade', $x\bar{\imath}am$ 'to descend', $y\bar{\imath}x$ 'ice', $\bar{\imath}f$ - 'to weave', parwuf- 'to plait', xuf 'foam' The initial fricatives in $x\bar{\imath}a\bar{\jmath}s$ - 'to pull', xuf 'foam', $\vartheta\bar{\imath}uv$ - 'to burn', $\vartheta\bar{\imath}n$ 'hot', and the ϑ in $yo\vartheta$ 'nest' ($< *\bar{\imath}a$ -ha\delta a-\delta) are of secondary origin. Cf. also $x\bar{\imath}e\bar{\imath}s$ 'bread', $sk_{\bar{\jmath}}s$ 'to trip'; $p\bar{\imath}\vartheta u$, $p\vartheta\bar{\imath}s$ 'mosquito', and $y\bar{\imath}x\bar{\imath}un$ 'bridle', the derivation of which is uncertain.

In a number of cases we find, however, Wkh stops corresponding to fricatives of other Ir languages ¹ Thus $k\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh'; $g\bar{\imath}z$ -

¹ Cf ϑr , xr > tr, kr

'to rise' ($< *an-k\bar{e}z- < *han-xaız$), kik 'spring' ($< *x\bar{a}k\bar{a}$, cf Orm $x\bar{a}k\bar{o}$, etc '), $k\bar{o}b\bar{u}n$ 'wooden bowl' (if $< *k^{o}mb\bar{u}n < 'xumb\bar{a}na$), $k\bar{a}s-$ 'to thresh' (if < *xaul + sa-), $r\bar{u}k$ 'forehead, brow' (cf. Prs. rux), $p\bar{e}i$ 'paddle, shovel', $r\Delta met$ 'chewing the cud' (if $< *rauma\partial a-$), tap 'wing' (cf. Rosh $t\bar{e}f$), $y\bar{i}n\bar{o}t$ 'dream' (*hufna $\partial\bar{a}$?), and, possibly, $d\partial ger$, $d\check{\gamma}or$ (Cap hindiger) 'finger-nail' (if $< *ng\bar{o}r < *n(a)k\bar{o}r$, cf. Sar $na\check{s}aur < *nax\bar{o}r$). Cf. also Khow. supuk, Werchikwar sapa 'hoof', Bur. sap 'horseshoe', prob from Wkh 'sap(ak), and possibly Khow auzetu 'heifer', which might be borrowed from a Wkh. form derived from * $abi-za\partial y\bar{a}$ and corresponding to Yd $p\partial ze\check{x}i$.

Wkh $p\bar{u}z$ 'breast' corresponds to Mj $f\bar{u}z$, and Wkh kap 'hump' to Av kaofa, etc But we find p also in Khow $p\bar{u}z$, Sar puz (both of which words may however be lw.s from Wkh.), and in Sar. kiep, Orosh $k\bar{u}p$, etc

It seems probable that ancient initial and intervocalic fricatives were changed into stops in Wkh, just as was the case with fricatives followed by r. Words containing fricatives may be borrowed (e g $x\bar{u}n$, $f_i\bar{u}k$), or due to mixture of dialect

In the name of the village X and ut (Huan-Tsang $Xu\partial n \cdot d^{i}\hat{a} \cdot t\hat{a}$) x may go back to hw.

In $y\bar{o}\check{c}$ 'duck' ($<*\hat{a}\vartheta\iota\check{c}\bar{\iota}^{\varrho}$) ϑ has possibly been dropped before \check{c}

Sibilants.

- Initial and intervocalic s remains in Wkh Thus sit 'hare', sic s 'needle', sktd 'skull-cap', sokr 'red', etc, nesi- 'to lie down'; nus- 'to lose', pos 'fat sheep', das 'ten', etc
- Also z remains unchanged · zīk 'tongue', zem 'snow', zart 'yellow', z etc, wuz 'I', wāz- 'to fall', mīzg 'urine', yez 'yesterday'; vizam- 'to rub to powder'

¹ Sar kauk < Wkh *kŏk

² Cf. also the parallel development in W Bal, Par and some dialects of Kurd.

- 45 There is no certain instance of ancient \hat{s} in Wkh But it is \hat{s} possible that $\hat{s}\bar{a}p$ 'to suck', $\hat{s}\bar{i}r$ 'dung', and perhaps a few other
 words may contain Ir. * \hat{s} <* $\hat{k}\hat{s}$ -
- The treatment of intervocalic -s- is varied, and it is difficult to -s- determine the genuine Wkh. development of this sound. One fact appears, however, to be evident: Wkh did not change -s- into '-z- as do most of the neighbouing Pamir dialects, Saka, Psht, Orm, Par., etc

mai 'sheep, female urial' probably belongs to a dialect of the Yd—Mj type (cf Mj miyo 'sheep'). kal(rbon) 'armpit' appears to be of Ishk. origin, although this dialect has now adopted the Prs form $ka\dot{s}(vi\dot{s})^2$ Cf. also $fr\bar{\imath}l$ - 'to crumbe'. Ishk $vr\bar{e}l$ - 'to break'

There remain to be explained $\frac{\partial a\delta}{\partial t}$ 'six', and $\frac{\partial ak}{\partial t}$ 'to boil',

¹ As to Yd -MJ, cf § 75.

² Cf Sar bijel < *upakaša-, Sogd 'pkšy 'side, flank'

 $^{^3}$ Possibly with dissimilation of sibilants from *\$\delta z\$ (ef Oss. \$axsaz\$), with unexplained z

if correct and connected with Av yaēš- Regarding zamak 'moon', cf 60

As to ž in groups of consonants of § 74

Nasals

47 Initial m- and n- remain. mād 'waist', maks 'fly', mərt 'dead', m-, n- etc, nāu 'nine', nə 'not', nayd 'night', etc

Intervocalic m and n remain, e.g in $\check{\gamma}id\bar{\imath}m$ 'wheat', $s \ni mv \ni r$ 'yoke', -m, n zem 'snow', $y \ni m$ 'this', $b\bar{u}n$ - 'to winnow', $\bar{k}\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to draw a sword', $p\bar{u}n$ 'palm of the hand'

ž

In secondary contact with $g \ll k$ m and n are assimilated into -y Thus: nong 'name', ying 'raw' (but yūmj 'flour' $\ll *\bar{u}ma\bar{c}i$ -), δung 'springe' (but Sar. δomj), m^2lung 'middle' (if $\ll *madama$ -); $\delta \partial ng$ 'seed', $-ung \ll -*\bar{a}naka$ (f -enj)

mingas 'sparrow' is dissimilated into wingās Sh, ingas X Cf ši'ven 'rope' < Khow. šimeni A very special case is d entrightarrow ger 'nail' (Capus hindiger), if < * $n(d)g\bar{o}r$ < * $n(a)k\bar{o}r$.\(^1\)

Liquids

48. Initial r occurs in $r\bar{\imath}cn$ 'smoke-hole'; $r\bar{\imath}\nu n$ 'ghee', etc.; intervocalic r- in νar 'stone', mar- 'to die', etc

Ancient l is retained in $y\bar{a}ng\partial l$ 'finger'; $l\bar{u}v$ - 'to slip' (<*sleib-), l while $lu\bar{x}$ - 'to lick' is probably a lw The etymologies of lup 'big'; $nam\bar{u}l$ - 'to hem'; parkol- 'to excavate', $\tilde{s}u\bar{l}ap$ - 'to splash', wulun- 'to shake apricots', etc are unknown, or uncertain

We find l < r in wolč 'quail'; plongost 'finger-ring', kutōl W 'dagger'. l interchanges with r in wēra Y $v\bar{e}la$ X 'gums', mingōr Y $ming\bar{o}l$ X 'beak', xariyōn X xilian Sh 'nephew', palč Y, X, Sh, Sk. parc Be 'leaf' There is apparently a tendency in Wkh. to change r into l before \tilde{c} , and perhaps before tk (restitution of r in perfect stems?). We find r retained in $p \ni r \bar{c}\bar{o}d$ 'maid' But this 'Cf §§ 42.77.

word has ancient simple r, while l in palt, walt, walth go back to, or form part of, ancient groups of consonants. Of the change of r > l before certain consonants in Saka. Note the insertion of l in solx 'branch' (< Prs sax?)

Glottal

49 Initial h- is lost in work 'dry', $y\bar{v}r$ 'sun' (Av $h\bar{u}r$ -), $y\bar{v}n\bar{o}t$ 'dream' h(* $hufna\vartheta\bar{u}$ - 2), yoyut Be 'groin' (< Av. haxti-), andag 'slave', ce'from' The prefix ham- has in many cases been reduced to m-, n-, which is assimilated to a following consonant 2

In view of the general disappearance of h- in all neighbouring languages it seems probable that $h\bar{u}b$ 'seven' and $h\bar{u}t$ 'eight' have got their h from Prs But why humi- 'to be'?

Intervocalic -h- is lost in $si\bar{i}$ 'hare', $\check{x}\bar{u}i$ 'sister', nezd- nein--h-(neng) 'to sit', and possibly in $i\bar{o}in$ 'light', if $< *b\bar{u}han\bar{i}$ Cf *-hyin δai 'man, lad', $k\bar{u}i$ 'who', miy 'month' As to $wu'\check{x}\bar{s}n$ 'blood',
cf § 62.

Semivorvels.

Initial w- remains Thus: $w\hat{a}d$ 'watercourse'; $w \triangle llk$ 'kidney', $w = w \bar{u}n$ - 'to see', $w \bar{u}r$ 'rain', $w \bar{u}n$ ' belly', w u n u k 'willow', $w \bar{u}rk$ 'lamb', $w u \hat{u} \bar{u}y$ - 'to untie', etc — w- is lost through assimilation in $\bar{u}f$ - Y (analogically $\hat{u}ft$ -) 'to weave', but w o f- Z, w u f- Sh; $u \in X$, N 'blood': $w u \times x \in X$. Note $x \in X$ 'Wakhi' $x \in X$ 'w(u) s $x \in X$ 'w(

There is a number of words of unknown origin having initial w-, eg, $wu^i ner$ 'stable', $w\bar{i}nek$ 'marmot'; $wv\bar{c}$ 'arrow' ($< u\bar{s}\bar{c} < u\bar{s}\bar{u}\bar{c}\bar{s}$), $wu\bar{s}egg$ 'entire (bull)', $wu\bar{z}ik$ 'ibex'

In $\gamma \partial \dot{y}$, $\dot{\gamma} \partial \dot{s}$ 'male' (Prs. $gu\dot{s}n < var\partial \dot{s}na$ -) and $\dot{\gamma}er$ 'wool' (if connected with Av $var\partial n\bar{a}$ -) w- has become γ - These words may originally belong to some other dialect, cf Par. $w > \gamma$ - and Saka $w \cdot > gu$ -(before labials)

¹ Cf. walth 'kidney', § 80

² Cf § 76 sq

Intervocalic -w- remains in yāw- 'to eat', čāw- 'to go', drāw- 'to -wreap', viðāw- 'to ride', rāwez- 'to fly', yawer- 'to select', wasēr- 'to
become cold', wazem- 'to squeeze out', wūndr 'field' (the three last
words with awa-) In modern final position āw often results in a
diphthong. ȳu (Z ȳuw, Sk yīv) 'cow', nīu 'millrace', nāu 'nine',
yau 'that', tau 'thee', žāu 'grain', šəu, šēw 'horn', v'rau 'eyebrow'.
Cf īu, īw 'one'

Between Wkh i and a following consonant w is elided Thus $y\bar{\imath}t$ 'he eats', $d\imath\bar{\imath}t$ 'he reaps', $\check{e}\check{\imath}t$ 'he goes' The development probably was $awa > au > \bar{\imath}^{-1}$ But cf. also $p\bar{\imath}t$ 'he drinks' $(p\bar{o}v)$, $\vartheta\bar{\imath}t$ 'it burns' $(\vartheta\bar{a}w)$, with secondary w)

52 Initial y- is retained in yāw- 'to eat', yūm 'twin', yax 'twig'; y-yašk 'trained, taught', and possibly in yīrk 'barley', yūnd- 'to take away', yaz 'ice' Regarding antərè sister-in-law, v. Voc s v.

 $z\bar{a}u$ 'grain, provisions' is of foreign origin (cf Khow $z\bar{o}$). $z\bar{o}d$ -Sh. 'to sow' (Sar $y\bar{e}d$ -) is probably identical with $z\bar{e}d$ - Sh 'to strew, sprinkle' (Sar $\gamma i\bar{e}d$ -). The derivation of this verb is uncertain

53. Intervocalic -y- appears in putmuy- 'to command', zwāy- 'to roll -yup', sədūy- 'to appear', ȳīy- 'coire', rami- Sh 'to command', wušūy'to untie' Cf also trū 'three', pāt 'curds', wīyīn 'pass' (*wv(y)ayana-?) -y- was elided in mədīr 'noon' < madya-ayara-; 'pezin,
pīzən 'udder' prob. < *payah-zana-, tī 'thy' < *taya? As for pēt
'paddle', sətret 'female' v Voc s.vv

Note deδιγ- 'to look after' Av diδay-

Prothetic w- and y-

Whh. has a tendency to develop prothetic semivowels before ancient initial vowels, in accordance with all neighbouring Ir. dialects

Thus, before original u, we find a prothetic w- in $w \ni sk$ 'dry', $w \bar{u} \check{c}$ 'high' In w u z 'I' unstressed a was changed to u at an early 'Cf au > i, § 99

date, and in wvrzg 'right' r became w. But note $w\bar{u}zem$ - 'to bring' ($< *\bar{a}$ -jamaya-?), $w\bar{u}dg$, $\bar{u}dg$, etc 'to-day' (< *adyaka??).

Prothetic y- is much more frequent, and numerous examples will be found in the Voc Cf, e.g., $y\bar{a}ng\partial l$ 'finger', yupk 'water', $yuk\check{s}$ 'male ibex' (with development of y- before the change of the vowel into u), yurm 'forearm', $ya\dot{s}$ 'horse', $y\bar{i}\dot{s}n$ 'iron', $y_l\check{x}$ 'ice', etc, and even the Prs lw' $yaf^{\dagger}ta$ 'week' In $y\bar{i}r$ 'sun' $< h\bar{u}r$ -, and $y\bar{i}n\bar{o}t$ 'sleep' $< *\bar{u}n - < hufn$ - the vowel must have moved towards $^{\dagger}u$, \bar{i} before the prothetic y- was added

No prothetic semivowel appears before the unstressed initial vowels in and av 'fever', and ag 'slave' The absence of y- in $\bar{\imath}u$ 'one' (besides $y\bar{\imath}w$) is probably also due to lack of stress In $h\bar{\imath}u$ 'seven', hat 'eight' the Prs h (v § 49) has prevented the development of a prothetic y or w.

Groups of Consonants.

First Component an Affricate

55 Ancient čy (< ċιy, ċay) apparently results in č (or č²) Cf. X, Kl. ċy čāw- 'to go' Sk čāv-, Sh čau-, Y, Kl rəč-, X reč- 'to go' Sk rəč-, Sh raċ-, Sk. wərəč-, Sh wareč- 'to remain', Y, X pə/ιċetk, Sh po četk 'cooked' (from pačaya-, cf. Sh poč-, but cf L pεš- 'to ripen' < pašya- < *paċya-)¹ Cf regarding sy, § 72

First Component a Voiced Stop (or Fricative)

As to the derivation of δργd 'daughter' from 'duxtā or duydā, gd cf. Yd.—Mj § 87

The derivation of $\check{z}\bar{a}i\check{z}$, etc 'milk' $< *g\check{z}ara-\check{c}i$ is probable, but $g\check{z}$ not certain. On the other hand we find $\check{s}uw$ - 'to gnaw' (cf. Ishk. $\check{s}\bar{a}w$ -) corresponding to Prs. $\check{j}\bar{a}u\bar{i}dan$, etc. ($< *g\check{z}-?$)

¹ V § 46

xuyun Sh 'husband's sister' (Yd xuyēyeno), piðing, piðn- 'flamed up' probably contain $n < \gamma n$. $r\bar{u}\gamma n$, $r\bar{u}\gamma n$ 'ghee, grease' is a lw., or has in any case got its vowel from Prs or Ishk No reliance can be placed upon the retention of γ in the place-name Šiyinōn 'Shughnan' As to $\check{x}k < \gamma n + k$, cf § 61, and as to γn in past stems v. § 152

The only certain instance of qr is $y^2r\bar{u}nq$ 'heavy'

gr

Ir d (δ) is assimilated to a following n in ne-in- 'sat down' (nezd-); rənn-, ron- 'fled' (rəd-), rasen- 'broke' (rase δ -, v. rəstəv-), zubon- 'burst' (zube δ -, v. s v zubut-).

57. Ancient dr- is preserved, or, more probably, δr has been differentiated dr into dr. Thus $d^{3}rev$ - 'to sew', drup- 'to scratch', $dr\bar{a}w$ - 'to reap', etc

It is possible that -dr- was transposed into rd in $w\bar{v}rd\bar{v}na$ L. 'clear sky', cf Skr $v\bar{v}dhra$ -, etc. Cf. also vardenz- 'to press down' $<*abi\cdot dran$)-?

Ir dw, through δv , became b. Thus $b\bar{u}i$ 'two', bət 'again', dw $b\bar{a}r$ 'door', $b\bar{u}n$ - 'to winnow', $b\bar{a}\rangle$ 'thick'; $b\ni i\bar{n}$ 'knee'(?) In postvocalic position v: savand- 'to throw away' (< *haća-dwan-?), and -v pers suff. 2 pl. < *-dwam, *-dwai

As to $\cdot dy$ in $m\bar{a}d/\delta$ 'waist', etc, cf § 37.

dy

58. Ir bd is possibly represented by vd in d²rεvd 'sewed', naδevd bd 'affected' (v Voc s vv. d²rev-, naδavn-) The derivation of vadek 'path' is uncertain

Ir bz has become unvoiced (through analogy with other verbs) bz in $na\delta evs$ -, $na\delta efs$ - 'to affect', etc V. Voc s v. $na\delta avn$ -, which furnishes an instance of ancient bn

Initial br results in $v(\partial)r$ - $v\partial rau$ 'eyebrow', $var\bar{u}n$ - 'to shear', br vare's- 'to fry', v^2rit 'brother' In postvocalic position we find metathesis in $s\bar{e}rv$ Sh 'hole' Scarcely $m\bar{u}r$ 'cloud' <*amawr<* *ham-abra-.

¹ After the sonorization of -9w-, cf. § 65

First Component a Surd Fricative.

59. In spite of its preservation of intervocalic surd stops and of \dot{s} , Wkh. follows the other Pamir languages in the voicening of the groups ft and xt.

Thus $\gamma d < xt$ $na\gamma d$, $n\bar{a}\gamma d$ 'night', $v\bar{a}\gamma d$ 'night-mare', $t\epsilon\gamma d$ xt 'shrap', $ta\gamma d$, etc 'went', $r\partial\gamma d$ 'went, moved' $(r\partial\epsilon)$, "yoghut" Be. $(*yo\gamma^{\partial}d^{\partial})$ 'groin'. Note also the lw $eo\gamma d$ Sh. 'when' < ' $c\partial$ -waxt The etymology of $\S\partial\gamma d$ 'new' is unknown

Secondary formations are the past stems. točt Sh 'went', pacd-, pošt- 'cooked'; čukt- 'beat' (čuk-)

Wkh. vd < ft (bd?) appears in a number of past stems. Thus. ft čavd 'picked' ($\tilde{c}vp$ -); pacvd- 'cooked' (paciv-), and other causatives' Secondary preterites are, e.g., $\hat{u}ft$ 'wove' ($\bar{u}f$ -), $ro\check{x}opt$ 'slept' ($re\check{x}up$ -), ϑit 'burnt' ($\vartheta \bar{a}w$ -)

 $h\bar{u}b$ 'seven' is irregular. A metathesis of *avd into *adv > $(h)\bar{u}b$ is unlikely

60 Ir $x\check{s}$ occurs in $\check{s}\bar{u}p$ 'night's halt', $\check{s}\check{a}y$ - 'to kill', and possibly in $x\grave{s}$ $\check{s}af\check{s}$, $\check{s}\bar{a}f\check{s}$ 'hair'. $\check{s}\bar{a}d$ 'six', $\check{s}ipk$ 'rod' probably go back to forms in $x\check{s}w$ -. Cf also $\check{s}ui$ 'moraine' (Skr ksaya- 'decay'?).

 $k \tilde{s} u y$, $k \tilde{s} \tilde{o} n$. 'to hear' can have nothing to do with Av. $x \tilde{s} n \tilde{a}$, as suggested Air.Wb. s v. It is possibly derived $\langle *g(u) \tilde{s} a y a \rangle$.

Intervocalic $x\check{s}(w)$ - appears as \check{s} or \check{x} in $y \land \check{s}k$ L. 'taught', $y \check{e}\check{x}k$ Sh 'learning' ($< y u x\check{s}aka$ -), $y a\check{x}$ 'twig' (* $y a x\check{s}a$ -?), $W u\check{x}$ 'Wakhan' ($< *w a x\check{s}u$ -), $y \circ \check{s}t$ L. 'agreement' (< Av $\bar{a}x\check{s}tr$ -), $v \circ \check{s}v$ - 'to sweep' (*abi- $x\check{s}w aib$ -?), $r \circ \check{s}\check{v}p$ L 'whip' ($< f r a - x\check{s}w a v p a$ -?).

rakš 'grey, brown' is probably adapted from Prs raxš.—vrokš Sh. 'male Ovis Poli' is of unknown origin, drukš 'bull' may go back to *drušk < *druždk < *druždka. (v. Voc s v.). yukš 'male ibex' may have been influenced by the ending of these two names of male, horned animals, and go back through *yuks to * $yusk < *\bar{a}suka$. A derivation of bakš 'husband's brother' < *ham-baxša-ka-, or *ham-paxšaka- is very uncertain yakš- 'to boil' can hardly be derived from Av. $ya\bar{e}$ š-

¹ Cf. § 149.

^{30 -} Kulturforskning

Ir x š n was apparently simplified into xn after the change of x š n original xn into γn , if ruxn, etc., 'white' and $r \ni xn \bar{\imath} g$, $r \ni \tilde{x} n \bar{\imath} \gamma$ 'fire' are not early lws.

The only instance of xs is $\check{so}xs$ - 'to pass' (lw.?) But cf Voc s v xs $p\bar{\imath}cev$ -

61 Ir xm is sonorized into γm as in other Pamir dialects: $ta\gamma m$, xm $ta\dot{\gamma}m$ 'grain' tuxm is a lw

Similarly $xn > \gamma n$ (gn) in the following past stems: pamegn-Sh. xn 'dressed' $(p\bar{u}mec)$, rapagn-Sh 'lost the way' (rapic), waregn-Sh, wərə γn -Sk. 'remained' $(v\partial r\partial \tilde{c})$, $\delta og \partial n$, $\delta oy n$ 'milked' $(\delta \tilde{i}c)$. Possibly also var δeyn -Sh 'pressed down' $(var\delta enz)$ and $\check{x}ogn$ -Sh. 'filled into' $(\check{x}onz)$.

In secondary contact with k we find $\check{x}k$ ($< \gamma(n)k$) in vare $\check{x}k$, pama $\check{x}k$, etc.

62 Ir xr is changed into kr in səkr 'red' Cf the development of xr ϑr and fr This change is probably connected with that of surd fricatives into stops in other positions 1 Note also the retention of vr-, γr-—čerām 'threshing-ground' (Yd xurom) cannot go back to *xrama- Kl. xəruϑ- 'to snore' may be an onomatopoetic word

Ir xw < hw has lost its labial element and results in \check{x} Thus $\check{x}\bar{u}\imath$ 'sister', $\check{x}\imath l$ Sh 'perspiration', $\check{x}\bar{u}\imath$ - 'to speak', $\check{x}\bar{u}\imath nen$ 'own', $\check{x}at$ 'self', $\check{x}\bar{u}\imath s$ ($x\bar{u}\imath s$ Sk.) 'father-in-law', $\check{x}a\check{s}$ ($x\bar{a}\check{s}$ Sk) 'mother-in-law', $\imath s\check{u}\imath s$ - 'to sleep', $\imath s\check{u}\imath s$ - 'to descend' probably has ancient $\imath s$ -, in spite of Khow $\imath s\imath s\imath s$ - (Ir lw)

xw

 $x ilde{o} d ilde{o} r g$ 'water-mill' is a lw , $^2 x ilde{o} f s$ - 'to fall asleep' is borr from Prs , and also $x ilde{u} ilde{z} g$ 'sweet' may be of non-Wkh origin. Note $ilde{x} ilde{v} l ilde{u} n$ Sh $x ilde{a} r ilde{v} ilde{o} n$, Z, etc 'nephew' (sister's son').

The only possible example of 'xw < kw' is ruk' forehead', if < 'hraxwa = Prs rux

¹ Cf § 42

² Cf § 30

[•] Cf § 82.

fšy

63 If ϑin 'hot' and $y in \bar{o}t$ 'dream' go back to * $\vartheta a f n a$ - and *h u f n a-, f n fn has been completely assimilated, in contradistinction to βn (b n) (only recorded, however, in the present base $n e \delta a v n$ -)

The prefix fra- has resulted in ra/e- in rəgūm 'heifer' (*fragūmā), frregīš 'beard' (*fra-gaiša-), rəyət 'young she-goat' (*fra-gatā), ramı'to command' (*fra-māy-), ramuš- 'to forget' (*fra-muš-), rame- 'to
lose the way', rūr- 'to stretch out', etc (*fra-ar-); rəst-əv, rased'to break' (*fra-sīd-), rešīp 'whip' (*fra-xšwaīpa-), režūp- 'to sleep'
(*fra-hwap-), cf also rešpūk 'bobbin, shuttle', rəwâr 'day' (*fra-wahra)
—fəryəmč 'she-calf, 1 y old' and frīl- 'to crumble' are not true
Wkh. forms

On the analogy of tr, $kr < \vartheta r$, xr we might expect to find pr in originally stressed syllables. But the derivation of puru 'to wash' < *praw is uncertain on account of Sar paro (Wkh lw?), and Sar parod, Or perod, etc. correspond to Wkh prut 'first, foremost', which has been compared by Geiger with Skr praváta, but which is more probably connected with Av paouraya, Old Prs paruviyata $p^2rič$ 'worm' (cf. Sgl $p^2čuk$) has certainly nothing to do with Par ruč, Kafiri waig. pruč 'flea' < *pruči

On the other hand run 'shelf' ($r\bar{o}n$ Sar, cf Sgl $fr\bar{u}n$ 'plank') seems to show that fr- was assimilated in all positions. I am unable to explain the relation between $v^2r\bar{o}k$ 'to-morrow' and W.Yghn $f^1r\bar{o}k$

Intervocalic -fr- possibly results in -rf-. Cf. $\gamma \partial rf$, $\gamma(\check{z}) \varepsilon rf$ (= $\check{\gamma}$ -?) -fr-L 'fireplace' < Av. gufra- 'deep'?

Ir $f \tilde{s} y$ occurs in $t \epsilon \tilde{s}$ 'steam' $< t a f \tilde{s} y a$.

Ir. θr results in tr trūi 'three', pətr 'son', δıtr 'sickle', žītr 'thread' θr (*γaiftra-); wıtrın-'to sky' (*vı-θrahna-, or *wi-trhna-?) The etymology of dētər Sk 'memory' is unknown čatr 'parasol' is borr from IA, and the same is the case with cıtr 'spindle' (the Wkh form corresponding to Yd.—Mj čēša, etc., would be something like *cīš).\

Also mutr 'augury' and trakč 'bitter', trāč Sh 'bad tasting' are probably IA lw.s—tor Sh 'net' is of Prs or Ishk, origin It is, perhaps, possible to derive tirič L. 'dark' from *taθrya-ĉī.

¹ Cf, however, § 70

As to $y\bar{o}tr$ 'nest', $\nabla s \nabla yo\vartheta t^{3}r\bar{a}$ 'thither' probably contains ancient *tarah

65 Ir. ∂n appears to have resulted in t(n) in haret, arat St 'cubit', but ∂n this sound-change is phonetically improbable Cf bərīn 'knee' (<*dwari∂na-<*dwari∂ra-??)

Intervocalic ϑw was sonorized into $\delta w > \delta v$, from which $b^{-1} c \partial b \bar{u} r - \vartheta w$ 'four', $c \partial b r \bar{e} m$ 'four days hence'.

First Component a Sibilant

66. Ir. sk- remains in skīd 'skull-cap', s²kεn 'puppy', s²k (sk-əm) 'on, sk above'. Cf also skaf- 'to trip', skōrd 'bridge', and skurf 'rough', which may contain ancient *sk- or *us-k-

As in other Ir dialects the sandhi-form has prevailed in some cases $\check{s}kop$ 'castrated (bull)', $\check{s}k\bar{u}rg$ - 'to seek', $\check{s}k\bar{u}v$ - 'to catch a cold', $\check{s}k\bar{o}r\check{c}$ 'burning coal', $\check{s}kondiv$ - 'to break'.

67 Ir. st remains Thus s³tīy- 'to send', stau- 'to praise', 'stīn st 'post, pillar'; sītār 'star' (prob lw) The etymology of stērs 'ploughshare' is unknown Postvocalic st occurs in pīst 'bark, skin', nāst 'is not', yost 'fowl-house' (†ā-stā?), īāst 'bound', zīrest 'turned in a lathe' (zirānd-)

Wkh šč in yašč (yarč, ya-ič) 'bone', and xašč (xaršč, xa-ič) 'damp, wet' corresponds to e.g. Yd st in yaste, xusto (Sgl $x\bar{a}st$)—*sti/y was possibly palatalized into *s't' > šč Cf. also žeč 'bread', mič 'fist, double handful' Yd—Mj. xisto, mišč(a) vašč 'milk-pail' might be derived from *basti-

68 Ir sp appears in s^ppūndi 'ploughshare', sprəγ 'flower'; sprεż- 'to sp blossom', s^ppərdan' 'flea', span- 'to fill up' (*us-parna-²) sipask 'rafter' is of unknown origin. Intervocalic -sp- occurs in naspar- 'to thread down', ȳsp 'shoulder' (of uncertain etymology).

69 Wkh, as well as Saka, distinguishes between ancient sp and sw su

¹ Cf. § 57

This latter group results in § 1 We are here in the presence of an important and very ancient isoglott which connects Wkh and Saka

After early Ir. * \acute{s} , or * \acute{c} (< IE $\^{k}$) w was palatalized into u, and this sound, in its turn, helped to preserve the palatal character of the preceding sibilant, with which it was assimilated.

Examples are 'šač 'dog', šīš 'louse', yaš 'horse', yīšn 'iron', and probably pšīn Sh 'patch' (cf. Yd paspōn, etc.). Burushaski šandī 'cut crops lying on the ground' inight possibly be a lw from a lost Wkh. word connected with Saka śśandaa- 'earth' (< *swantakā-) *

70 Wkh. wūč 'very high' may go back to usča- But the same form sè is also found in Ishk

Initial str is retained in $s^2tr\epsilon i$ 'female', cf. Or. $s^2tr\bar{\epsilon} j$. But in str intervocalic position the group was simplified into sr, from which s Thus: wis 'straw' (sin 'wastra-). Cf. sin 'mouth' sin 'spinning-wheel' with early dissimilation sin 'sin 'car, or, probably, borr. from IA.

71. Assimilation of sr > š is common to many Ir. languages Wkh. sr examples are šəu 'horn', šīn 'anus', šūnğ 'hip' (*srauni-čī?), 4 yašk 'tear', xaš 'mother-in-law', šīš, šīžn 'near' (*srīšna- 'clinging to'?) The etymology of wəšiy- 'to fear' Orm. γ"aš'- is uncertain. šīrāw-Sh 'to tell one's beads' (< srāīaya-) must be a lw.</p>

Note the metathesis of secondary sr in xurs 'father-in-law' Cf. pirz 'evening' (Voc sv).

Ir sn was assimilated into the surd group sn, from which st in sn sitax 'daughter-in-law'. Cf. also sn > st in past 'heel' (lw), yist Be. 'iron', and $Langar\ Kisht$ (Curzon) = Kis(i)n. Internal sn, on the other hand, was sonorized into zn ($y\bar{a}zn$ 'inflated $skin' < *\bar{a}-sn\bar{a}$), from which zd (wuzdi- 'to wash' $< *awa-sn\bar{a}ya$ -) s

¹ Cf. Saka śś (= ś).

² V. Bailey, BSOS, VII, 294

⁸ Cf. § 64.

⁴ But why $\bar{u} < au^{?}$

Possibly a lw

73

72. Assimilation of sy > s has taken place in distriction with the sy disyation of *han-dissates, nās- 'to be lost', wosk 'calf'. I heard s in kas 'boy' Sk., etc kās (Av kasyah-), and in regis 'beard'. Sk, etc rəγīs (*fra-gaisya-), L gives s in pedemes- 'to swell' (*pati-dmasya-?) and in tes/s 'empty' Sk, Sh təs All sources have s in sīu 'black' (< syāva-?) I am unable to explain this interchange between s and s Cf, however, maž 'me' (if < *mazya), žə 'my' (if < 'az-ya-), zy and raž, ražek 'sitting dais', yōž- 'to bear' (< ā-zaya-??) V § 55 regarding *čy</p>

Ir zg possibly in magž Be. 'brain'

Ir zd is found in nezd- 'to sit down' $w\bar{a}st$ W 'fat' is an Ishk zd word

Ir zb remains, through differentiation, in $zubc\delta$ - 'to burst' (v s.v zb zvbut-) < *uz-bid-. But note $zw\bar{a}y$ - 'to roll up' $< uz-w\bar{a}y$ -, without change of the semivowel into a fricative. This may, however, be due to influence from the uncompounded verb The word for 'tongue' does not go back to a form in *zv < zw' The etymology of $pzv\bar{a}n$ 'morning meal' is unknown

Ir zm possibly in rīzəm, rızm 'soot', cf rɛzg 'saline efflorescence' zm (*rızaka-)

Ir. zr only in the compound zərend- 'to serape' (< *uz-rand-) zr

Wkh. $sk < \tilde{s}k$ in $w \tilde{s}k$ 'dry' is unexplained $p \tilde{s}k$ 'dung' is a lw. $\tilde{s}k$ We find, however, also $st < \tilde{s}t$ in $m \tilde{s}st$ 'fist', and possibly in $\tilde{s}t$ post 'parched grain', Shgh $p \tilde{s}t$, Ishk $p \tilde{u}t$, Par $p \tilde{s}\tilde{s}t$ (but Prs $p \tilde{s}st$) Preterites of the type $n \tilde{o}st$ 'lost' ($n \tilde{s}s$ - tr) are secondary, and so is $n \tilde{a}\tilde{s}t$ 'was lost' ($n \tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ - intr.) But $u \tilde{a}\tilde{s}t$ 'fell', $n \tilde{e}\tilde{s}t$ 'went out' and $u \tilde{s}\tilde{s}t$ '(the sun) set' ($u \tilde{a}\tilde{s}st$ -, $u \tilde{s}st$ -) have the appearance of being ancient forms. $\tilde{s}\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}r$, etc 'camel' is probably a lw A third development of $\tilde{s}t$ is into t Thus (h) $\tilde{a}t$ 'eight' (poss an Ishk lw), $\tilde{s}\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}t$ 'brick' $\tilde{s}\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}t$ ($\tilde{s}\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}t$) A

¹ Cf Voc sv złk.

² But mič Sh 'double handful' (< muštyah pl?), ef § 67 Sh. gives both most and mid as corresponding to Sar mut Cf Bur mūči, much 'plough-handle' from IA

derivation of but Be. 'clothes' from 'ham-pušti- is of course extremely uncertain

I am unable to explain the diversity of the development of Ir $\dot{s}t$ in Wkh It will be noticed that $m\bar{s}st$, $p\bar{s}st$ (and $w\bar{s}sk$ 'dry') have IE s, while $w\bar{a}\dot{s}t$, etc contain an ancient palatal It would, however, be unsafe to assume that Wkh should have retained dental s in the groups *u/st, *u/sk '— $h\bar{a}t$ 'eight' might be an Ishk lw But Shina listik which can, for geographical reasons, scarcely have been borrowed from an early Ishk form, shows that the change from $\dot{s}t > t$ must have taken place also in Wkh Cf also $p\bar{s}rt$ 'animal's back' $< p\bar{s}str$.

74. Ir šp is possibly contained in wəśp 'plough-pole', v. Voc. s v sp
As to šn v. above, § 71 šm is sonorized in čažm 'eye', cf. żəmak šn, šm
'moon' (v Voc. s.v.). I am unable to explain Sk. taxm 'thirsty'.

As to šy in psš. 'to ripen', psšew- 'to return' cf § 46.

We find Ir. ž, in nežyar- 'to swallow', nsždun 'weeding' žg, žd

First Component a Nasal.

Although Wkh has retained ancient intervocalic tenues, we find that sonorization has taken place after a nasal At any rate there is no certain instance of nt in the scanty material available to me ²

Examples of nt are dendik 'tooth', mānd- Y 'to rub' (mant-²), nt ½umānd- 'to wring', wūndr 'field' (Av avantara-), tond Be. 'thread' (*tantu-), kend 'woman, wife' (Skt. kūntā ?) wīnd 'saw' is a secondary formation γ̃ιdīm 'wheat' probably goes back to a form *γ(n)dīm < *γ(a)ntūm In witriθt 'shies' (witrin-) θt < nt is of secondary origin —Final -nt is reduced in the verbal ending 3 pl -∂n.

76 A possible example of mp is but- 'to overthrow' (Sar imbat-) < mp 'ham-pataya- Cf but Be 'clothes' < *ham-pušti-(?) and bakš 'husband's brother' (< *ham-paxšaka-?). kampal 'blanket' is of IA origin

¹ As for $i\check{s}$, $u\check{s}$, cf § 46 Note also $sk > \check{s}k$

antoi č L. 'sister-in-law' is of unknown origin

No certain instance of nk occurs. Secondary n+k results in nk nk nk in the suffix -ung, etc. Cf. § 29.

It is possible that g_1z_2 'to rise' goes back to * ng_1z_2 < * nk_1z_2 < * $han\cdot xa_1z_2$

The numeral $p\bar{u}nz$, $p\bar{u}nj$ 'five' is probably a genuine Wkh form $n\dot{c}$ $n\dot{c}$ may also be contained in some verbs in nj/z · vardenz · 'to press down', xenj · 'to fill'. But of nemenj · L. 'to dance' (nemenj · Secondary $n+\ddot{c}$ results in nj, of. § 79

77. Examples of ng, nd and nj are yāngəl 'finger', kānd- 'to laugh', ng, nd, nj vānd- 'to bind', skəndiv- 'to break', ranjk Sh 'fast, light'.

vārand- 'to abuse' is of unknown origin, and rānd- 'to give', $n\bar{u}nd$ - 'to plant', etc. may have a secondary nasal in the present base Initial 'nd- resulted in d- dis' 'to know' < *handisya-, cf. ng- > g-, and mb/p- > b-. Cf dəger 'finger' < *n(d)ger (§ 47) Note tungur Sh 'thunder' (v s v $tand\bar{u}r$) with dissimilation.

Ir mb apparently was less resistant than nd, ng, and was assimilated mb into m Thus vizam Sh. 'to rub into powder' (Sar. vizāmb); žām-'to descend' (Prs xambīdan), cf putrum(b). Sh 'to scare away, arrest'.

But in secondary initial position mb- may have resulted in b-, just as mp-, etc. There is, however, no certain example, $b\hat{a}i$ Sh 'cave' (Ishk. ambi) night have original mp.

78 It is possible that *and developed through *ad into ad > at. nd Cf. ramd 'chewing the cud' < *raumanda-, and mutr 'augury', which may, however, be a lw But note mānd-, žumānd- The derivation of yīxūn 'bridle' from *ănxana- is extremely doubtful Cf. also § 42, about Khow auzetu

At any rate n appears to have been lost before a sibilant δus ns 'wasp' (\ll *dansa-), $p\varepsilon\delta\varepsilon m\varepsilon\tilde{s}$ - 'to swell' (*pati-dmansya-), and possibly also was 'roof beam' \ll *wansa-

79. Ir. nm was dissimilated into rm: čarm 'watercourse' (< *čan-man-), nm putžårm 'wooden trough' (< *pati-hwān-man ?) Regarding šūrm 'dung', v Voc s v

In secondary contact we find $w\bar{o}z\bar{o}nd$ and $waz\bar{a}md$ from wuzem m+d to bring, etc.

As for m + k, $\dot{c} = \S \S 29$, 33, and cf som) Be 'hoof'.

m+k, è

First Component a Liquid.

Ir rk is probably preserved in kerk 'fowl', and yark 'work'. In rk secondary contact we find rk in purk 'mouse', wūrk 'lamb', etc But note pārg 'ashes' (Sgl. park).

Ir rt is retained in yurt-Sh. 'to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves' rt (*gart-), wert- 'to knead', wert 'mill-stone', dort 'manure', tort 'the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow' (cf totvārt 'the year before last' < *trta-); turt 'ford' (Khow lw?), and in the past stems naspart-Sh. 'tread down', wasērt- 'cooled' (wasēr-), mort 'died' (marī-), kort 'did' (căr-) The etymology of sangurt L 'beetle', and of avart 'span' is unknown

In a number of past stems, most of which have exact counterparts in Sar., we find rd. Thus wōdŏrd 'held' (wīdər), škūrd 'sought', etc Influence from Sar. is not excluded. But cf. also derd L 'carved', wirdān L 'mill-wheel' (lw?).—skōrd 'bridge', mkerd 'central part of a room', kard Sh. 'crooked' (Sar. èerd) are of unknown origin. As for pārd 'last year' v § 30

wolč 'quail' prob < *woltč < *warticī, cf Ishk wõrc Prs lexxwalč must be a dialect form. We find a change of rt > lt also in waltk (welk L, etc.) 'kidney', cf Sgl wolk. Cf the Saka development of rt > l before a consonant, and v. § 48

 $k\partial z$ 'knife' is very strange, but might perhaps be an early adaptation of Ishk. * $k\bar{e}r$ (> $k\bar{\iota}l$), with substitution of z for r, a sound unknown to Wkh.

There is no example of ancient $i\dot{c}$. $p \partial r \dot{c} \partial d$ 'girl' may go back to $r\dot{c}$ * $pari \dot{c}$ ', v. Voc. s v.—Cf. also $\xi k \bar{o} r \dot{c}$ 'coal'; $y \bar{o} r \dot{c}$ 'part of floor'.

If car Sh 'kite' (Sar $car\gamma$) is a correct and genuine form γ has ry been dropped. In $spr r \gamma$ 'flower' (cf. Av $spar r \gamma a$ -) the r has been

I do not know what sounds Bi 's 'kurcy' is intended to express

transposed —merg L, marg Sh 'female Ovis Poli' and mingas, etc 'sparrow' are probably lws'

Ir rd occurs in wuserd 'this year', serdingi 'belonging to this rd year', word 'tripe' (Av varadva- 'soft'), peter d- 'to spring from one seed', and possibly in s'por dan' flea' (v Voc) Regarding d for δ of \S 37. ger $\delta \bar{a}n$ 'neck' is a Prs. lw, and vardenz- 'to press down' probably goes back to a root in d-Some of the words mentioned under rt may contain ancient rd

Wkh. d'rev- 'to sew' goes back to *drb-.

16 Wkh yaf 'much' probably corresponds to Sogd yarf, with loss rf of r in an accessory word. skurf Y 'rough' is of unknown origin As to yerf 'fireplace' v § 63

82Ir rs remains unassimilated as in Yd.—Mj. Thus. purs- 'to rs ask', purs 'rib', dirs 'goat's hair'

Also rz remains carzn 'awl', furz 'birch', durz- 'to seize', lamerz rz 'sloping down of a field', mərz 'hungry', namurzg 'rake', vərz 'long', vorz 'pillow' Cf. also xorz, rhyming with and probably identical in meaning to Prs carz 'bustard'. From *hwarza/ukawe should expect Wkh *žurzg, and xūžg 'sweet' is probably of Ishk origin -- Note morz L. 'dew', and yars/z, etc 'juniper'

But rs appears to have been assimilated The examples are, rs however, not clear Thus tax (tax Sh, taxm Sk) 'thirsty', yaš 'male' (lw.?); wušeng 'uncastrated bull' (*wṛšanaka-, but note š). xaš- 'to pull' is common to most Pamir dialects, and ramuš- 'to forget' may contain ancient -us- 3

The only example of rit is pert L 'back of an animal' purst rit 'asked' is a secondary formation, and köst Sh 'cultivated' (kiir-) is probably influenced by Prs

But ržd has been assimilated in dežd 'seized' (durz-) treatment of žd

83. Before an m Ir., has been retained in yurm 'forearm' But from im,

¹ From Kafiri ⁾ V Voc svv

² Cf § 62. Also Psht distinguishes between *rš, *ršt > ž, * and *is, *rst > št.

⁸ Cf. § 46

rn, which has been assimilated into n in most neighbouring Ir languages, we find r in mur 'apple' (Sar. man, etc.) ¹ The derivation of span 'to fill up (of a river)' from "us-pṛna- is very uncertain (note pret span). The retention of the n of the present suffix would, however, be possible, even if rn became r(r) in other positions. Cf the parallel development in Saka $p\bar{u}n$ 'palm of the hand' has Ir n, not rn palč 'leaf' possibly from "parè 2 < paraači

In secondary contact r + n appears to have resulted in ndr (<*nr), if $s^2p\bar{u}ndr$ 'ploughshare' is to be derived from $*sp\bar{u}rana$.

Assimilation

84. Numerous cases of assimilation of various kinds have been brought to notice in the preceding paragraphs. Others will be mentioned in connection with the reduction of hard groups of consonants, which takes place before the k- suffix of perfect stems and before t in pres 3 sg. Cf also welk < waltk 'kidney', $\check{x}at$ 'did' $< *g(\check{\tau})\check{x}at$, $s\partial m'b\bar{o}nak$ 'pellet-bow' < sanbanak

Dissimilation and Differentiation.

85 Dissimilation of nasals occurs in $l_{\Delta m r z}$ L 'slope of a field' (if $< *n_{l-marza}$), l_{amurzg} L $< n_{amurzg}$ Sh 'rake', $s_{an'}d\bar{a}l$ 'anvil' $< s_{ln'}d\bar{o}n$ Cf also $y_{am\bar{a}n}$ Kl 'one another' (' $(y)_{an-an'}$), and $s_{ll'} \in n$ 'rope' < Khow. $s_{lmen\bar{l}}$

Loss of r through dissimilation is probably found in $tətv\bar{a}_{r}t$ 'the year before last' (< *tərt'), and possibly in pərč $\bar{o}d$, purč $\bar{o}d$ 'girl', if from *parčar, cf Skr paručarkā-.

Note also $de\delta i\check{\gamma}$ - 'to look at' < ' $\delta e\delta i\check{\gamma}$ -. But $l\partial \delta \bar{o}w(ak)$ Kl 'to give' < * $\delta a\delta a$ -?

A clear case of differentiation is the change of ϑr , xr > tr, kr.³ In dr- the differentiation has perhaps been preventive

 $^{^{1}}$ But Saka rr < rn

² Cf wolč, § 80

^{*} V §§ 62, 64 —Ir * $p\bar{a}ni$ 'palm of the hand' < IA?

Metathesis and Interversion

Examples of metathesis are: tapk L, Be, etc. $'eyelashes', <math>ri\gamma ud$ L. $< d\partial g\partial r$, $d\partial \gamma\partial r$ 'finger'— $v\partial c\bar{e}r$ W. 'eyebrow' is merely a mispronounced form of Ishk $v^{\partial}r\bar{e}e$

Interversion in groups of consonants occurs in \check{xu} 'father-in-law', $spr\check{v}$ 'flower', $s^*p\bar{u}ndr$ 'plough-share' ($< *sp\bar{a}rana-?$), and possibly in pirz 'evening' (< *upa-azara-?) Regarding $druk\check{s}$ 'bull', etc, cf § 60.

Vowels

87 For reasons briefly indicated Yd—Mj § 138 it is much more difficult to follow the development of Ir. vowels in a modern Pamir dialect than it is to give an outline of the changes of consonants and consonant groups

The exact phonetical value of many ancient Ir. vowels is unknown, and as no older stage of these dialects is accessible to us, it is in most cases a hopeless task to trace, with any degree of certainty, the actions and counteractions exerted by accent, assimilation and other factors

In the case of Wkh. we are also handicapped by the fact that no recorder of the language has been in a position to devote to this work sufficient time for arriving at absolutely certain results as regards the exact vocalization of a great number of words, or for determining the undoubtedly considerable individual latitude of pronunciation. Nor do we know much about the dialectical distribution of vowel variations

And, last not least, it is frequently impossible to ascertain whether a word is genuine Wkh or not In the case of Wkh the definition of the terms 'genuine' and 'borrowed' presents problems of more than usual complexity, and many loan-words have passed through some of the more recent Wkh. sound-changes

All we can do is therefore to make an attempt to indicate a few main lines in the development of Wkh. vocalism But in many cases we are restricted to give a mere statement of complex and bewildering facts

Ir a

- 88 Ir. a remains as a (\tilde{a}) in Wkh
 - a Before an ancient group of consonants. Thus. andag 'slave', andav 'fever', pas 'mouth'; hāt 'eight', kānd- 'to laugh', kas 'boy', mānd- 'to shampoo', nəbavn- 'to clasp', nayd 'night', pānz 'five', rand- 'to give', rānjk 'light', spray, sprəy 'flower', šănd- 'to mix', sārdingā 'of this year', vāyd 'night-mare', vănd- văst 'to bind', yāng(ə)l 'finger'; yark 'work', yasè 'bone', yāzn 'mussuck' In maks 'fly'; pārd 'last year', pārg 'ashes' (but purk 'mouse'), wānj 'belly', zārt 'yellow', žārż 'milk' the group of consonants is of secondary origin
 - b. After or before palatal consonants yašč 'bone', yač 'horse', yaž 'twig'; yāngɔl 'finger', yār 'stone', yat- 'to arrive', žām- 'to descend', žān- 'to speak', žat 'own', šāp- 'to suck', šapt (\S 2) 'wolf' (lw), cār- 'to do' (< 2 2), tač- 'to go', pāc- 'to cook', nāš- 'to be lost'
 - c. After or before δ (d)? Thus δai 'man', δas 'ten', $m\bar{a}d$ 'waist', $s\bar{a}d$ 'six', $p\bar{a}\delta$ 'ligature', $w \wedge \delta$ 'handle'. But $w\hat{a}\delta$, $v\bar{a}\delta$, etc 'watercourse'; δus 'mosquito' (< *-a-), $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}\delta$ 'thief'

Other, unexplained, examples of a are $w\bar{a}r$ 'male oorial', $w\bar{a}s$ 'roofbeam', $w\bar{a}z$ - 'to fall', $t^{p}p\bar{a}r$ 'axe', $b\bar{a}r$ 'door', $s\bar{a}r$ 'head' (lw.?), and yurm 'forearm' ($\langle ar - \langle *_{l} - \rangle, \; \gamma \bar{u}z \;$ 'firewood', $w \ni \bar{s}k$ 'calf', $\check{c} \land \check{z}m$, $\check{c}\sigma$ -, $\check{c}\sigma$ ' 'eye'.

89 Ir a results in u (or Sh. u) not only in the neighbourhood of labials, but also in other positions, the nature of which I am not able to define.

Thus, e.g: būn- (bun-) bōnd 'to winnow', kūt 'roof', xūr 'ass', wūrk 'lamb' (wăr 'oorial'), režup-, rīžup- 'to sleep', Wux 'Wakhan';

 $x\bar{u}f$ 'foam', $p\bar{u}s$ 'ram', $p\bar{u}rk$ 'mouse', $p\bar{u}p$ 'father', wunuk 'willow'. In $h\bar{u}b$, etc. 'seven' and in $m\bar{u}r$ 'apple' there may have taken place an early lengthening of $a > \bar{a}$

I can only register the varying developments of a in dendik, $d\bar{u}nduk$, etc 'tooth', $k\epsilon nd$, kond (<* $k\bar{u}nt\bar{i}$ -?) 'woman', $r\partial d$ -, $r\partial d$ - 'to flee', wuz 'I', $p\partial r\ddot{v}\partial d$ 'maid', $v\ddot{o}l\ddot{c}$ 'quail', $d\bar{o}r$ L 'valley', $m\bar{o}d$ -L 'to curdle' In many words the vowel appears to vary considerably in different villages, v Voc. passim

Unstressed a results in ∂ in $n\partial^1 p\bar{u}s$ 'grandson'; $t\partial^1 p\bar{u}r$ 'axe', $c\partial^1 b\bar{u}r$ 'four', $r\partial^1 g\bar{u}m$ 'calf', $m\partial^1 d\bar{u}r$ 'noon', $m\partial^1 lung$ 'middle', pezin, $p\bar{i}z\partial n$ 'udder', $s\partial g\bar{i}n$ 'dung' But, with assimilation to the following vowel sigin Sh 'dung', $kib\bar{i}t$ 'pigeon', $jid\bar{i}m$ 'wheat', $regi\bar{s}$ 'beard', pitmui-Sh. 'to mimie'

Regarding loss of unstressed a, cf § 104

$Ir. \bar{a}$

90 Ir ā apparently resulted in early Wkh ū This stage of development is preserved before nasals Thus γ²rūng 'heavy', mūm 'grand-mother', nūnd- 'to plant'; nūng, nong 'name', pūn 'palm of the hand', rəgūm 'heifer'; s²pūndr 'plough-share', wūndr 'field'; xūn 'house', yūm) 'flour'; kəbūn 'wooden bowl', špūn, špun, špun Sh. 'shepherd' Sh gives u also in run 'shelf', nadūn 'scabbard' (= L nadūn 'quiver'), cf. nεždūn L 'weeding'

Before or after a labial we find \bar{u} in $\bar{u}f$, wuf 'to weave' (pret $\hat{a}ft$ -, $w\bar{o}ft$ - with early shortening?), $b\bar{u}i$ 'two', yupk 'water', $y\bar{u}m$ ' flour', $np\bar{u}s$ 'grandson', $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}v$ 'cornbin', $cpb\bar{u}r$ (Kl cpbur, etc) 'four', $p\bar{u}z$ 'breast', purs, $p\bar{u}rs$ 'breast'; $w\bar{u}r$ 'rain', $\check{x}\bar{u}i$ 'sister' (<*xw-), $p\bar{u}d$, $p\bar{u}d$, etc 'foot' (but v Voc s v), $p\bar{u}y$ - 'to putrify', purs 'evening' (v Voc. s v).

But cf. also $z\bar{u}\gamma$ 'fat'; $p_l\bar{u}k$ 'onion', y_luk ' 'male ibex', $y_l\bar{u}\gamma \partial n\varepsilon$ $\gamma \partial r$ 'anvil', if these words contain ancient \bar{u}

¹ Cf § 92

A delabialization, which affects also lw s with ū,¹ has taken place in other positions Thus: sīr 'cold', mədir 'moon', δitr 'sickle' (with secondary shortening before a group of consonants), kik, kik 'fountain', tīk 'willow', s²tīy- 'to send', γ̃iy- 'coire', vrīt Sk (but v²rit Y, vrut Kl., etc) 'brother', ruy- L 'to bay', δuri L. 'stack' Also before a labial. γ̃iu 'cow', pəzīv 'heart', šīw Sk, šīu Y 'horn', cf. nīu Y (= *nīu?) 'mill-race'.

Note $\check{s}k\bar{u}r(g)$ - 'to seek', $ti\check{s}$ - Y 'to shave', $ti\check{s}$ - L 'to fashion with an axe'; etc

92 After initial y- a palatalization into i has taken place ² Thus $yi\bar{s}n$ 'iron', yirzn 'millet'; ying 'raw', $yi\bar{x}un$ 'bridle' (< ' $\bar{a}x\bar{a}na$ -??), yisp 'shoulder' (< * \bar{a} - $sp\bar{a}$ -?)

Dubious cases are $y\bar{o}\check{c}$ 'duck' ($<*\bar{a}\vartheta i\check{c}i\cdot?$), $y\mathring{a}\delta$ - 'to pile up' ($*\bar{a}-d\bar{a}-?$), $y\check{o}st$ 'fowl-house' ($*\bar{a}-st\bar{a}-?$), $yo\check{s}t$ 'agreement' ($\tilde{a}x\check{s}ti-?$), $yo\vartheta$, etc 'nest' ($*\bar{a}-hada-\vartheta ia-?$), $y\bar{o}\check{z}$ - 'to bear' ($*\bar{a}-zaya-?$)

In $si\bar{i}$ Y 'hare' (* $s\bar{a}$ - < *saha-), $h\bar{u}b$, etc 'seven', $wi\S$, $\bar{u}\S$ 'grass', etc, a has probably been lengthened into \bar{a} at an early date

In Prs lws we frequently find \bar{o} or $a < \bar{a}$, representing the local Tajiki pronounciation. Also sate 'slate', $t\bar{o}$ 'neck', 'back of the head' must probably be lws

Ir. 1

93 Ancient i is preserved in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound in sis 'louse', dis- 'to know', deδιγ-, etc 'to look', čip- 'to pick' Possibly, with lengthening, in bərīn 'knee' (v. Voc s v)

The relaxation of the high-front articulation common to many E Ir. languages appears in: zem, zam 'snow', (a)yem, yəm 'this', yez 'yesterday', teyd, tayd 'sharp', detk 'brick', bət 'again'; det 'given' (*dıta-). rased-, rasud- Sh 'to break, cut'.—post Sh 'parched grain' may have 'ə' or a labialized vowel, cf. pōv-, pūv-, pov- 'to drink' (*pıba-), with ı surrounded by labials

¹ E.g nir Sk 'light , brit 'moustache', angir 'grape', pil 'money', but $amb\bar{u}r$ 'tong', $jan\bar{u}b$ 'south' (prob of more recent origin), and $g\bar{t}$ 'excrement' (ancient lw).

^{*} Except before a remaining labial Cf yūmj, yupk above.

In the originally unstressed prefixes m-, abi-, wi- the development of i is apparently partly regulated by vowel-harmony. The result, however, varies a good deal according to the informant or recorder. Cf. Voc. s. vv. nbbs (ni° , na°) 'comb'; nsdavn- (nadevs-) 'to stick', nadun 'quiver', nimil- (na°) 'to hem', namurzg 'rake', nesi- 'to lie down', nsvis- (ni° , ne°) 'to write', nezd- (no° , na°) 'to sit down', etc., vidaw- 'to ride', visiv- 'to sweep', vizam- 'to rub', etc., wsisiv- 'to remain', vvisusv- 'to untie', wsiv- 'to be afraid'; vvitrin- 'to shy', etc.

Ir i

94 Ir î remains pitt- 'drank', pītk 'drunk', wis- 'to set (about the sun)'; wist 'twenty'; varīn- 'to shear', xīk 'Wakhi' (*waxsīka-?) yīšək 'plough-handle' probably has ancient as-

Ir u

Also u shows a tendency to lose its specific articulation 1 and become a neutral, unrounded vowel, written ∂ (Y, Sk., and Kl.), ι , o, etc. My not very reliable informants X and W pronounced e in several words. There is probably much variation according to dialect

Examples from Y are: $\delta \partial \gamma d$ 'daughter', $\delta \partial g \partial n$ - 'milked' ($\delta \iota c$ -), most 'fist', potr 'son', sokr 'red', s'tox 'daughter-in-law', wosk 'dry'; kis (Sk. ∂) 'vulva' Cf. $\iota \partial s$ Sk 'empty', rod- Sk 'to flee', ∂t , et Kl 'and' Cf also the lw ∂mr Sk. 'age' The etymology of $\delta \partial \gamma d$ Y, etc 'new' is unknown In unstressed syllable $y\bar{a}ng(\partial)l$ 'finger'

But $y_{A/\epsilon \tilde{s}k}$ L ($ye\tilde{x}k$ Sh) 'taught', $s\tilde{e}rv$ Sh. 'hole'; sic 'needle' (with i-umlaut)

Sh sum 'hoof' (W ϑ), angušt 'live coal'; buč 'he-goat' (Y u) are lw.s Cf. also kirpa Sk. 'bed-clothes' and other examples of Prs. u > i

An early lengthening has probably taken place in $y\bar{i}n\bar{o}t$ 'dream' $<*hufna\vartheta\bar{a}$

¹ V. § 93, and cf. Yd -MJ § 149.

Ir \bar{u}

96. Ir. \bar{u} results in $\bar{\imath}$. $\delta \bar{\imath}r$ 'distant'; $\delta \bar{\imath}t$ 'smoke'; $\check{\gamma}\imath d\bar{\imath}m$ 'wheat', $n\bar{\imath}v$ 'now'; $p\bar{\imath}tk$ 'rotten', 'st $\bar{\imath}n$ 'post', $v\bar{\imath}t$ 'was', $y\bar{\imath}r$ 'sun', $z\bar{\imath}k$ 'tongue' (*h $z\bar{\imath}ka$ -) Cf. $\check{s}t\check{\imath}k$ 'play' \sim Khow. $\imath stuk$, etc

tu 'thou' goes back to a form with ancient shortening of \bar{u} (later, however, than the change of u towards ∂).

Regarding the development of \bar{u} in lws of § 91

Ir. r.

97. Ir r is represented by Y ər, er, Sk ər, Sh or, etc, in kərt Sk, Kl. 'did'; kərk Sk, kerk Y 'done'; γəš Y 'male', kərk Sk, kerk Y. X, kork Sh 'fowl'; mərt Y, Sk, Kl., mert X, mortt Sh. 'died' (mərī-Sk); vərz Y 'long', possibly in mərz Y, Sk, merz X, marz Sh. 'hungry' After p, f and w we find a rounded vowel in purs-Y, pors-Kl, Sh., pərs-Sk. 'to ask', furz Y, Sh. 'birch', wurzg L. 'right'. Cf also dərt L 'manure'; dırs Y, Z, durs Sh. 'goat's hair', sprəğ Y 'flower' (if < *spṛga-). Also wuserd Y 'this year' may contain ancient r (v. Voc s v)

purs, etc. 'rib, breast' probably goes back to Av. pərəsu-, not to * $p\bar{a}rswa$ -

Ir. ai

98. Ir. ai is monophthongized into ī. Thus īu 'one', wīn- 'to see'; δīz 'wall', δīsiv- 'to show'; mīzg 'urine'; naydīn 'dawn', nesi-, nəsī- 'to lie down' (< -ī- or -aya-²); līv- 'to slip' (IE *sleib-, or *sleub-). With shortening into i: yix 'ice', xīl 'perspiration' (lw.?); lix- 'to lick', rešīp 'whip'(?).</p>

31 - Kulturforskning

Note $y \ni t$ K1, (ac-)et, etc 'this', possibly with vowel influenced by $y \ni m$.

The development of $i > o \ (= \vartheta?)$ in pos Sh 'white leopard' (Sar $p\bar{i}s$, v. Voc s v) is unparalleled man 'sheep' is a lw.

Ir au

99 Ir au developed through ū into ī. Thus · δἴc · 'to milk'; δἶγ · 'thick milk', γ̃ιš (γ̃ιš Sk) 'ear', kἴk 'lynx, wild dog(?)', kıbīt 'pigeon', pǐst 'skin', rīcn 'smoke-hole', rīp 'hair on the body' (*raupi-?), rĩz · 'to rip up a seam' (Sar raoz-); skīd 'skull-cap', šĩn 'anus'. Cf. also mīr-p²rīč 'ant', if < *maur- < *marvu-.</p>

 $v\bar{u}l$ 'smell' is probably borrowed from Yd.—Mj, and also $r\bar{u}yn$ 'grease, ghee' and $\S\bar{u}n\S$ 'hip' may be lw.s.

In tayum, etc 'seed' au has probably been shortened If ramet 'chewing the cud' goes back to *raumada/i- a shortening may also have taken place in unstressed syllable

I am unable to explain the e of $d^{2}rep\check{e}$ 'broom', $\delta e\check{s}$ L ($\delta o\check{s}$ Sh) 'late' ($\langle dau\check{s}\bar{a}^{-2}\rangle$), repk 'refuse', $p\bar{u}mec$ 'to dress', and the a of kap Sh. 'hump'. $\check{c}k\partial r$ 'partridge' is borrowed from IA

Umlaut and Vowel Harmony.

100 The palatalizing influence of a following y or i is less evident in Wkh than in most other Ir languages

On the one hand we find an apparent palatalization of the vowel in sprež- 'to blossom' (*sprjya-), muš- 'to steal' (*mušya-), peš- 'to ripen' (*pašya-), wasēr- 'to become cold' (*awa-sărya-); ns- 'to lose' (*nasaya-); teš 'steam' (*tafšya), sie 'needle' (*suči-), wuxen 'blood' (*wahwani-), haret 'ell' (*araðni-²); kend 'woman, wife' (*kāntī-²); bit 'clothes' (*ham-pušti-); *-enj fem of the adj suffix -ung (*-ānačī) 1

¹ In L. pert 'back' and δerd car- 'to carve wood' < *pršti-, *drti-, er may be the regular outcome of r in the Hunza dialect of Wkh

But, on the other hand, we find $m\bar{a}\delta$ 'waist', and $w\hat{a}\delta$ 'irrigation-channel', without any trace of umlaut. Note that both words have δ^1 Cf also $n\bar{a}\bar{s}$ - 'to be lost' < *nasya-, where the palatalizing force of y may, however, have been absorbed into \bar{s} .

The only possible instances of u-umlaut are purk 'mouse' and $w\bar{u}rk$ 'lamb', as compared with e.g. parg 'ashes'

101 There is a marked tendency in Wkh to assimilate unstressed vowels to following stressed ones. Cf, eg, režup- (ružup- Sh) 'to sleep', but pret rožopt; putruz- Sh. 'to lean against', but pret. påtråz-, dəviy- Sk 'to steal', but pret. dovord; widər- 'to hold', but pret wôdôrd, etc 3

Final Vowels and Consonants

102 All final consonants are lost, with the possible exception of -d in $\tilde{s}\bar{a}d$ 'six' Note the secondary loss of a final consonant in the personal suffix 3 pl $-\partial n$, and in the dative suffix $-\partial r$ (< +arda-). Cf also $n\partial b\partial s$ 'comb' < +nipesn (v. Voc s.v.)

Final vowels remain only in original monosyllables, with the possible exception of $\check{z}\partial$, $\check{z}u$ 'my', if <*azya.

Stress and Contraction

103. The principles of accentuation underlying the development in Wkh. appear to have been of the ordinary middle-Ir type.

A long penultima was stressed Thus $c\partial^i b\bar{u}r$ 'four', $\check{\gamma}\iota^i d\bar{\imath}m$ 'wheat' (*gantūma-), $k\iota^i b\bar{\imath}t$ 'dove'; $n\partial^i p\bar{\imath}u\bar{s}$ 'grandson'; $r\partial_i p\bar{\imath}u\bar{m}$ 'calf'; $\check{c}k\partial_i r$ 'partridge' (* $\check{c}(i)k\bar{o}r$, lw.); $b\partial^i r\bar{\imath}n$ 'knee' (*dwar $\imath\partial_i na-?$); $d\bar{u}r$ 'belly' (*antāra-?)

Before a short penultima the antepenultima, whether long or short, was stressed wist 'twenty', nūng 'name', mīzg 'urine'; rīcn 'smoke-hole', yupk 'water', yīšn 'iron'; wəšk 'calf' (*wasyaka), nezdəm 'I sit down' (*nıhazdamı); zart 'yellow', šapt 'wolf' (lw.,

¹ Also in Saka d prevents umlaut of the preceding vowel

² Cf. Shgh $w\bar{a}rg$, with g < -uka, and Yd $-M_J$ $par\gamma$, etc (§ 175).

³ Cf § 93, about *n:-, *abi- and *w:-, and v Geiger, § 60, 2.

104

< *šapīð), s³pūndr 'plough' (*spārana-), pīt 'he drinks' (*pībatī),
ċīt 'he goes' (*čaut < *čyawatī), etc.</pre>

Before the accent a vowel is elided in: čkər 'partridge'; ktič 'hut', žīk 'Wakhı', kšûy- 'to hear' (*gušaya-²), stran) 'carpet' (*staranačī), wīr 'single-handed (in a family)' (*a-wīra-); vi-dāw- 'to ride' (abi°); wa-sēr- 'to become cold' (*awa°), pəwaz 'drift-wood' (*upa-waza-), and cf the words with initial b-, d-, $g-\langle ham+p-/b-\rangle$, etc 'Regarding the development of pati- v § 30

There appears to be no trace in Wkh of ancient accentuation of the fourth syllable from the end. Therefore we find, from nəsī-'to lie down', Sk. pret 'nəst-əm (*nı-sıta-), but perf. nə'sətk (*ni-sıtaka-).

The dialectical elision of a vowel in Sh. $ru\check{x}p$ - (. Y $re\check{x}up$ -) 'to sleep', rəstəv- Y (rasedav- Sh) 'to cut'), $p\bar{\imath}cev$ - Y ($p\bar{\imath}d\bar{\imath}ssv$ - L) 'to light a fire', $\check{x}at$ 'made' $< *g(\eth)\check{x}at$ ($go\check{x}$ -), $cpr\bar{e}m\eth$ r ($c\eth$ b $r\bar{e}m$) 'three days hence' are probably of more recent origin than that which has taken place in the words mentioned above

The infinitive suffix $-\bar{a}k$ is stressed (e.g. $c_{\bar{a}'}rak$ 'to do', $d_{\bar{a}'}y\bar{a}k$ 'to beat'), except after a nasal $(d\bar{e}ng)$ 'to beat', bung 'to winnow', etc.) ²

¹ V. § 76 sq

² Cf § 107

MORPHOLOGY

Nonns

Stem-Formation

The very limited material which I was able to collect consists mainly of lists of words, and adds little to our knowledge of the morphology of Wkh. In all main points it confirms, however, the information given by Shaw and Klimchitskiy. Also Skold's material is mainly of a lexicographical character, although it contains a number of valuable verbal paradigms.

In these circumstances I shall abstain from trying to give a complete survey of Wkh. morphology and its historical development

- 106. The distinction between ancient stems in a, ā, i, u, n, etc. has been completely obliterated Along with this development Wkh has also lost the category of grammatical gender. The ancient suffix *-ānačī, corresponding to a masc *-ānaka- (> ·ŭng, ·ung), still denotes a female being, e g in indigun) Sh 'female slave' (: andag 'male slave'), and varen) 'pregnant', but it is without any grammatical significance. The same is the case with the words containing an ancient suffix -čī, e g. fərγəmé 'female calf', yōċ 'duck'; antərċ 'sister-in-law', yūmj 'flour', šūnj 'hip', etc '
- 107. The Ir. ka- suffix results in -k (-g) in a large number of words. Thus, e g, δεtk 'brick', purk 'mouse', waltk 'kidney', yupk 'water', yašk 'tear', mīzg 'urine', wurzg 'right', γ²rūng 'heavy', yīng 'raw', nūng 'name', kīk 'spring', zīk 'tongue'. This suffix is no more productive, except in the formation of the pf.²

¹ Cf. § 33.

¹ V § 155

But there is a productive, stressed suffix -ak, -vk, used largely in the formation of deminutives ¹ Thus ât³·ŝak 'lightning', šaupa'rak 'bat', badxa'rak 'n of a bird', bw'čak 'small he-goat', ustō'dək 'spider', ša'xək 'hail', šendik L 'vine'; š/šendik L. 'gum', wīnek 'marmot', etc. In some cases I have noted stress on the root-syllable, e.g. 'dendik (but Sk, etc. dən'dək) 'tooth', 'fīak 'shoulder-blade'. This suffix is partly of Prs origin (many of the words in -ak are Prs. lw s), but in some cases it may go back to an oblique case *-a'kahya Cf. the infinitives in -ak, but -ng ²

As for words in γ ($\gamma a^{i}r\bar{a}\gamma$ 'collar'; $mad\bar{a}\gamma/\tilde{x}$ 'mare', $ri\hat{c}a\gamma$ 'fast', $su\delta\gamma$ 'smooth') v § 29.

108 A suffix -t̄ is used to form abstract nouns in Sk. γ̄ū'd-ι 'theft', sundr-t̄ 'heat'; sui'r-t̄ 'cold' It may be of Prs. origin. Cf. Kl -ēγ̄ (šundr-ēγ̄, sur-ēγ̄) of unknown origin

Of Prs origin is also the adjective suffix $-\bar{\imath}$ in $jiga^ir-\bar{\imath}$ 'brown', $x\bar{o}k\cdot\bar{\imath}$ 'grey', etc. But in $s\bar{e}rd\cdot ing\cdot\bar{\imath}$, $par\delta\cdot ing\cdot\bar{\imath}$ 'belonging to this, to last year' at any rate the first part of the suffix is genuine ($<*\cdot(a)inaka\cdot$). Cf Kl. $s\bar{o}l$ i $s\bar{s}ax\bar{s}k\cdot in$ 'belonging to last year'

I have not come across the adjective suffix -ēj, or the suffix forming nomina agentis -akūzg s mentioned by Kl., p. 92

Noun Inflexion

The Article.

109 Wkh, has differentiated the indefinite article \bar{i} from the numeral $\bar{i}u$

Case and Number

110. The only ancient Ir. case-forms preserved in nouns in Wkh are the abl., instr., etc., sg. in -en, -an, 4 and the corresponding pl form in -\(\theta v^5\) These forms have been treated by Tedesco, ZII, IV, 154 sqq.

¹ Cf Kl, p. 91.

^{2 §§ 104, 157}

^{* &}lt; *-akzūg < *-aka-zāka- 'son of' > 'connected with'?

^{&#}x27; Cf Yd,-Mj. § 199

⁵ Cf. Kl, p. 94 Acc to Kl. the sg. suffix -2n is sometimes added to (2)v

- The accusative has usually the same form as the nominative (e.g. iyam xalg yupk pīt Y 'this man drinks water', wuz tar kitâb randəm Y 'I give you a book'). But a form corresponding to Shaw's acc. in -a and Kl's in -1 appears in tu mārek kītābe detāi Y 'you gave me a book'; rəxnīgī pīcevəm Y 'I kindle the (or a) fire', sungi skəndivəm X 'I break the (or a) stick', žə pətreī pūmecevum Y 'I dress my son'. The origin of this form is uncertain, but it might be derived from *-ē < -ahya-
- 112. The dative ends in -ar, $-\epsilon r$, $-\delta r$ sometimes with the addition of a particle ke (Kl., Hj. $-r\partial k$, Sk $-\partial k$, e.g. in $yurm\partial k$, besides $yurm\partial r$) This suffix may be derived from $*-ar\delta < *ar\delta ai$, $*ar\delta am$

As for the prepositions ce, pu, da, etc, cf § 132

As stated by Shaw² "the noun in the genitive is merely placed before the governing noun without any sign" Thus, e.g., žo yāš mād Sk. 'the back of my horse'; draxt pīst Sk. 'bark' (but pist-i diraxt X). Sometimes the Prs construction is used by X in the tale,³ e.g., dast-i istex 'the daughter-in-law's hand', etc

The -e which appears in 'yeū tate nong X 'his father's name' is scarcely an ancient oblique case suffix, but merely the euphonic vowel employed by X after a final consonant, e.g. in nuwde 'he wept', i degde tūet 'there was a daughter', etc. But note the Wkh. phrase yaše yūrk 'horse's grain' in Lorimer's Bur Vocabulary

K1, p. 95, mentions a predicative genitive in $-\partial n$ (y $\partial \bar{a}y\partial n$ tu y $p\partial rn\partial c$ 'a man had a churn'). Cf. Yd.—Mj § 214

114. The nom. pl. is formed by the addition of -1st, as stated by Shaw, e.g in xalgıšt Y 'people', or -1š Sk, Kl., e.g. kəndiš Sk 'women', skādīš 'caps' This form is evidently borrowed from the Prs collective-abstract in -1š(t) < -1šn

ayou $p\hat{a}ds\hat{a}ra$ sa'lâm go $\tilde{x}t$ X 'he saluted the king' may either contain a Prs dative in -ra, or a form a-salâm, with the prefixed acc a-mentioned by Shaw

³ P 12

And also by KI

Composition.

115. Compounds of genuine Wkh. origin do not appear to be very numerous, and they conform to the ordinary Prs. types. Thus, e.g., bəč·δəγd 'female cousin (: uncle's daughter)', draxt-pīst 'bark of a tree' (but cf. also § 113); 'gidim-xeč 'wheaten bread'; γəṣੱi-yāngəl 'thumb', hīb-vərīt 'Charles' Wain (: The Seven Brothers), δas-īu 'eleven', naydīn-yupk 'dew'

Ancient compounds are, e.g., *\tilde{xasirz} 'wife's sister' (< *hwasura-z\bar{a}); noyordum 'bear', and sangurt 'beetle'.

As for ancient nominal and verbal compounds with abi-, ā-, us-, fra-, ham-, ni-, ni-, pati-, pari-, wi-, etc., v. Voc

Numerals.

- 116 1. $\bar{\imath}u$ ($\bar{\imath}$) Y, X, N, (h) $\bar{\imath}$ W, $y\bar{\imath}w$ Sk.
 - 2. būi Y, X, N, W, Sk.
 - 3 trūi Y, X, N, Sk; torūi W
 - 4 ebūr Y, X, N, W, cibūr, ir Sk
 - 5 pānz Y, X, p'ānts N, pāns W, pāndz Sk.
 - 6. šād, šād Y, X, N, Sk, šāð Y, W.
 - 7. $h\bar{u}b$, $h\bar{o}^{\flat}b$ Y, $h\bar{u}b$ X, $\bar{u}b$ N, $h\bar{i}b^{\flat}\delta$ (!) W, $\bar{u}b$, $\bar{i}b$, $\bar{u}b$ Sk
 - 8 hat Y, hat X, W, at N, at Sk
 - 9. nāu Y, nāu X, nau N, nāb W, nāu Sk.
 - 10 das Y, N, Sk, das X, W
 - 11 das-iu N, Sk, das-iu X, das-hi W
 - 19 das-nab W.
 - 20 wist Y, bist N, Sk, bist W
 - 30 $s\bar{\imath}$ N; $tr\bar{\imath}\delta as$ Sk.

The vigesimal system prevails as in other Pamir and Hindukush languages Thus, e.g., Kl cəbūr bist '80' (but bist ət cəbūr '24'), trūbīst Sk. '60', but trūdas '30'

The numerals from 11—19 agree in their formation with the Shghn. group and with Khowar, not with Ishk.—Sgl and Yd —Mj $b\bar{u}i$ has probably got its diphthong from $tr\bar{u}i$ (< Av $\vartheta r\bar{a}y\bar{o}$, with long $\bar{a}^{\,2}$), cf. the adaptation of the numeral '3' to '2' in Kurdish ¹ Regarding $\delta\bar{a}\delta$ v § 46.

Ancient ordinals are apparently preserved in bət, tort and cəbrēm,
v. Voc s vv. Regarding modern ordinals in -ūng, v Kl p 92.
Note the distributive ūgōn ūgōn 'one each'

Pronouns

Personal Pronouns

	1st Prs Sg.				
118.		Y	\mathbf{X}	Sk	
	\mathbf{Non}	wuz (= N)	wuz	wuz	
	Acc (Obl)	maż	maž	maž	
	\mathbf{Gen}	žə (= N)	žu	żэ	
	Predic. Gen	•	¹žunan	žənən	
	Dat.	mar, mār-ek	mar, mar-k/g	$mar{a}r$ -ə k	
	${f Agent}$		wuz-um		

2nd Prs Sg					
	Y	\mathbf{X}	$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{k}$		
Nom.	tu (= N)	tu	tu		
Acc (Obl)	tau	tau $(t\bar{\imath})$			
\mathbf{Gen}	$treve{t}$	$treve{t}$	$t ilde{\partial}$		
Predic Gen.	$t\bar{\imath}nen$	tĭnen, -an	tînən		
Dat.	tar, tār-ek	tawar(-ke)	$tar{a}r ext{-}\partial k$		
\mathbf{Loc}			tər-tau		

¹ Garrūsī so, with o from do, acc to communication from Barr

	1st Prs	Pl	
	Y	\mathbf{X}	Sk.
\mathbf{Nom}	sak (= N)	sak	$s\bar{a}k$
Gen	spa	ispa	$sp ilde{o}$
Predic Gen		ispacan	•
Dat.		sakar	'sākək
	2nd Prs	Pl.	
	\mathbf{Y}	\mathbf{X}	Sk.
Nom	sārš(t)	saš	sāyrš
Acc. (Obl.)	sāv	sab	
Predic. Gen	sāvan	sab/fan	${}^{ t l}sar{a}v{ t -}\partial k$
Dat		sabar	

W gave the purely Sgl forms aze 'I', təfak 'thee'; tumux 'you'

For reasons unknown to us the system of Personal Pronouns in

Wkh has been much more thoroughly refashioned than those of most
other Ir. languages. The stems mana, ahma- and (yu)šma-, which
play such an important rôle elsewhere, have disappeared, and have
been replaced by others of uncertain derivation. Any attempt to
trace the origin of these forms must necessarily be hazardous.

An archaism of Wkh is the preservation of four different stems in the paradigms of the sg. (wuz, ma-, maž, \dot{z}), and tu, ta-, tau, $t\bar{\imath}$)

The acc $ma\check{z}$ 'me', which according to Shaw is also used as the base for the loc., instr. and abI, and according to Kl. $(ma\check{z})$ as an agent, may phonetically be derived from *mazya This form would correspond to Skr mahyam and lend support to the theory that h < gh is original in this word, Gathic $maiby\bar{a}$ having got its b from $taiby\bar{a}$ Probably, at the time when the dative and the genitive were confounded in Ir., Wkh *man was supplanted by $ma\check{z}$, while, on the other hand, taw prevailed upon *tav Thus, e.g., Kl 2 $m\bar{a}\check{z}$

120.

¹ Cf § 72

² P 98

xatt-əi 'I said' < *mazya hwatam, but $t\bar{a}u$. . δett -əi 'thou gavest' < *tawa ditam.

- 121. The dat $m\bar{a}r\text{-}ek$ contains the base $m\bar{a}$, after which has been formed $t\bar{a}$ in $t\bar{a}r\text{-}ek$. K1 gives $m\bar{a}$ and $t\bar{a}$ as separate obl forms X tawar(ke) is a secondary formation.
- 122. Gen. 2nd prs sg. ti^2 may go back to enclitic *tai But the corresponding 1st prs. form $\check{z}\partial$, $\check{z}u$ (Kl $\check{z}\partial$) appears to be derived from a possessive adjective *azya-, and it is possible that $t\bar{i}$ represents ancient *tuya. But no parallell formations are known from any other Indo-Ir language, and the derivation here suggested remains quite uncertain

The predic gen forms in -nen, -nan * remind us of Sgl. mənen, $t\bar{o}n$ ən, Ishk. mən \bar{o} , $t\bar{i}n\bar{o}$. But in these dialects the first n has been transferred to the 2nd prs from mən-, while no such explanation is possible in Wkh Most probably * $\check{z}u$ -n, $t\bar{i}$ -n were formed with the same suffix as δay -ən mentioned above, and then the full suffix -en was added. Kl. gives taw-ən besides the older form tin-ən.

123 The pl forms are still more difficult to explain

As for the gen 1st pl $sp\bar{a}$ (Sk and Kl $sp\bar{o}$) borrowing from Khow. has been suggested ⁵ And, in spite of the objections which may on principle be raised against the assumption of borrowing of personal pronouns, it seems impossible to reject this explanation $sp\bar{a}$ would be the expected older form of modern Khow ispa ($< *sp\bar{a} < *asp\bar{a} < asm\bar{a}$ -), which must originally have been an oblique form, and no Ir. derivation can be found for the Wkh. form.

It is, perhaps, also possible to take $s\bar{a}(-i\check{s}t)$ to be a lw from ancient Khow. * $vs\bar{a}$ (from which *bsa > bisa, pisa).

But sak 'we' is not likely to be borr. from Shina obl asu/o (<*asaka-?)

X predic gen. ispacan is confirmed by Kl spocon, but the origin

¹ Cf. Psht. $t\bar{a}$, which has been formed after the analogy of $m\bar{a}$

² Cf. Ishk tī

⁸ Shaw has zùn-an 'mine'

⁴ V. § 113, and cf p 486, note 5

⁶ V Shaw, p 49, Tomaschek, Centralas. Stud, 95 (< IA sva-1), and Rep Afgh. p 79.

of -c- is unknown A transfer from a lost form *ahmāča- > *māc- is not probable

The 2nd pl obl. and gen. $s\bar{a}v$ has been formed with the ordinary suffix $-\partial v$ sab X may be a Hunza-Wkh. form, cf sabe in a Wkh. sentence in a Bur. text.¹

There are no enclitic possessive pronouns in Wkh But -am, -at -an, -av are used to express the subject in the past tenses²

Demonstrative Pronouns.

"THIS"

124. The following forms occur in our material:

			1110			
Sg	\mathbf{Y}		\mathbf{X}	Sk		
Nom	yem, ıyem,	iyam	yem, (h)a-yem			
Acc.	yımē ³					
\mathbf{Loc}	$(a ext{-})d^{\mathfrak z}r ext{-}{\mathfrak d}m$			d ə ert r-ə m		
Obl			a-yēman			
$\mathbf{A}\mathbf{bl}$			c-eman	c - ∂m		
$\mathbf{Pl}.$						
Nom.			a-1yem1š			
"THAT"						
Sg.	Y		\mathbf{X}	$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{k}$		
	yau, a-yāu		yau, ye, a-yau	yau		
Gen.			yau, yeū (?)			
\mathbf{Loc}	dr- a					
Dat			$yowar, y_{\Delta}wark$	$yar{a}v$ ə k		
Obl.			yōwan			
\mathbf{Pl}			-			
Nom.			yā w ıš	yāwiš, °ušt		
			-	-		

¹ Lorimer, Bur. Langu, II, p. 340.

² Cf. § 154

^{*} yımē detem tārek 'I gave thee this'

125. These two pronouns go back to Ir. 1ma- and awa-, while Y acet 'from this' contains a stem *ita-, from Ir arta-, influenced by 1ma-

Kl gives complete paradigms for all three pronouns $y \ni m$, $y \ni t$, and y = a(u), cf Yd —Mj § 208 mo, yo, wo But while the stems $(y) \ni m$, $(y) \ni t$ remain through all cases, $y \ni u$ forms an ablative c - an - an, (corresponding to c - an - an), c - at - (an)), and a locative d - an, sk - a(m) (corresponding to d - an, d - at, and sk - an, sk - at) These caseforms probably go back to Ir ana - and ahmin

A prefixed (h)a-, corresponding in use to Prs ham-in ham-in, emphasises the demonstrative force of the pronouns

When used as adjectives the demonstratives are usually uninflected V Voc s vv

Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

126 kūr, kuī Y, X, Sk, ko-i Sh 'who?', 'somebody'.—Probably < kahya.

kūm X, kum Sh. 'which?'.—Probably < *kāma- cf Psht kūm čis, či X, čīz Y, Sk., čiz Sh. 'what?'—Prs—V. Voc

cim X, Sk., Sh 'how much?', 'how many?', 'some'—Cf Kl. tum 'so much', etc.

čīzī Y, X 'something'.--Prs.

žat X, Sk. 'self, own'.—From Av x ato. žūnen, -an X 'own'.—Cf. žunen, etc.

'cerak Y, co'rek Sk. 'why?'; 'co-waxt Sk 'when?' contains an ancient interrogative co < čit.

yan 'other'.— < anya-.

yamān Kl. 'one another' is possibly derived from *(y)anān < *anya-anya Cf. § 85. (h)alamān L. id. < *anyam-anya-?

¹ wuz acet xunen niestem 'I went out of this house'

² Cf. can L 'from there'

Use of the Cases and Prepositions

- 127. The subject of a transitive verb in a past tense is put in the nominative in my texts. Thus you nān xat X 'his mother said'; wuz xec-em yrtkem Y 'I have eaten bread', ayou nāgde nīkā kerk X 'he arranged the wedding at night'. But note uz-um xinak X 'I have said'. Acc to Kl., p 98, a pronominal subject is put in the oblease in such phrases māz xattər 'I said', etc
- 128. Regarding the special accusative form of nouns v § 111. The object, when a personal pronoun, is usually put in the accobl. Thus tu čīzir maž dī? Y 'why dost thou beat me?'; sak sāv dīnen Y 'we beat you', sāis čīzir maž dīef? Y 'why do you beat me?', wuz tau (or tī?) dīməm X 'I beat thee'; wuz sab dīmim X 'I beat you'—čīzəv sāyiš wīndəv? Sk 'what (things) do you see?' is an example of the obl. pl of an interrogative pronoun

The "accusative" is used in a local or temporal sense in yupk prōla katum X 'I pour water into the cup' (wuz yupk ar pīl katem Y); żāu yūndəm xədōrq Y 'I carry grain to the mill', and wūd nāyd Y 'to-night'

Examples of the use of the dative are mark mālum ne vit X 'it was not known to me', you nānar žat X 'he said to his mother', yâwər nikā kerk X 'he made a wedding for her', tu mar kitâb rand Y 'give me a book', wuz tawar ī rūpīā rāndəm X 'I give thee one rupee', wuz tar kitâb randəm X 'I give thee a book', wuz sabar. rāndəm X 'I give you', sakar īgōn īgōn rūpīa rande X 'give us one rupee each', tu mārek kitâbe detai Y 'thou gavest me a book', yimē detem tārek Y 'I give this to thee', mārək. 'nə fort Sk 'I will not' ('it doesn't please me'). Note also tu čiz yarkər wəzdi X 'what work didst thou come out for?', uz kend čilgakar wəzdim X 'I came out to seek a wife', and čīzir 'why?', 'what for?'

A personal object is put in the dat—probably through the influence of Prs—in wuz targ dišum X 'I know thee' (but wuz aya xalg dišem Y 'I know that man'); tu čīzir-ke marg dīng? X 'why dost

thou beat me?' (but tu čīzir maž dī Y), yašēr 'peden guž X 'saddle the horse' (but yaš 'peden gužt)

The dative denotes temporal or local relations in purzer X 'in the evening', torter X 'the day after to-morrow' (but tort Y), sub'r halak Sh 'to pass the night', xonar rie X 'go home', rest xonar-ke X 'he went home', i manziler-ke rest X 'he came to a halting-place'

130 Examples of the genitive of pronouns are: you nān X 'his mother', yem žə xūn Y 'this is my house', zu xōnan tı xōn lup X 'thy house is bigger than my house', ıspa xōn lup X 'our house is big'; tə (?) nūng Sk 'thy name'.

The predicative genitive is used e.g. in hayem xōn 'z̄ūnan X 'this house is mine', yau xōn tɨnan X 'that house is thine', tınan cɨs yark tu? X 'hast thou any work?', ayem xōn ıspacan X 'this house is ours', yem xūn sāvan Y 'this house is yours', ī deyd saban tūet Y 'you had a daughter', yem xūn žə xū̄nen Y 'this house is my own'

The ablative, with or without ce 'from', is found in (ce) xōnen mešk X 'he went out of the house', wuz ce xūnen ništen Y 'I went out of the house', uz a'yem 'xōnan X 'I am from this house', wuz a'yēman rū'pīā durzəm X 'I take a rupee from this one' In žau ce wuš ništəm Y 'yalla az kā barāwurdam' ce is used without the abl. ending.

Note the comparative meaning in żu xōnan to xōn lup X 'thy house is larger than mine', etc

az ayou jınıban X 'for this sake, az barā-ı \bar{u} ' is a semi-Prs expression

132 The instrumental, which acc. to Shaw is formed with da. an, appears in pu čâkuwen rəstəvəm Y 'I cut with a knife' Kl, p. 94, gives xıngārən 'dagger' used as an instrumental, but cf also pə...-ən (p. 100)

On the other hand da denotes the locative in peden da dâ'lân $t\bar{u}$ X 'the saddle is on the veranda', da amī xon 'in this house'

(semi-Prs.) Cf the purely Prs. expression dar huzūr-i pâdšâ X in the presence of the king.

But dr- in $d^3r\partial m$ 'in this, here', dra 'in that, there' appears to be genuine Wkh

Adverbs

- 133 1. Local· dərəm 'here', dra 'there'; tərəm 'thither'; tərət Sk. 'there'; kumjei 'where', ce-kūman 'whence', 'where', dīr 'at a distance'; šīš (šīžn), qarīb 'near'; wūč 'up'; baār, tar-vīč Sh 'outside'; tar sībās Sh. 'behind'; prut Sh. 'forward, first'
 - 2. Temporal: $n\bar{\imath}v$ 'now'; $w\bar{\imath}dg$ 'to day', yez 'yesterday'; $t\bar{\imath}v$ the day after to-morrow, or before yesterday', $cobr\bar{\imath}em$ 'three days hence', wu'serd, $\imath ms\bar{\imath}ol$ 'this year' (cf the adj $s\bar{\imath}erd\imath mg\bar{\imath}$ 'belonging to this year', $pard\imath mg\bar{\imath}$ 'belonging to last year'), $totv\bar{\imath}em$ 'the year before last', $ar's\bar{\imath}ol$ 'yearly', co-waxt 'when?'; awal 'formerly'; $b\bar{\imath}ud$ 'then', bot 'further, again'; ce'bas 'again, then', $subda'm\imath k$ 'in the morning', purzsr 'in the evening'; $waxt\bar{\imath}$ 'once'.
 - 3 Modal, etc. γaf 'very'; $\tilde{c}izir$, 'cerak 'why?', $c \ni m \cdot j \ni 'n\bar{b}$ 'therefore'; $y\bar{o} y\bar{o}$, $x\bar{o} x\bar{o}$ 'either—or', $y\bar{a}n$, 'bale 'yes'; $x\bar{u}b$ 'well'; $al \cdot batt$ 'perhaps'; ∂t 'and'

For particulars v. Voc. s.vv.

The Verb

Stems.

134. According to Shaw 'every Verb appears, in its various tenses, under four forms, which require to be known, in each case, before it can be conjugated. These are: The Infinitive form. The Present form. The Past form. The Perfect form"

To these four 'forms' must be added the 3rd sg. pres., wherever its stem differs from that of the 1st Sg.

The Verb Substantive.

The nominal construction is very common in Wkh Thus, eg: hayem xôn żunan X 'this house is mine', uz ayem xônan X 'I am from this house', žu xônan ti xôn lup X 'thy house is bigger than mine', sak Waxi xalge X 'we are Wakhis', sāišt kūi? Y 'who are you?', yem xūn žo xūn(on) Y 'this house is my own'.

Among the few examples of the auxiliary noted by Sk and myself are wuz-əm murz vitk Sk 'I have become hungry', and, in the present, tu-t $k\bar{u}i$? Y 'who art thou?', sak-ən $\check{X}ik$ -ən Y 'we are Wakhis'.

tei- is used in $s\bar{a}k$ -ən $t\bar{u}$ Sk 'we were', saš $k\bar{u}i$ $t\bar{u}et$ X 'who were (?) you', $\bar{c}is$ xabar $t\bar{e}i^2$ X 'what is the matter?' Note $t\bar{u}et$ X = $t\bar{u}$ 'he, she was' in the Tale

Regarding ut and woc- v Voc svv

The Present Stem.

- 136. The only productive Present formation is the Causative in -ev-, -əv-, etc.¹ Thus pūmecev- 'to dress somebody else' from pūmec-; nezdəv- 'to make to sit down' from nezd- Wkh -v- cannot go back to Ir -p-, and the suffix must be of IA origin.²—pšū- Sh, causative of pšin-, pšēw- 'to return' and werxiv- (from werxar- 'to flood') are irregular formations Of nīv- 'to extinguish' and some other causatives no simple forms are known
- 137 A number of verbs have 1 sg pres. in -t/(y)əm, -t/m, and 3 sg in -t/(-t/d). Thus: Sk 'dəviyəm ('dəvid) 'I steal'; 'kəmvəm (ktmt) 'I will'; 'mərim ('mīrid) 'I die', 'nəsim, Y nesiam ('nīsid) 'I lie down', 'wəsim, Y wə'şiyəm ('wistd) 'I am afraid', 'wəzim, Y wəziəm (wt/zit, Y wızıt) 'I come', Sh ramiam (rimit) 'I command', Kl porviyəm (pērvit) 'I attain' These forms must go back to ancient presents in -dya, -iya-: *dabaya-, *kamaya-, *m²rıya-, *m saya-, *wi-srıya-(??), *uz-aya-(??),

¹ Sk. płcowom.

² Cf also Yd -Mj § 229 and the corresponding Psht and Par forms.

^{32 -} Kulturforskning

But cf also $p\bar{u}mec$ - 'to dress' and nis- 'to lose', with apparent loss of -aya-

- 138 Presents in -ya- are preserved in dis- 'to know', poè- 'to cook' (intr), tòs- 'to empty out' (denom), nās- 'to be lost', posmos- 'to ferment' (if < *pati-dmasya-), taè- 'to go, move' (?), muš- 'to conceal', ramuṣ- 'to forget', and wasēr- 'to become cold'.
- Ancient Presents in -sa- are chiefly found in connection with f, v, e.g., wərəfs- 'to stand', gafs- 'to run', nadefs- 'to stick' (Sh. nadevs- 'to affect, stain'), etc. Cf also saxs- 'to pass through'. In purs- 'to ask' the suffix is of pre-Ir date. The derivation of $k\bar{a}s$ 'to thresh' < *xad + sa- is uncertain.
- 140. Ancient Presents in -nā- are · varīn- 'to shear', pazdan- 'to recognize', witrin- 'to sky', and, possibly, pšīn- (= pšēw-) 'to return'

An infixed -n- probably appears in $r\bar{a}nd$ - 'to give' (cf also $p\bar{u}rind$ - 'to sell', $v\bar{a}rand$ - 'to abuse'?), $y\bar{u}nd$ - 'to carry away', $n\bar{u}nd$ - 'to plant', skand(v)- 'to break', and in some other verbs in -nd-

141 Remains of other Present formations are nezd 'to sit down' (*nv-hazda-); pōv- 'to drink' (*pvba-), car- 'to do' (Aor čara-?) In wōc- 'to become', and čāw- 'to go' the Presents differ from the Past Stems (vvt, tāyd 4)

Irregular are dim- (and de-) 'to beat'; zübut- Sh, trans of zubed-

¹ But note Sh. wušam 'I loose'

² With inflexion influenced by de-, v Voc s v

³ With secondary 3rd sg

A Sh has cau- tayd 'to go', but toc- toct 'to move' V Voc. s.vv.

'to burst' proing is probably the perf of *pioin- 'to flame up' (<*pati-dagna-?), cf. picev- Y, pioisev- L. 'to kindle a fire' (< *pati-daysa-??). V. Voc. s.vv.

			Present		
142.	Y	Y	${f Y}$	\mathbf{X}	
	'1 eat'	'I drink'	'I beat'	'I eat'	
	1 Sg <i>'yāwum</i>	$oldsymbol{par{o}}\iotaoldsymbol{o}\iota$	$dar{\imath}m eg m$	'yawum	
	2 ,	$oldsymbol{par{o}var{\imath}}$	$dar{\imath}$	$'yawı(-\hat{a})$	
	3 ``yt	$oldsymbol{pit}$		yawet	
	1 Pl yāwan	$par{o}v{ extsf{a}}n$	dinen	'yawan	
	2 » $yar{a}vov$	$p ar{o} v u v$	dief	yawit	
	$3 \text{$>$} y\bar{a}w\Delta n$	$p\bar{o}v\Delta n$		yawan	
	Sk	Sk	Sk	Sk	Kl
	'I drink'	'I put'	'I die'	'I steal'	
	1 Sg ¹pūvəm	kātəm	<i>'mอา īm</i>	$\delta \partial uy \partial m$	$\cdot \partial m$
	2 » ' $par{u}\iotaar{\imath}$	$kar{a}tar{\imath}$		$d\partial uyi$	
	$3 imes \ par{\imath}t $	kār t	$'mar{\imath}rar{\imath}d$	$d \partial v \bar{\iota} d$	-t, $-d$
	1 Pl pūv∍n	kāt∂ n	mər in	$\delta \partial 'vry\partial n$	$-\partial n$
	2 » ๆนึกอบ	$kar{a}rt$ ə v (!)	mərīv		-rt, -əv
	3 » กลีบอก	kāt≥n	$(\ m \partial r ar{\imath} n^{\ arphi})$		-ən

143 As mentioned above 1 the 2nd pl ends in -t in Eastern Wakhan, but in -v in Western Wakhan. This latter form is probably borrowed from Ishk, as -dwam would not result in Wkh. -v.

Owing to early contractions the 3rd sg presents some irregularities. The secondary contact between the final consonant of the root and the suffix results in various assimilations. Thus wōst 'becomes' (wōcəm), rəšt 'goes' (račəm), wərəšt 'remains' (wərəčəm), wətrəðt Sh. 'shies' (wətrənam), rasaðt Sh 'breaks' (raseðam); kārt 'puts' (kātəm); wuzənd 'brings' (wūzəməm). But rapact Sh. 'loses the way', pāct Sk 'cooks' Verbs ending in nd have no visible suffix. Thus vand 'binds', kānd 'laughs', nūnd 'plants', with -nd < *nd-d.

^{1 § 16}

Quite irregular is the inflexion of $d\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}m$ Y (v above), $d\bar{e}m$, 3 sg $d\bar{e}\dot{s}t$ Sk, $d\bar{e}m\bar{\imath}m$, 3 sg $d\bar{\imath}nt$, 1, 3 pl $d\bar{e}n\bar{\imath}n$ Kl., $deh\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}m$, de, det, $dehen\bar{\imath}m$, $dehen\bar{\imath}m$, $dehen\bar{\imath}m$ Hj This verb has to some extent influenced the inflexion of $wuzd\bar{\imath}$ 'to wash' $t\bar{\imath}i$ 'is' (1 sg. $t\bar{\imath}y\bar{\imath}m$ Sk) is perhaps of pronominal origin, cf Psht. $da\bar{\imath}i$

Regarding the 3rd sg in $\bar{\imath}t$ cf above § 137 In a number of verbs, chiefly in $-\bar{a}w$ - and $-\bar{a}y$ -, the vocalism is changed into $-\bar{\imath}$ - in the 3rd sg ¹ Thus, eg, $y\bar{\imath}t$ 'eats' $(y\bar{a}w)$ -, $\check{c}\check{\imath}t$ 'goes' $(\check{c}\bar{a}w)$ -, $dr\bar{\imath}t$ 'reaps' $(dr\bar{a}w)$ -, $\vartheta\bar{\imath}t$ 'burns' $(\vartheta\bar{a}w)$ -, $\check{\imath}\bar{\imath}tt$ 'kills' $(\check{\imath}\bar{a}y)$ -. Note also $p\bar{\imath}t$ 'drinks' (*pvt)-

The 1st pl. in -n agrees with some dialects of Sgl.—Ishk, etc.² In some cases Sk. gives a compound form in the 3rd sg Thus, eg vūl cart 'smells', but 'vūləm (abstract), 'vūl-carəm (concrete), qēw cart 'calls' (qēwem)

Imperative

The Imper 2 sg. is identical with the Present Stem Thus, e.g, Sk yīn 'see', pāc 'cook', təi 'be'; x̄ān 'say', xaš 'pull', yərəċ 'remain', etc. V. Voc passim

The Past Stem.

145. The formation of the Past Stem has been subject to numerous levelling innovations, and only a comparatively small number of verbs or root-types have preserved preterites which may go back direct to Old Ir forms.

Thus we find *- $\bar{a}ta$ - in ramatt Sh 'commanded' (ramı-), statt Sh, statt Sk 'sent' (s²tīy-), *-ata- in $\check{x}\check{a}t(t)$ 'said' ($\check{x}\check{a}n$ -), sat 'rose' (san-), kott 'drew a sword' (kūn-), $\check{\gamma}\check{a}t(t)$ 'arrived' ($\check{\gamma}\bar{a}t$ -), *- $\check{\tau}ta$ - in $p\bar{\iota}t(t)$ 'drank' ($p\bar{o}v$ -), varitt 'shore' (varīn-), š $\bar{\iota}t$, š $\bar{\iota}tt$ 'killed' ($\check{s}\bar{a}y$ -), zwett 'wound' ($zw\bar{a}y$ -), n>st 'lay down' (n>s $\bar{\iota}$ -), * possibly also in bott 'over-

¹ Cf. § 99.

² Cf Sgl —Ishk., § 124, and 132

³ With syncope in a disyllabic stem

threw' (būt-) from *ham-patīta-(?), $n\bar{u}tt$ 'planted' ($n\bar{u}nd$ -) from * $n\bar{t}h\bar{u}d\bar{u}ta$ -(?), and in $\delta et(t)$ 'gave' ($r\bar{u}nd$ -) from * $d\bar{u}ta$ -; '*- $\bar{u}ta$ - in $v\bar{t}t$, $v\bar{t}t(t)$ 'became', $y\bar{t}t$, $y\bar{e}t$ 'ate' ($y\bar{u}v$ -)

I always heard Y -t (e g $\check{x}at$, but X $\check{x}att$) L has pit and $p\check{s}et$ (Sh $p\bar{t}t$, $p\check{s}ett$). Sh and Sk in most cases have tt, but note Sh. $y\bar{t}t$, parvet (Z porvott, but Kl. $porvoto_2$), $v\bar{a}r\bar{a}t$ (Sk $v\bar{a}ratt$), and Sk. $y\bar{e}t$, $v\bar{t}t$, ϑet (Sh. $y\bar{t}t$, vitt, ϑett) Kl. regularly gives pit, $\check{x}at$, but $pitto_2$, $\check{x}atto_2$ Note, however, Kl $\check{y}ato_2$, $p\check{s}oto_2$, $p\bar{o}r\bar{o}to_2$, $yito_2$ (but yittuu)—The variation between tt and t does not appear to have any phonological significance and may partly be due to inexact observation, partly to difference of dialect. It is, perhaps, possible that tt originally belongs to stems of the type $n\bar{u}tt < *nih\bar{u}dita$, and has been generalized.

146 Ir *-rta- is represented by kert 'did' (car-) and mort 'died' (morī-);

*-ržda- by dežd 'held' (durz-), -asta- by vāst 'bound' (vānd-) and
xərōst Kl 'snored' (xəru\theta-), 1 *-ašta-, -i\tita- by wā\tilde{s}t 'fell' (wāz-), nā\tilde{s}t

'lost' (nā\tilde{s}-), tâ\tilde{s}t 'shaved' (tu\tilde{s}-), 2 and wi\tilde{s}t '(the sun) set' (wīs-) 3

Ir. *-afta-, *-ifta- occur in čavd 'gathered' (čιρ-), naδevd 'stuck' (naδefs-), *-axta- in tayd, rəγd 'went' (čāw-, rəč-) 4

Also rasen- 'broke' (raseo-), nein- 'sat down', zubon 'burst' (zubeo-), wərəyn 'remained' (wərəč-), and xogn 'filled' (xonz-) may be of Ir origin and go back to forms in *-idna-, *-ixna-, etc Cf Skr., nisanṇa-, bhinna-, bhagna-, 5 etc.

147 Considered from the point of view of the modern Wkh system the Past Stems may be arranged in the following groups

Regular Past Stems.

To this group belong verbs whose final consonant is not changed before the suffix t, d.

¹ If not a recent formation with $\vartheta t > st$

² More probably a secondary formations in § + t.

⁸ Cf § 73

⁴ Cf infin tukan

⁵ Cf. Sgl —Ishk. § 138, VI.

In some cases it seems doubtful whether an assimilative change is phonological or merely phonetical. It may be that $witri\vartheta t$ (witrin), $m\vartheta t$ ($m\vartheta \delta$ -), $w\bar{o}z\bar{o}nd$ (wuzem-), $\check{c}\bar{a}ld$ - ($\check{c}\bar{a}lg$ -), and $\check{s}k\bar{u}rd$ ($\check{s}k\bar{u}rg$ -) ought to be considered as regular forms. But it is of course impossible to try to solve this point without possessing more than a superficial knowledge of the language

148. I. Regular Past Stems in t.

From roots in a vowel: ramatt 'commanded' (rami-), lamott 'agreed' (kəmi-); tanet 'folded sheep'; neit 'went out' (nii-); parvet 'attained' (parve(y)-), etc. (v above).

From roots in t: $g\bar{o}tt$ 'found', $\gamma\bar{a}tt$ 'arrived', zubott 'burst' (zubit-), bott 'overthrew' (but-), $\gamma ortt$ 'collected'. From roots in δ . $y\bar{a}\delta t$ 'piled up', $z\bar{o}\delta t$ 'sowed'; $lo\delta t$ 'rammed in' ($lu\delta$ -); $mo\vartheta t$ 'curdled' (* $m\bar{s}\delta$ -). Cf. $witri\vartheta t$ 'shied' (witrin-).

From roots in p, k, č, c: rožopt 'slept' (režup-); dropt 'scratched' (drup-), tapt 'quaked', šilāpt 'splashed', cərōpt Kl 'pinched' (cərup-), čukt 'beat', čākt 'dripped', wāqt 'barked'; töċt 'moved', čoċt 'pinched', gāċt 'tottered', pāct (pacd) 'cooked', etc.

From roots in f, x, \check{x} : $\hat{a}ft$, woft 'plaited' $(\bar{u}f\cdot)$, $parw \mathring{a}ft$ 'netted' $(parwuf\cdot)$, $\dot{s}troft$ 'sneezed', $sk_{\Delta}ft$ 'tripped', $pa\check{c}raxt$ 'arrested', ferxt 'sneezed' Note the secondary formation $w\partial r\partial xt$ 'remained' $(w\partial r\gamma\cdot)$ L.; $so\check{x}t$ 'smeared' $(su\check{x}\cdot)$, $go\check{x}t$ 'did', $\delta \tilde{o}\check{x}t$ 'crushed' $(\delta \iota\check{x}\cdot)$, $\check{c}\partial\check{x}t$ 'killed', etc.

From roots in s, š: kāst 'threshed', nōst 'lost' (ms-), strūst 'splashed', nəst 'lay down' (nəsī-); gafst 'ran', naðefst 'stuck', wərəfst 'stood'; xofst 'felt sleepy'; purst 'asked'; bārst 'closed the eyes', šóxst 'passed', dīšt 'knew'; mōšt 'concealed' (miš-); nāšt 'was lost'; niwišt 'wrote'; podmošt 'fermented', tòšt 'emptied'; tâšt 'cut' (tiš-), xāšt 'pulled'; varešt 'fried'; yākšt 'boiled'.

From roots in r kert, (secondary form: $c\bar{a}rt$) 'did' (car-), $m\bar{r}t$ 'died' ($m\bar{r}i$ -); wasert 'cooled'; naspart 'tread down', werxart 'flooded'. Cf. also kart 'threw into' (kat), with tt > rt.

¹ The Present Stem is only given wherever it differs in vocalism from the Past Stem.

149 II Regular Past Stems in d Most roots in voiced consonants and semivowels belong to this class But the existence of preterites of the type $\check{z}o\delta t$ and $m\bar{\sigma}rt$ shows that d is not a mere phonetic variant of t

From roots in i, y. $s othe d ilde{o} id$ 'appeared' ($s othe d ilde{u} y$ -); $\delta ovoid$ 'stole' ($\delta othe v iy$ -); $j ilde{o} id$ 'read' ($j ilde{o} y$ -), $w ilde{o} z d ilde{o} id$ Sk (but $w ilde{o} z d ilde{o} s t$ Y) 'washed' ($w ilde{v} z d e y$ -, w u z d t-).

From roots in u, w: nowd 'wept' (niw-), porod 'rinsed' (puru-); stod Sh (staudi- L.) 'praised' (sto-, sitao-); worod L 'irrigated' (worow-)

From roots in v: $l\bar{\imath}vd$ 'slipped', tovd 'twisted', $v\bar{\imath}sovd$ 'swept' $(v\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}v\cdot)$, $d^{\imath}rsvd$ 'sewed', and the numerous causatives of the type $rst\bar{\imath}vd$ 'broke' $(rst\bar{\imath}v\cdot)$; $p\bar{\imath}covd$ (but Sk. $p\bar{\imath}c\bar{\imath}vd$) 'kindled a fire' $(p\bar{\imath}cev\cdot, p\bar{\imath}c\bar{\imath}v\cdot)$, $d\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}vd$ Sk. 'showed' $(d\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}v\cdot, v s v d\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}v\cdot)$; $n\bar{\imath}ovd$ 'extinguished' $(n\bar{\imath}v\cdot)$, etc. Note $g\bar{\imath}fs\bar{\imath}vt$ Sk. 'galloped' With Sk. $p\bar{\imath}c\bar{\imath}vd$ cf. Sh. $v\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}ovd$ 'swept' $(v\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}v\cdot)$; $p\bar{\imath}sud$ 'turned' $(p\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}\cdot)$ In these cases w is probably due to inexact notation.

From roots in $\check{\gamma}$: $ded \check{i}\check{\gamma}d$ 'looked', degd 'brought up' Note \check{cald} 'wished' (\check{calg}) , $\check{s}\check{k}\bar{u}rd$ 'sought' $(\check{s}\check{k}\bar{u}r)$.

From roots in z, ž, j: rozd 'ripped up' (rīz-), rəwəzd 'flew' (but wāst from wāz-); wozd 'came' (wəzī-); nawāzd 'sounded'; gəzd 'rose' (gīz-); yāżd 'bore', rīžd 'felt pain', trānjd 'tightened' Note påtråz Sh. 'leant' (putriz-), with -z for -zd'

From roots in r, l. $w\bar{o}d\bar{o}rd$ 'grasped' ($w\bar{i}d\bar{o}r$ -), $\gamma\bar{i}rd$ 'turned round'; $ne\bar{z}\gamma ard$ 'swallowed', $s\bar{a}rd$ 'slandered'; $s\bar{k}\bar{u}rd$ Sh 'sought', yaward 'chose' (yawer-), $\bar{a}ld$ 'stayed', $fr\bar{i}ld$ 'crumbled', $nam\bar{i}ld$ 'hemmed', etc. The Past stems in rd are of a more recent date than those in rt.

From roots in n, m · bond 'winnowed' (būn-), wind 'saw', pazdand 'recognized'; tond 'kneaded' (tun-), škond 'quenched the thirst' (v. s v. škondiv-); brāmd 'babbled', patramd, potrombd 'arrested' (putrum(b)-), vizamd 'rubbed', wīzomd Sk 'brought', xāmd 'descended'

150 III Irregular Past Stems in t

From roots in n $\check{x}\check{a}tt$ 'said'; varitt 'shore', sat 'rose', spat 'filled (a river)', kott 'drew a sword' ($k\bar{i}n$ -), $p\check{s}ett$ - 'returned' ($p\check{s}in$ -)

From roots in nd: yūt(t) 'carried' (yūnd-), nūtt 'planted' (nūnd-), pūnut 'sold' (pūrind-), ratt 'gave' (rānd-), vāratt 'scolded', škott 'broke', niǎt 'expelled' (niǎnd-). As for the origin of this formation cf. § 145 But vāst 'bound' (vānd-), zirest 'turned in a lathe' (zirānd-). Note xərōst Kl (xərind-)

From roots in w $\vartheta v/et$ 'burned' $(\vartheta \bar{a}w)$, $y\bar{\imath}/\bar{e}t$ 'ate' $(y\bar{a}w)$; $dr\partial t$ 'reaped' $(dr\bar{a}w)$, $v\partial ett$ 'rode' $(v\partial \bar{a}w)$, $g\partial tt$ 'covered' (gaw), $p\dot{s}et$ 'returned' $(pv\dot{s}ew)$, $\dot{c}it$ X 'went' $(\dot{c}aw)$ The origin of this type are participles in -ita, e.g. * $y\bar{u}ta$ -, *druta-

From pov- 'to drink' pitt

From some roots in $z \cdot w\bar{a}\dot{s}t$ 'fell', $n\bar{e}\dot{s}t$ 'went out' ($n\imath w\imath z$ -). Cf $wi\dot{s}t$ '(the sun) set' ($w\bar{i}s$ -), $p\dot{o}\dot{s}t$ 'cooked' ($p\dot{o}\dot{c}$ -), $ko\dot{s}t$ 'cultivated' (kiir-); ' $w\dot{o}\dot{s}t$ 'feared' ($w\dot{o}\dot{s}\imath y$ -), $d\bar{e}\dot{x}t$ 'beat' ($d\bar{e}$ -), ' $v\bar{o}zdo\dot{s}t$ 'washed' ($wuzd\imath$ -)

151 IV. Irregular Past Stems in d.

From roots in $k, \check{c}: t\bar{a}\check{\gamma}d$ 'went' ($\check{c}\bar{a}w$, cf inf tukan), $r\partial_{\gamma}d$ 'went' ($r\partial\check{c}$ -)

From roots in p: žovd 'span' (žup-); čavd 'picked' (čip-) Cf. nadevd 'affected', etc. (nadevs-, nadefs-) But, acc to Y, nodafst 'embraced' (nodavn-).

Quite irregular are: sevd L 'beat wool' (sem-), coremd 'pinched' (cerev-), s šīrānd Sh. 'told beads' (sīrāw-)

As for dežd 'seized' (durz-), cf. § 82.

According to Sh. some roots in nd have Past Stems in nd(d): kandi- (but Sk. $k\bar{a}nd$) 'laughed' ($k\bar{a}nd$); $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}nddi$ - 'rubbed up'; $m\bar{a}ndd\tilde{i}$ - 'shampoed', $\tilde{z}um\bar{a}nddi$ - 'wrung' I am unable to explain the derivation of this form. Cf. staudi- L. 'praised' (stau-)— $\tilde{s}andid$ Sh 'compounded' ($\tilde{s}and$ -) is influenced by Prs.

¹ Prs. lw.

² Kl dēm- dəit.

^{*} Kl carup- caropt

^{4 ·}nddi < *-ndid *

152 V. Past Stems in n.

From roots in δ ne-in- 'sat down' (nezd-), rənn 'fled' (rəd-), rasen 'broke' (rased-, v. s v rəstəv-); zubon 'burst' (zubed-), petərnə 'sprung from one seed' (petər δ -)

From roots in an ancient velar pamagn 'dressed' (pamec-), rapagn 'lost the way' (rapic-), $\delta og(\vartheta)n$ 'milked' (δic -), $w\vartheta r\vartheta \gamma n$ 'stayed' ($w\vartheta r\vartheta \check{c}$ -), 'x̄ogn 'filled into' (x̄onz-), varðegn 'pressed down' (varðenz-), z̄irogn 'hung from a peg' (z̄irov-).² Cf. also s v piðn- Kl. 'caught fire' (piðic-), v s v. piðing

From some roots in y: wasan Sh. 'untied' (wusuy-), s pin L 'guarded' ($p\bar{u}y$ -), $k\bar{s}$ an 'heard' ($k\bar{s}uy$ -) 4

Note Sh (and Kl) čern 'entered' (čerm-), but Sk 'errəmd (čərəm-)

153. VI. Suppletive Past Stems.

The Past Stems of $\check{c}\bar{a}w$ - 'to go', $w\bar{o}c$ - 'to become', car- 'to do', rand- 'to give' are $t\bar{a}\check{\gamma}d$, $ta\gamma d$ Sk, Sh $(r\bar{o}\check{\gamma}d$ Kl), $v\check{t}t$; $k\ni rt$, δet . From the point of view of Wkh also $\check{x}at$, $x(\check{s})et$ L 'did' from $go\check{x}$ - (cf. perf. $(g(o)\check{x}etk$ Sk) is a suppletive formation X gave the regular forms c_{it} 'went', and $gu\check{x}t$ besides $\check{x}at$, cf. also Sk ratt 'gave', and Sh. $r\bar{a}tt$, Kl $r\ni tt$, besides δett , $\delta \ni tt$.

Note also tii 'was' (tei-)

Preterite

154. The material at my disposal is not sufficient for establishing a complete paradigm, but in the main the personal suffixes agree with those given by Sh. and Kl⁵

1st Sg δet -em Y 'I gave', $ro\check{x}opt$ -əm Y 'I slept', $t\bar{a}\check{y}d$ θm Sk 'I went', $t\bar{u}(m)$ Sk 'I was'

The transitive ending *mai, and the intransitive ahmi have coalesced.

¹ From worsyn L. has formed a new present wory, with Past Stem worext

² Sh, but cf also Kl žərov- (žərəyak ınf.) žəroyn 'to be stuck'

³ And wašin- 'loosed' (wuš-)

⁴ As for variants of this verb, v Voc sv

⁵ Kl -2m, -2t, —, -2n, -2v, -2n

In the Perfect I heard Y -ən, X -īn in aletk-ən 'I am standing', metk-ən 'I have gone out', wunetk-īn 'I have seen', wizdik-īn 'I have washed', nieng-īn 'I am sitting' But Y nieng-əm 'I am sitting', yitk-em 'I have eaten'; wurufsatk-əm 'I am standing', X vandetk-im 'I have bound'.

The suffix is still detachable from the root Thus Y· wūz-um roxopt-ei 'I slept' (= roxopt-əm), yez-əm rəyd-ei 'I went yesterday', yūmj-um goxt-ei 'I prepared flour', nīv-um ne in-ei 'now I sat down'; Sk 'yark-nı 'krt-ī 'I worked', yurpk-əm dēxt-ī 'I poured out water', wuz-əm murz vitk 'I have become hungry' (cf Y mərz-əm vīt-ei — No suffix occurs in Y wuz ī xālg šīt-ài 'I killed a man'.

The particle -ei, -ai probably originally belonged to the 3rd Sg. of trans verbs (<*hai)

2nd Sg. I heard X yitk-et 'thou hast eaten', (or 'you have eaten'), but also tu δet - $\dot{a}i$ 'thou gavest', X $nivd\bar{i}$ 'thou didst weep', tu wzd 'thou camest', Sk tu-t na wzd 'thou didst not come', $t\bar{u}(t)$ 'thou wast'.

3rd Sg. Y rəxnīg vət-ei 'the fire burned', roxupt 'he fell asleep'; nəðafst-ei 'he embraced', etc, without any distinctive personal suffix—Note X tūet 'he, she was'.

1st Pl. The only example available is Sk $s\bar{a}k \cdot \partial n$ tu 'we were' 2nd Pl Sk. $c\bar{a}z \cdot \partial v$ $s\bar{a}yi\bar{s}$ $w\bar{i}nd \cdot \partial v^2$ 'what have you seen?' But X $sa\bar{s}$ $k\bar{u}i$ $t\bar{u}et^2$ 'who are (were?) you?'.

3rd Pl Acc to Sk $t\tilde{a}\tilde{\gamma}d$ - $\tilde{\imath}$ means 'they went', but it appears to be a sg form

Note the extensive use of the Perfect for the Preterite in the tale told by X

The Perfect Stem

155 The Perfect Stem is formed.

I By adding -k (<*-aka-) to the Past Stem Before this k preceding groups of consonants are usually simplified. This formation is used with Past Stems in t(t), n, vd (causatives excepted), with some roots in z, and a few other verbs

¹ Or '1s'?

Thus Sh, Sk pītk 'drunk', vitk 'been', X, Kl yitk 'eaten', Kl dətk 'given', Sk., Kl šitk 'killed', yūtk 'carried', Sk drətk 'reaped', Kl. purutk 'sold', rattk 'given', Sh. cofk 'picked', zofk 'spun', gözg, X gezge 'risen', wāšk, Kl wašk 'fallen', raxk, Kl rəxk 'gone', dožg, X dežg, Kl dōžg 'seized', mešk, Y, X mešk, Kl nəyəšk 'gone out', wazg, X wuzg, Kl wozg 'come', taxk 'gone', košk 'cultivated', kerk, X kerk, Sk, Kl kərk 'done', Sk mərtk 'dead', tūtk 'been', Kl. dərafk 'sewn', Sh. xötk, Kl. xətk 'done'. These forms have arisen from *yozdg, 'wāštk, *raxtk, *kertk, *dəraftk, etc.

From Past Stems in n we find. Kl. $k\check{song}$, X $k\imath\check{sing}$ 'heard', Sh, Y, X $n\imath\ eng$, Kl. $n\check{sing}$ 'sat down', Sh. $\imath\ ong$ 'fied', $\imath\ aseng$ 'broken', Kl. $\check{e}\imath\ ong$ 'entered', $\imath\ osignate{policy}$ (Past Stem $\check{s}kond$), Sh. $\imath\ osignate{policy}$ All $\imath\ osignate{policy}$ 'dressed', Sh $\delta\ osignate{osigna}$ 'milked' < * $\imath\ pama\check{\imath}(n)k$, * $\delta\ osignate{osigna}$ (pl., * $\delta\ osignate{osigna}$ 'milked', ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'milked', ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate ' $i\ osignate{osigna}$ 'soignate 'soigna' 's

Sh witring 'shied' has been formed from the Present Stem.

II. By adding the stressed suffix -etk, -ətk to the Infinitive Stem. This is the more regular, "weak", formation, and in Sks dialect it has largely encroached upon the ancient group of "strong" Perfects Thus, eg, Sk šəyətk 'killed', besides šītk, yōwətk 'eaten', rattətk 'given', gīzətk 'risen', wəzətk 'fallen', durzətk 'seized', nuwzətk 'gone out', dərəvətk 'sewn', g(o)xetk 'done', kəsənətk 'heard' Besides tūtk Sk gives təyətk 'been', cf Kl tūwətk Sk. rəydətk 'gone' and wərəynətk 'remained' are based upon the Past Stem I do not know whether X čitətk 'gone' is a correct Wkh. form

This form of the Perfect Stem is used with all causatives, and with a great number of other verbs. Thus, e.g., Sk škəndə'vətk 'broken', Sh gizüvetk 'aroused', Y aletk, wurufsatk 'standing', nietk 'gone out', X wunetk 'seen'; vandetk 'bound', kitetk, Sh. yatetk 'arrived'; Sk zə'xətk 'slaughtered', zəl'gətk 'sought for', zə'nətk 'said', pə'cətk 'boiled'; Sh suðuyetk 'appeared' (but Sk sədōi'dətk from the Past Stem) With syncope Sk rətk 'fled' (<*rədətk)

¹ X wəzget < *uəzdek?

² X ži nak?

This formation goes back to *-ıtaka-,¹ cf Sk kəndətk 'laughed' Psht. xandəlaı ²

Regarding the inflexion of the Perfect, v. § 154

Infinitive

In the dialect described by Sk. the infinitive is always formed from the Present Stem by the addition of -āk (< *-āka-) An ă or ī of the root is usually shortened into ə, u Thus, e g, gī'zak 'to rise', vən'dak 'to bind' (vand-), čəl'gak 'to ask for' (čāly-), vəl'wāk 'to burn' (vāw-), pə'cāk 'to cook' (pāc-); dr'wak (and dərə'vak ') 'to reap' (drāw-), 's ružu'pāk 'to fall asleep' (ružup-), yo'wāk (!) 'to eat' (yāw-), etc Note kšəlyak 'to hear', from the original Present Stem, besides kšəl'nak (kəšən-). With contraction dēng (and də'yāk) 'to beat', but wīnak 'to see'

Also Kl has -āk in most verbs. 4 But in Sh.'s dialect -āk is found only in a limited number of verbs. Among those are most stems in nd and t kandāk 'to laugh', mandāk 'to shampoo'; vandāk 'to bind', varendāk 'to abuse', yōndak 'to take away', gotāk 'to find', yatāk 'to arrive', katāk 'to pound' But kumāndan 'to wring', butan 'to throw down', zibut-uv-n(') 'to burst'. Other examples are dauāk 'to burn', cerāk, xāk 'to do', xamāk 'to descend', xašāk 'to cut'; čilgāk 'to desire', našāk 'to be lost', xanāk 'to say', hālāk 'to stay', wuzduk 'to wash'.

According to Sh the majority of verbs in -n have contracted Infinitives in -ng (< *'-aka-) Thus, wing 'to see', ding 'to beat' (from Pres Stem dem-), varing 'to shear', nixing 'to expel'; king 'to draw a sword', piòing 'to flame', pirun(g) 'to sell'

158. But by far the most common infinitive ending in Sh's list is -(a)n, which is absorbed into the final root-consonant in pazdan 'to know', witrin 'to sky'. Thus, e.g, tranjan 'to press', drovn 'to sew', etc.

¹ Cf. Geiger, Pamir Dial. § 38

² Cf Yd −M_J. § 238 But Yd. xadī 'laughed' < *-īta-, v § 235

³ Cf dərə vak 'to sew'

⁴ For exceptions v below

After a Present Stem ending in a vowel the suffix is -in, e.g rame-in 'to command', mara-in 'to die', kšii-in 'to hear'.

Irregular formations are $dr\bar{u}n$ 'to reap' $(dr\bar{a}w)$, $g\bar{i}n$ 'to cover' (gaw), vide-in 'to ride' $(vid\bar{a}w)$, ziru-in 'to turn in a lathe' $(zir\bar{a}nd)$, vasuk-an 'to fear' (wasi), $y\bar{i}tn$ 'to eat' and $p\bar{i}tn$ 'to drink' $(y\bar{a}w,pov)$ are formed from the Past Base, cf Kl yitn, pitn, but Sk $y\bar{o}wak$, $p\bar{w}vak$ nudn 'to sit' is derived from ni-hadana (nezd). radan 'to give' scarcely goes back to radana (v Voc. sv) nimin 'to be' (tei) and nimin 'to go' $(\tilde{c}au)$ are formed from special stems, but note Sk, Kl nimin Kl. nimin 'to

An Infinitive suffix in -k is common to many Ir dialects, but -n < *-ana, is peculiar to Wkh ² Kl, p 92, mentions the infinitives $-8i\delta t \bar{o}r - \partial r$ (in order) to kill, and $l\partial \delta - \bar{o}u$ to give. The first form is a dative of some verbal noun which may in itself originally be a dative. The second cannot, with Kl, be compared direct with the Shgh form in $-t/d\bar{o}u$, but it may also go back to a case-form of an ancient base in -(t)u-.

Note the use of the Dative in uz kend čilgakar wəzdim X 'I came to seek a wife'.4

Interrogative Particle.

160 Wkh. possesses an interrogative particle -a, related to that found in the neighbouring languages ⁵ For examples v Voc s v

¹ But ročn, ro'čak, tukn from roč

² V. Benveniste, Les infinitifs avestiques p. 111.

 $^{^{5}}$ Benveniste's derivation of the Shgh infinitive from a k-suffix, is phonetically impossible.

⁴ Cf. Kl. p. 99

⁵ Cf Yd.—M_J § 258

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

X.

1. A'wal Sul'tân-i Māmūd ži'nak 'pâdšâ tu'et. 2 Dar 'wâda-i Sul'tân 'Māmūd 'yeū 'tate nong Subukta'gin tu 3 'Wâda-i 'yayōr' pâdšâ digar tū. 4 Waxtī (ayou) pâdšâ sail ni ešk 5 Ayou 'pâdšâra sa'lâm guxt 2 6 'Pâdšâ 'yawark pur'sān-um 8 kerk "Sul'tân-i Mā'mūd, tu 'čis 'yarkər wəzd?'' 7 "Uz 'k'end čilgakar 'wəzdım'' 8 Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'xat ki "'Tinan 'čis 'yark tu?" 9. "A'yem ju wâb mark mālum ne vit" 10 "Zūnen ju wâb Tinen i degde 'tūet 4 Az a'you ji'nīban 'wuz-um 'wəzget 5 I 'deyd 'saban 6 'tūet.

^{1.} Once there was a king called Sultan Mahmud 2. In Sultan Mahmud's time his father's name was Sabuktagin 3. In his(?) time there was another king 4. Once (that) king went out for a walk 5 He salamed that king. 6. The king asked him "Sultan Mahmud, what work have you come for?" 8 7. (He answered:) "I have come to seek a wife" 8. Sultan Mahmud (went on and) said. "What is 9 your work?" 9. (The other king said?): "The answer to this 10 has not become known to me" 10. (Sultan Mahmud said) "My answer is: You have a daughter. I have arrived for her sake. 11 (You have a

¹ Uncertain case

² Or žat

³ The meaning of -um 19 unknown to me.

⁴ Cf. § 135.

⁵ For *uəzdek (Perf)?
⁶ Note the pl

⁷ Sultan Mahmud?

⁸ Barā ı čī kār āmadī?

⁹ Literally "was" (tu)
10 Lit. 'this answer"

¹¹ Juwāb 1 mā yak duxtar šumā hast Az barā-i duxtar āmadam

- 11. 'Akram 'pâdšâ 'žat kē· Yem yark ce'bas reč, 'uz 'tawar-ke rux'sat 'gužum. 12. 'Xōnar 'rıč, ce'bas 'wəze 13 'Yān, 'tark ce'bas 'kâγaz 'gožum Yān 'wəze
- 14. Ce'bas 'yowan 'kâγaz rešt 15 Sul'tân-i 'Māmūd 'kâγaz dast-i xat dexide,¹ jōide, bis'yâr 'niwde. 16 "Af'sōs" xat ⟨ki⟩, you 'nānar xat. 17. 'Nān a'yomɛn pur'sân-um kerk. "'Či(s) sa'bab ke 'nivdī?" 18 "'Ēi 'nān,'' xat kē "Žu pi'zū 'tīwde" 19 You 'nān 'xāt '"Yān, 'ne re'čā"
- 20. You mīrâ'xūr 'tū. 21 'Yowar 'xatt "'Yašēr 'peden 'gux'' 22 Ce 'xōnɛn mīrâ'xūr ni'ešk 23 'Peden da dâ'lân tū 24. 'Dast-e xatt dežge, ni'ešk 25. 'Yaš 'peden guxt, ce'bas 'rext 26. Sul'tân-i Mā'mūdar xat. 27 Sul'tân-i Mā'mūd 'kipči 'xōnɛn ni'ešk, sa'wâr vīt 28 Ī manziler ke rext pâdšâ ke'šingat. 29 Xalg pīšiwâzar-ke

daughter>" 11. King Aqram² said. "Go back to s this work, I give you leave. 12 Go home, and come back. 13 Indeed, I shall send you a letter back (or later). (Then) come, indeed."

14. A letter went back from him (to S. M.) 15 Sultan Mahmud seized it with his own hand, read it, and wept much. 16. "Alas," he said, to his mother he said (so). 17. His mother asked him "What is the reason that you were weeping?" 18. "O mother," he said, "my heart burned." 5 19. His mother said: "Don't go, indeed."

20. There was a horse-groom. 21. He ⁷ said to him. "Saddle a horse." 22. The groom went out of the house. 23. The saddle was in the veranda. 24. He seized it with his hands and went out. 25 He saddled the horse and went back. 26. He told Sultan Mahmud 27. (The groom and) Sultan Mahmud both of them ⁸ went out of the house and mounted. 28 When they had gone one stage, the (other) king heard (about their departure). 29. People were sent ⁹ to the presence (of

¹ Prob = $de\check{z}d$.

² The other king

 $^{{}^3}$ Or "go after, follow"? \bar{I} $k\bar{a}r$ pas buru

Ba mådar-ı xud guft.

⁵ For longing

⁶ Or "do you not go?" na-mērawy-a.

⁷ Sultan Mahmud

⁸ har-dū-š.

Lit. "went".—ādam pīšiwāz i S. M raftan

rext. 30. 'Purjar Sul'tân-i Māmūd ki'tetk 31 Mīmân'xâna-i 'pâdšâ xalg xa'bar bīt. 32. Īu 'xalg dar hu'zūr-i 'pâdšâ rešt 33. 'Pâdšâ pur'sân-um kerk "Jū ma'rām, čis 'xabar tēi?" 34. Ma'ram xatt ke "Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'wezge." 35 "Xūb," xatt ke "'Purzer 'yâwər 'yark 'guxum" 36. 'Purjer 'yâwər ni'kā kerk 37. Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'gezge, dast-i 'pâdšâ 'bâm kerk 38 A'you 'nāgde ni'kā kerk 39 'Tafči xuš'waxt bit 40 Sub'damid 'pâdšâ 'yâwer rux'sat kerk 41 Ce'būr 'yaš 'yōwer ta'wīl vīt ' 42 Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'ya(f) 'xoš bīt. 43 Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'pâdšân du'ā dežge, rux'sat vīt 44 Rešt 'xōnar ke 45 'Yōwə 'nān 'xōnan ni'ešk ba'ār. 46 Dast-i is'tex dežge 'Mūbarak 'bōm kerk.²

S M.). 30 Sultan Mahmud arrived in the evening. 31. In the king's guest-house people became aware of it. 32. One man went before the king. 33. The king asked him "My servant, what is the matter?" 34. The servant answered: "Sultan Mahmud has arrived." 35 "Well," (the king) said, "to-night I shall arrange his affair" 36 In the evening he made his wedding. 37 Sultan Mahmud rose, and kissed the king's hand 38. That night he arranged the wedding. 39. He was very happy. 40. The next morning the king gave him leave. 41. Four horses became his stable. 42. Sultan Mahmud was very pleased. 43. Sultan Mahmud made a prayer for the king, and took leave 44. He weut home 45. His mother came out of the house 46. She seized her daughter-in law's hand, and kissed it for good luck.

¹ Or bīt

² I am giving this tale, which was the only one which I was able to get hold of, as an example of the broken Wkh of which X was certainly not the only speaker. Note his preference for the perfect

³ Kār-ı ūra mēkunım.

⁴ King Aqram.

⁵ Sultan Mahmud

VOCABULARY

Abbreviations As for Y, X, W, N, v § 2—Be(llew), Bi(ddulph), Cap(us), H(ayward), Hj(ulei), Kl(imchitskiy), L(orimer), Ol(ufsen), Sh(aw), Sk(old), St(ein), Z(arubin)

All words given by my informants are included, although a large number of those given by X, W and N are either doubtful, or evident lws They give, however, some impression of the lability of vocabulary in Wakhan. Verbal forms taken from Sk are usually arranged in the following way. Pres 1 sg, 3 sg, Imper 2 sg, Preter 1 sg, Infin, Perf.

Vowels.

-a Y interrogative particle - a'yen xon safan-a a is this house yours? sas xeč yawit-a? do you eat bread? -Cf Yd -a, v. § 160 ēi X, O! — ēi nān O, mother — Prs 1 X 12afet - Prs V § 113. iu Y, X, N, i Y, X, (h)i W, (y)iw Sk,etc one, a(n) — wuz i xālg šāyem Y I kill a man — Cf. Yd yū V §§ 109, 116 ve Y, in ve puid-kaf instep ab'lă °a Sk stupid. — Ar Prs. abr X, N cloud - Prs abirišum Y, brijšum X, abirēšim Sk, vrīšum Zar, raišum Sh silk Prs., but borr. at different periods obi-sə noč X inflated skin for crossing a river, mussuck - *Prs Cf. Shgh 33 - Kulturforskung

zenåc 'sanāc', Lentz zə'nōc , Taj. (Semenov) $san(g)\bar{o}\dot{c}$. acet Y from this -wuz ao xunen meštem I went out of this house (here), Cf. § 125 sq (h) ičwaxt Sk never — Ar-Prs a'do Sk torn — spo skādiš ao tū our caps are torn. -(h)adab Sk courtesy. — Ar.-Prs ādl Sk justice — Ar Prs odil Sk. just - Ar-Prs $\bar{u}f$ - $\hat{a}ft$ - Y, wof- $w\bar{v}ft$ Z, to weave, wuf- uoft Sh. to plait. - ūfəm, âftəm. - Ct. Yd waf-, Sgl if-. f'sős X alas — Prs. af tob N sun — Pre V yir igon igon X, iyan iyan Sh. one each uuz sabar io io rūpiā rāndem I give

you one rupee each, sakar io io vūpīa vande give us one rupee each alvel X cow-house, avil B court Turk Prs ah mag Sk stupid. — Ar-Prs u'qob X, a° Sk eagle — Ar-Prs aq să Sk sneezing — Ar. Prs. al- ald Sk to wait, a'letk Y standing - wūd nāyd adərəm ale'thən this night I am staying here — 'āləm, āld, āl! 'āldəm, ă'lak, ă'ləth Sk -Cf Sgl alal'batt Sk perhaps — Ar-Prs al'qum Y, Sh, halq X, alq Sk throat, halkūm Be gullet — Ar.-Prs. halq, hulqum 'allo Sk O! allo nor Sk but ala'laš cār. Sk to mix — Cf Ishk id. almas'te Sk. demon - Cf Ishk almas'tı ala'ša X, ayla'žă W, ala(x)sā St chin, naw - Cf Sgl ala'še a'mī X, homīn Bi this — uuz da a° xon niengin I am living in this house - Prs im N snow. - Scarcely correct, of Khow. hīm — V zem am'boy Y, oay W cowife - Prs am¹būr Sk tongs — Prs a'mēd Sk hope — Prs. amēd vor Sk hopeful — Prs ammā (or °o ?) Sk but — Ar-Prs omy Sk 1 fe - Ar - Prs ım'söl Sk. this year - Prs âīn, v yīšn laīna X mirror — Pre andag m, indigunj f. Sh slave. - Cf. Yd hade, ida, (and Kharoshti amtag'i, Burrow, BSOS, VII, 779?) andak X little, kam - Prs. andav Sh. fever. - Cf Yd Idou.

in'sof Sk justice — Ar Prs Anterč L sister-in-law — It is tempting to derive this word from *yant; - < **ienaty*-, but the loss of y- would be irregular There are, however, many phonetic irregularities to be found in the development of the various IE words denoting brotherand sister-in-law an'gūr Y, X, N, B oir Sk grape — Prs an'gišt N, oušt Sk, live coal - Prs angušta'ra X finger-ring — Prs $ap^{\dagger} \bar{c} \bar{u} n \times \text{winnowing fork}, h \bar{u} \bar{c} \bar{t} - C f$ Sgl 1d ar Y. In wuz yupk ar pil katem I pour water into the cup Or yupkar, with dative for acc? $i \eta a^{\dagger} l \bar{i} Y$, X felt rolls placed under the saddle — Cf Or yuryă'la (Lentz) - Turk ar qa Sk back (between the shoulders) - Turkı a'raq Y, N, X, W, Sk perspiration. — Ar-Prs. ō'rīnj N elbow — Prs $a^{\dagger}r\bar{a}r$ Y a tall tree with round leaves o'ns Sk bride - Ar-Prs ar sol Sk. yearly - Prs 'ar 'xēl Sk multicoloured - Prs. 'of every kind' ar'zan X, on N millet - Prs ar'zon Sk eheap — Prs a'sōi Y, oāi Sh. walking stick — Ar Prs i'sâb Y calculation — i° cai em I reckon - Ar Prs a sad X n, of a month — Ar Prs " $usd\hat{u}n$ " (= $uzd\bar{u}n^{g}$) Olufsen, Through the Unknown Pamirs, p. 83, loopholed tower < 'uzdāna-9 iska cusk Y, X top of the shoulder,

bālā-ı šāna.

iska'kut X roof — Cf Yazgh s⁹kād, Yd iščīv, etc., Av uskā<u>t</u> above + Wkh kūt (q v)

a¹sal X, Sk, °āl N honey — Ar-Prs. os'mān Y, as'mōn X, ˌŏs'mōn Sk sky — Prs

ispa, v sah

usto'dək Sk spider — Prs, ef. Yd. ustada

18tīn, v (1)st-

istind. L to yawn — Pres istin <

ustuxon N bone — Prs

ōš Sk porridge - Prs

ıškamba ı-pâ N, əžkamba W calf of the leg — Prs, cf Par ıškam'bek-ı-pāı. əš'tīr Y, *štūr X, šıtər W, štīr Sk, uštur Sh, šətor Z, etc camel — Prs, cf Yd Iškırō

uš'yor Sk wise - Prs

 ∂t , et Kl and - < uta.

ât³'šak Y, āta'šī X, ōta'šək Sk lightning
— Prs., cf. Shgh, etc. (Sk)

ət Sk., hot Sh open — Cf. Sgl hət ət-kər'kīn Sk. honest.

a'vārt Y, °art Sh., Gr span — Tomaschek compares Pis āward 'collatio, congresses' (??)

a ual X formerly, aw'ual Sk beginning
— Ar -Prs

ar won Sk anımal — Ar Prs

i'uar X husband's brother — Badakhshi-Prs

ō xer Sk end — Ar Prs axta xāna X stable — Prs

a'yāu Y, ayou X, ha-ya Sh that (emphatic).

— Y a'yāu xūn that very house, wuz aya xalg dišem I know that (very) man, X az ayou jinīban (v. s v. az), a'you pâdšāra salām gužt he saluted that king, ayou nāgde

nıkā kerk he arranged for the wedding that very night — Cf yau V.
§ 124 sq

iyam, iyem Y, (h)ayem X this (very) — Y iyam xalg yupk pit this man drinks water, iyəm xalg nīv rəxupt this man fell asleep, X (h)a'yem 'xōn 'zunan this house is mine, a'yem yu'wāb mark mālum ne vīt this answer was not known to me, ayem xalg this man, these men, uz ayem xōnan I am from this house; ayem(iš) xōn their house, wuz a'yēman rū'pīa 'durzəm I take a rupee from him, nān a'yōmen pursān um kerk his mother asked him — Cf yem V § 124 sq

a'yōs Sk autumn- or winter wind

az X from. Only in az ayou jinīban
for that reason — Prs
a'zīz Sk friend. — Ar ·Prs.
u'žāk Y (E Wkh), ū° Be, wa° Sh adze
— Cf Khow wāž

\boldsymbol{R}

bā Sk, bhah Ol kiss — tu maž cārī bā! kiss mel — Cf. Yd boh. V bām.

be X, be Sk a hortative verbal particle Russ 651 — X tu be unzum bring thou, ayem xalq be xec yawan these people shall(?) eat bread, Sk 'lecer yau be 'uzzit let him come; uuz xō'yiš 'cārem ki 'yau be 'uzzīt I want him to come, tu be 'xātet thi 661 сказал (but tu xātet ты сказал)

bår Sh cave — Cf Zardıbår 'Yellow cave' ın Shingshal (Cockerill), Ishk. ambi (Gr.)

bot Sk rich - Tuiki

būt Y, X, W, N, Sk two - Cf. § 116. būi X smell - Prs bēbi'dī Sk double edged sword - Cf Yd maxmudiyo bībuk X cuckoo — Cf Yd bubuka, Kurd (Soane) pepūk, kepū v. Cf Lorimer, Corr ad Bur kvpokVoc 60 II bəč Y. Sk., bůč Sk., bač Sh. paternal uncle. buč(ak) Y, buč Sk., buč Z, Sh. he goat. - Pra bəc bəc bəc Sk. female cousin — V. bəc bič'ka Y, buč'khām Sk. tail, bečkam Sh horse-tail $b\bar{a}d$ Sk then — Ar ·Prs. bēd Y, X, W willow. — Prs. ba'dan Sk. body. — Ar-Prs bedr X edible pine, jilyöza — Cf Prs bidla n. of a tree?? bərldöq Sk widow, bedok Be widower buidog-om to I am unmarried - Cf. Ishk bardoq, Bajui būr'dok badxa'rak X n. of a bird — Cf. Prs. xar stailing? baf Y, X, b'af, baf Sk, baf Sh. good, bă'fak Sk. nice, băf'tar Sk. better. balfikr Sk wise — Prs bēfiriš tā Sk healthy and fat person. — - Prs 1d 'without an angel (of death?)'! bēgu no Sk. mnocent. — Prs. boy Sk garden - Prs bō'yē Sk. cousin. ba'yal X, W armpit - Prs $b\partial^1 \gamma \partial t$ Sk. a miser — For $b\partial \gamma \partial l$, cf Ar-Prs baxil? bəyz cār- Sk. to hate. — Ar.-Prs baha'dab Sk corteous. — Ar.-Prs. bēha'dab Sk. discorteous. — Ar. Prs ba'hor Sk spring - Prs. be'hišt Sk heaven. - Prs

Sgl. vəzōk? bo'ja Sk brother-in-law — Cf Rosh (Sk) id, Ishk, boja, Mj bája bu'gă Sk bull - Turkı. baku'la Y, bag'la N, bog'lă Sk. horsebean - Ar-Prs be-'k'and Sk widow (prob 'widower') bakar X n of a bird, bulbul-i āwī — Prs bagr lapwing, hud-hud balkor Sk necessary — mārək bo I need - Prs. bakš Y husband's brother. — V § 60 bakš kand Y husband's brother's wife bale Sk yes - Prs. bâl W wing. - Prs bel Sk spade - Prs bulbul X bulbul, cuckoo — Prs bilfak X n of a bird, bilfak - *Prs? bole qa Sk hammer — Prs 'bulli X birch, buruž - < Khow burisbriland Y, blo Sk. high, tall - Prs bām, bōm X a kiss — b° kerk she kissed — V bā būm X owl. - Prs bumbə riš X thunder. — Khow be mor Sk ill, bemö'ri illness - Prs boin 1) X main beam of a roof, tir-i kalān. — Shina boi boin 2) X armlet. — IA, cf. Kshm bahi, Sındhı bāhī, etc būn Y winnowing fork Cf būn-ām bond-um Y, bun- bond- Sh to winnow (and Sh to throw away) -Cf Yd. laban. band-1-dast Y, X, Be., odest W, band N wrist - Prs band-ı pūd X ınstep, ankle — Prs + Ishk band X walking stick. - Khow bont

round rafter?

bāj Sk, Sh, Be, baδ Hj. thick — Cf

ban Y, Sh, ban Sk, female breast bar W breast - Prs ba'ār X outside, bīrūn — niešk baār she went out - IA. bār Y, X, Sk, Sh, Z dooi — Cf Yd. lavor būr X grey. — Prs bur Sk angry brobar'nāyd Sk. midnight — Prs + Wkh barf N snow — Prs brām- Sh to babble — Cf. Saka brremto wail, cry? - But v Bailey, BSOS, IX 73 balrīn Y, Sk, bu inš(?) X, brīn Sh, H1, barın Be., barīn, birin Bı knee, brine Cap 'jambe' - *dwariona. with dissim. < Av. $dvan\vartheta ra\cdot leg??$ bo'ron X, N, Sk rain - Prs. bolrinj Y, X, W, bolronj Sk rice. - Prs. bu iš-cārum X I cut, mēburam. — V. rəstəvborit Y, burut X, W, brut N, bri/ut Sk moustache - Prs brutča par Sk. large moustaches buirst/t Y, boiot Sk., boret Sh, boint St. elbow - < *ham bršti-99 Cf Skr. bhrsti- corner brūtiyai č Y, °ya(i) č X collarbone — Cf yare, burit bispur Sh, St eagle Unknown to Sk's informant — Cf. Khow, biz'bar bīst N, Sk, bist W twenty - Prs V wist bās-wəzi-m Sk to be able — Cf Prs bas āmadan V wəzibisyâr X much — Prs. bâša Y, W falcon. -- Prs. bet K1 further, again (digar, bori digar) < *dwit(y)a - Cf § 117.bit X roof-board. — Khow. but B clothes - < *ham puš-ti-? § 73

but- bott, bott Sh to throw down overthrow (a wall, etc.) — < *hampataya-, cf Sar 1mbat-. But v. zubut-bai'tal X mare — Turki.
bēwa Y, °wā Sk., bewa zan Be widow — Prs
bo'wuiž X falcon — Cf Khow sayūn č/ž, and Shina bayõš hawk
bēx Y, X, W, Sk root. — Prs
baxš cer- Sh, bax sar- Y to divide — bax sarəm — Prs
buz Y female 1bex, bəz W, buz X goat — Prs
buz'mūi X goat's hair. — Prs

\boldsymbol{C}

V § 131

co from

c³·būr Y, X, W, N, ci'būr Sk., sabūr L
four — Cf Yd. čšīr V § 116.
c³·brēm Y, cprēmər L three days hence,
cebrīmēr X the day after to-morrow,
ceberām Cap week(!) — < *ċaðwaraīma-. Cf. Yd pċūrma
ce'bās X, cibās Sh back, again, then,
cɔ¹bāz Sk back, cɔ¹bās Kl behind —
c° reċ go back, c° režt, c° 'yowan
kâyaz režt the letter went back to
him, c° kâyaz gožum — Cf Yd
špāċ, Ishk. ċpōšt. V sībās.
ce'kūmān X. In. safan dī'ōr c° 'dehī

ce'kūman X. In. safan di'or c' 'deh-i šumā kudām ast' — Originally cekūman 'from which?'

cum X, cūm Sk, cūmər L how many?

— saš cum nafar wezg? X 'šumā
cand nafar āmadīd?' cūm 'pīl tīnən
(tūi) Sk how much money hast thou?

— Cf. § 126.

cəm-jə'nīb Sk therefore — Wkh-Prs ce'mīs X eyebrow(?) — V vərau. cān L from there. Cf § 125 car- kerk X, car- kərt Sk. to do. -Sk. qa'ror car be silent, hu'mak-car help! 'yark-m 'kiti I worked, īr con ax-korts the sun has risen Cf ısâb, bā(m), dırau, oān, kanda, le, nikā, nivišta, pursān, taxsīm, xaiīd car-, cārəm, cart, căr! 'kərtəm, cə'rak, kərk Sk — < *čara- (cf Av aor čorat) kita- V. gožcår Sh kite - Cf § 81. cur cun X the end of a tail 'cerah Y, co'rek, ook Sk why? - sais co xec yavov Y why do you eat bread? coroka tut na words Sk why didst thou not come? -- Cf. § 133 coropt KI to pinch, cenevcoremd L to pinch, tweak, string. co'rax Sk, spark — Cf. s.v. ir. — Cf Yd ca'rox cāizņ Sk, ozn Z, oz Sh. awl. — Cf. Shgh $c\bar{c}z_j$, Sar $c\bar{a}z < *qel-\bar{g}(h)o$ -, cf WP, II, 435? 'ce-waxt Sk, coyd L, Sh. when? - Wkh. + A1 ·Prs citr L, cutr Sh spindle - Prob. a Iw.

Č (Č)

Cf M₃

from IA, ef Skr cattra-

čēša, Psht cāšai

čabaxt W heel (?).

či'ča Y, ču'čň X, Sk chicken — Prs. či'găs Y (also Grammophone) collar bone čeγ Y, čēg X, čəˇγ Sk, čoγ Sh, St, čiγ Be. kid.

čūˇγ Sk multicoloured. — Properly a Shgh form, cf Yd kaš, Sgl. čū̄γ čāγe'lī X crow, karγā — Khow. čāγlī chough řákū Y, X, 'čā° W kmfe — pu čākuven

rəstəvəm I cut with a knife. - Prs

čňk čňkt Sk to beat — Cf. Sar čak. Sgl čuk-, Khow. čok- to beat 'čakka Y temples. — Taj Prs čkar Y, Sk , črikn X, čhor Sh partridge - IA, cf Hind čikor, etc čau'lī Y, X small falcon čălg- Y, X, Sk. čāld Sk to search for, ask for - čalgam Y, wuz čizi čalgam, uz kend čilgakar wərdim X I went out to search for a wife, Sk čālgəm, čālgd, čālgi čāldəm, čəl gak, čəl gəth čilim xaš- Sk. to smoke - Prs čunár W chenar - Prs. čang Y, X claw - Prs. čap Y, X, Sk left (hand) - Prs čip-am čavd-am Y, čip um X to pick, gather, cup- Sh, to gather (one by one), but cup to cut. mince. - Cf Yd. $\tilde{c}\tilde{u}(v)$ čap Y, X small hawk čpān Sk cloak. - Turk -Prs čīpiš L young goat. - Prs čer X rope fastening the plough-pole to the yoke. čər'mŭ Sk., čərm L, čarm Sh canal, small water course - < *čarman-*čanman-? But Av. kan- never has č-. če'rām Y, čə° Sk, čərāmın L threshing ground, čiramn Sh reaped corn, heaped up for threshing - Cf. Yd xu'rom corm : corond Sk, cerm cern-, ciramn, Sh to enter. - 'coromom, coromt čərəmi cərəmdəm, etc — *atı-ram-? čor māyz X, N, čār° W walnut — Prs čår påya Y bed — Prs čirii Sk, čio Sh thornbush čar'vī Y, obī X fat (noun). — Prs čarxY, X, čārx Sh spinning wheel. - Prs $\dot{c}ar^{\dagger}xa$ X avalanche of stones - \dot{c}°

ui'zīt - *Prs, cf Yd carxo

čašma X hot spring, č²šmā Sk spring
— Prs

čtă-lang Sk ankle-knuckle

čat X, N, čăt Sk, čat Sh, cat L horned cattle — čat dic Sk milk the cow — Cf. Sar čat

čut car- Sk to tear asunder, čot- L to be torn — IA Cf Sgl. čət

icovki X chair. — Prs < IA

cāw um citem X, cāv tāyd Sk, cāw toyd Kl, cau tayd Sh to go, walk, raftan, cawuw- Sh to remove. — citetk X pret ptc, Sk cāvi thou walkest, tāydam I went, tāydī they went, Sh cit he goes, tukan nīt, taxk pret ptc. — < *cyaw *taxta, cf s vv rec. tac.

cu wān Y, W, Sk, cu won (not on) Sk,
cu win X (= Ishk), cuwān Sh. apricot
— Cf. Sgl cu wēļ

čəž. čəžt Sk to kill, slaughter, čož. Sh to skin — Cf Sar kêig. kažt to skin Relation with Prs kuštan is not clear — Possibly < *kuš + *čauš. Cf Yazgh. kuž hide, skin.

čīz Y, X, Sk, čis X what? či xabar tēi X 'či xabar ast' tinan čis yark tu? X what work hast thou to do? tu čis yarkər wəzd? X what didst thou come for' čī[s] sabab ke nivdī X why didst thou weep? tə nūng čīz? Sk. what is thy name? 'čīzəv 'sāyiš 'wīndəv? Sk. what did you see? tu čīzir saher dīng X why dost thou beat us? tu čīzir maž dī Y — Prs čīz, cf Sgl čīz V § 126

čīzī Y, X something - Prs.

čAž^m Y, 'čej^um X, čožm N, (čom W), čežm Sk, čožm Sh, čožm Kl., čažm Be, čozm St, kizm Bi eye — čejuma yupk X tear (āb-i-dīda) — Cf Yd. čam

D

da X in, on — 'peden da dâ'lân tu the saddle is on the veranda, wuz da amī xōn niengīn I am living in this house — Bad-Prs.

da'ī W female breast — Prs dāya?

dē- dēxt Sk. to beat, hammer (a nail),

dī-. dīxt Sh, dīst N to strike. —

Sk dēm, dēst, dē! dēxtum, d³'yāk

(dēng), dētk, Sh. dī(a)m, dīxt, —,

dīxtam, dīm (dīng), dieth, Sk. maž

sīnī dētk I caught a cold, sīnī dēst,

yupk-əm dēxt ī I poured out water,

X tu dīng?), N maž dēsti arak I

am sweating — Ct Sgl deh-, and

v s v dēm-

duā X prayer — Ar.-Prs
deδιγ- deδιγά Sk, dīδγ dīδιγά Kl to
look at, dīdīg- Sh, to look (after)
— Sk 'deδιγδη, °ίγα, °ίγ, °ιγδημη,
°ιγακ, °ιγδικ, εῖz dedιγδην what do
you see? 'mārδκ 'tər-tau 'nə fort
dədi'yāk I hate thee (I will not look
at thee) — Cf Av dīδαy- to look
at?

deg . degd Sh to bring up dīg Y, dēg X kettle — Prs dig'dân, v dildung.

'dəger Y (°gēr Gramm), do'gəi N, də'yər Sk, rıγıuδ, rıεδ L, dyor Sh, digger Bı, hındıger Cap finger-nail — Khow (lw) do'yur < *ng- < *nk- < *n(a)xar-?? Cf § 47 Cf Sgl narxōh, Sar nağaur < *naxōr

digar X other, another — Prs doqdoq Sk trotting — Cf. Sgl dəqədəq dil N heart — Prs

dil'dung Y, X, dildong Sk, Sh (dig'dân W) fireplace Corrupted from Prs dêgdān, cf. Sai dildung a kind of fuel

derf X hair of the pubes

do'lon X veranda. — Prs dilēr Sk courageous — Prs dilővár, °va'rī Sk. courage(ous) — Prs dām Sk. back (of human beings) — Cf. Ishk. dam. də ma Y, dama X, damā Sh wind dmā Sk. east wind - Prs. dīm- Y, X, dēm- Kl, dehəm- Hj to beat - Y wuz tau dīməm (1 sg.), tu čīzir maž dī? (2 sg), sak sāv dīnen (1 pl.) sāiš čīzir maž dīef? (2 pl), Kl pres dēməm, —, dəit, dēnən, —, dēnən, H₁ dehəməm, de, det, dehenən, dehenəv, dehenən Apparently dim, deham (v. s.v $d\bar{e}$ ·) for some unknown reason was enlarged with a second personal ending into demom, likewise den into denon (2 pl. *den-ov for *dev-ov) V § 141 domb X, damb W tail - Prs. dâ'mâd Y, Sh, du'måd X, N, dū'mod Sk son-in-law - Prs damfaje X yawn — do quxum — Prs, cf Sgl. damfāžek dendik Y, ouk Cap, LSI, dinduk X, dən dək N, ouk Z, dun duk Sk, Sh, ouk St. tooth - Cf Yaghn dindak', Sgl dänd dang vitan Sk to beat eachother, to fight — děng wocom, etc. — Cf dědra Y there Cf § 124. dar X in (in dar hauā, dar huzūr-i pâdšâ) — Prs då re Sk gunpowder - Prs dirau X reaping - do carem - Prs. $di^{\dagger}\bar{o}r$ Y, X, $d\bar{i}\bar{a}r$ Sh village — Prs dūr Y, X, Sk, Sh, etc belly, dor B abdomen (uard stomach) — Cf. Sar daur. Sgl der dārē Sh, L thread of hemp or hair < *darzč?

dr'gå Y veranda, dālān, "dargha" Ol. men's room. - Prs. $d^u r \bar{u}_V$ Sk lie. — Prs durūγgū'yī Sk har. — Prs durukš X, drukuš X, drukk W, drukš N, Sk., Sh, etc bull. -<*društk< *drždaka-, cf Wan. Psht. lēžda?? But cf. dožg, dežg, s v durz- Cf § 60 dərəm, adəlrəm Y, dəlrəm Sk., (ha)dram Sh here - wid nayd adorom aletkon to night I am staying here, $d^{j}r \rightarrow m$ wə'zai come here Y, sar do tū Sk the man is here - Cf. § 124 drup- dropt Sh, derup- deropt Kl. to scratch — Cf Serb. drápati to scratch, tear, etc (v Walde-Pokorny, I, 801) derepčY, drepč X, drapič B broom - *repč (cf Yaghn rope from raup-) + drup-? drost Sh, drēst L sleeve di'rišt X rough. — Prs. dorev. dorevd. Y, do'rov. do'rovd. Sk, drip-(?) X, drov- drāvd- Sh to sew. - Cf. Par. andarf., Shgh incav, Kurd dirun, etc drāw dratt. Sk, drett Sh. to reap drāwəm, drīt, drāw! drəttəm, drwak $(dərə^{\dagger}vak)$, drətk — Cf. Prs $dur\bar{u}dan$, Shgh. câw daraxt Y, W, dalraxt X, Sh., draxt Sk tree - Prs. draxt 'pīst Sk bark of a tree dər'yō Y, dar'yå X, Sk river — Prs daryā lab X bank of a river - Prs durz- dežd Y, durz im pf dežg X, dožd Sk to take, seize X wuz a'yēman rū'pīa durzəm I take a rupee from them, dast-i istež dcžge she (has) seized his daughter-in-law's hand, dežgem, dežide, Sk durzem, durzd, durz, doždom, dur zak, dur-

zətk, pf dözg — *han-drz-, Av darəz-, ef Par derz-, Cf § 155 das-nab W nineteen dast Y, X, N, dast Sk., Sh arm, hand, armlet Y. - Prs dust Sk friend. - dust-turem I love, d° sordum — Prs dīš- Y, X, dīš- dīšt Sk, Sh to know, learn — wuz aya xalq dišem Y I know this man, wuz targ disum X < *han disya- cf Yd dis-, Av handaes to instruct, teach doš'man Sk. enemy - Prs. dašt X open space, steppe, dāšt Sk valley - Prs dut (Cockerili) rope-bridge - Dut-i-dur dētəi Sk memory, yād dot'kī (wušh) X calf, one year old diwol X, deo Sk wall - Prs duzd Sk thief - Prs. $d\bar{u}^{\dagger}zax$ Sk. hell. — Prs.

δαι Y, Sk husband, δαι, δα yak Sk, dai W man, X youth (xūb juuān), δāi Sh vir, hero - Cf. Saka daha- (v Bailey, BSOS, VI, 81) δui-i L, dug Kl stack, da'ī N heap of corn — Cf Ski. dhāya- layer, stratum, Psht dalai 'stack of corn'. διc- δogən- Y, dic- X, δic- δogn- Sh to milk. — yu dicam Y, čat dic X — Cf Yd lūžδčck Sk., Sh. a skin used as a bag, mussuck - Cf. Yd laxclo δi_{γ} Y, N, δi_{β} X, δi_{γ} Sk thick milk, $d\bar{u}_y$ — Cf Prs $d\bar{o}_y$ (cf Prs pu- $l\bar{u}_y$ milking). δργd Y, N, degde X, dīyd W, dəγd Sk, δayd Sh. "zaghīt" Be, "thurght ' Bi., ' "dghogit, dzogit" Cap. daughter -

tmen ī 'degde tūet X you had a daughter, ī deyd saban tūet W you had a daughter, - Cf Yd luydo δung Sh springe, snare — Cf. Mj. lomago δing KI seed, dona, tuxm. — < *danakadir Y, X, Sh. far, distant. - Cf Yd lūro δor L valley - Cf Prs. darra *dur-, cf s.v dust dard Sh, derd L parti-coloured Cf Skr dadrŭ- leprosy, etc 8rd cer- L to carve wood - Cf Prs darridan, etc. Sirs Y, Z, Sirs L, Surs Sh goat's hair - Cf Yd lirs, Sar Sors Sort L, Sart Z, Be manure, dust-heap. -Cf Yd poskedrī (and, eg, O. Engl tord dung) δas Y, N, Sk., Sh, etc, das X, W, las(!) H ten - Cf Yd los dis Y, L dough. dus Y, dos Sh. wasp - Cf. Skr. damsa- a stinging insect, Kalasha dac mosquito, Phl dasta (Nyberg, JA, 1929, 272). das-'iu N, Sk das-iu X, das-hi W eleven disiv- Y, disəv disövd- Sk, visuv-(1) Sh to show - Av daesδεξ L, δοξ Sh late — Cf. Sgl deξ 8It Y, Sk, Sh., did X, dit N, dud W smoke — Cf Yd lūi detk L brick - *distik (from which Shina lw listik) < *dišti-ka §§ 12, 73. Sitr Y, ditur X, Setr N, *Sati ("zutr") Be. sickle — Cf. Yd. loru'yus Savry- Sovoid Sk., Suvi- Sovoid- Sh. to steal - Pres. Boviyom, Boviyī, Bovīd, 'Saviyan, pret 'Sovoidam, 'Saviyak, Sovi'otk Cf Oss davin to steal, Av dab- to deceive, Yd lo- V. nabovsδiž- δožt- Y to crush, mēšakam, δuž-

δοžt- Sh to powder, macerate

Cf. δέδεπ grindstone — Cf Skr. duşaya-9?

δiz L wall - Cf Av daēza, Yd lizo

\mathbf{F}_{i}

fī X spade — Sgl. foi W much, many - for xân - Sgl. fauj Sk army. - Ar Prs. 'fiak Y, oek X, olak N, fi W blade, shoulder, fayak B scapula — Cf. Sgl fi'ūk. fikr Sk. thought $-f^{\circ}$ care to think. - Ar -Prs fuks Y, Sk, Sh, St, vuks N, fügz Hj snake - Cf Sgl, woxs falenz Sh egg, L dove(?) for Sk. In marsk . . . ns fort I don't want to - Prs., cf Sgl. befåru for yome Y female calf, one year old, fur yumč X id., two y old - Cf Sgl. foryom, Yd frayingo fril- frild- Sh, foril- L to crumble -Ishk form with fr and l < s, of Sar, war-fareig- war-frakt. frax Sk a long way - Prs farax ferx. Sh to sneeze, snort. - Sar. id, cf Khow frīžē- to suiff frazbīz Y, faražbīz Sh. sieve - But fraxbiz xašəm Y I winnow(?). — Cf Yd fraybīl, etc furz Y, Sh. birch — Cf. Yd. zeviryo fasi Sk season — Ar Prs faut Sk. death - Ar.-Prs G

 $q\bar{\imath}$ Y, Z, $g\bar{\imath}$ X, W $g\imath$ Sh, $g\imath h$ Be excrement — Prs, with adaptation in Y, etc

 $g\bar{e}$ car Sk, to grow — Cf. Sgl $g\bar{u}$ kəngač- Sh. to totter, waver - Cf Sar wakoč-, Yd. vožī-. gafs- gafst- Y, geps-, gips- X, gəfsqəfst- Sk to run, mequrezam, gofsgofst Sh. to gallop (intr.?), gofsov $g \ni f s \ni vt$ Sk to gallop (caus) — $g \ni f s \ni ak$ Sk gallop - Cf Sogd y 8s- to advance But g- points to *han k/gguhrū W guts, Ishk. žang≥k — *Prs gəl Sk flower — Pis gil X clay - Prs gul Sk dumb - Cf Sgl. gol glac Sk., gilic B deep, gilec Sh a pit allm'bof X spider - *Prs qulamītī Sk black-роскя (черная оспа) - *Prs gi los X, oās W cherry - Prs gān car- X to winnow — Khow gān 'wmd' gap Sk word. - Prs gar X, in gar katum I throw gür Sk tomb — gür car- to bury — Prs 'gurda X, N kidney — Prs gorj Sh hinge, door-socket - Cf Sar ger ban Y, garban Sh, gar dan X, Be., gr° , $g \ni r^{\dagger} \delta \bar{a} n$ Sk. neck — Prs. garm Sk hot, garmi Sk heat - Prs gas paul N sheep. - Prs gūša X corner -- Prs. gušt Y, Sk, Sb, gūžt X, rīšt N meat - Prs (N adapted to Wkh.) aūš'wār X earring - Prs got- got- Y, got- X to find, obtain, got- gott Sk to find - gotom Y 'mēyābam, yāftam', pret ptc kilteth X, gotom, gott, got, gottom, go'tak gəltətk Sk quiv gott- Sh to cover, close

qawust Be. fist — Cf Skr gabhasti- arm, hand?

qož- Y, X, găž- gužt, žat X, gožžotk Sh. to do — X yašēr peden gūž
saddle the horse, yaš peden gužt he
saddles the horse, salām gužt, žat,
yūmj-um gožtei I have ground the
flour, Sk. žāk, g(o)žetk, Lor x(š)ėto
had done, ršetk having done — gožfrom 3 sg gožt — Shgh ki^zt, Sar
kašt < *kunati?

'gūyək Y, o'yak N hip, anus Cf. guhrū giz X, gəzd-Y, gōz gəzd Sk, giz-gozd-, gozg Sh to rise — gezge X he rose, gōzum, gōzd, gōz, 'gəzdəm, gō'zak, gō'zətk Sk — < *han-xaiz-, or cf Oss an-qōzin, an-yēzun to yeast?

gőz Sk meadow -- Prs gāz, cf Shgh yōz-zōr.
gzīdum Y, gazīdum X, W, Sk scorpion
-- Prs Cf Sgl gāz ləmb

Γ, ř

řiu Y, řī W, gī'ū X, yū N (Ishk), yiv Sk, yū L, ytw Zar, yu Sh, yiū St cow - *gāwa-, ef Sgl uyūi. yə'bâr Y, yu'bār X dustcloud, duststorm - Ar.-Prs $\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{u}\delta$ Sk, $\gamma\tilde{u}\delta$ Sh, Sk. thief — Cf. Yd. yū'dı Sk., yūdı Sh theft. - yo car- Sk to steal y'ı'dim Y, gı'dım X, ga'dim N, gı'dim W, yəldim Sk., yıdim Sh., yedim Zar. yadim Be, yo'dem Kl. wheat. -< *gandūma·, cf. Yd vādəm 'gidim-žeč X wheaten bread $\gamma af X$, Sh, $\gamma \bar{a}(')$ Sk very $-\gamma af xos bit$ X he became very glad, 'jā-tga Sk very much - Cf. yafči

ya'fāi X much yrf L place for putting pots beside and below fireplace. yafči, yapšī X much, very, yafč (baftər) Sk still (better) - zim yāpšī dēt much snow fell, yafči xušwaxt bit he became very happy - Conn with Sogd yarf much? vāl X sit down, bišīn (?) yalbīl Y, yıl'bēl X, yal° Sk sieve -Ar -Prs 'yalla X grain — Ar-Prs yə'lom Sk servant — Ar ·Prs vām Sk sorrow - Ar-Prs yumančak Y scrotum - Cf Yd yumino ya'nī W hair, yēno goat's hair. - Prob. lw from Ishk, of sv ye nok yən'dāl N scorpion, "randāl" H₁ spider - Cf. Shgh yan'dāl spidei. řar Y, Sk, var Sh., gar X stone, rock. - lup gār rock, žār katum Y I throw a stone - Cf Yd yar. jer Y, jer X, yor Sk, jor Sh wool -Possibly with $\dot{\gamma} < w < Av$, varana-? Cf § 50 yīr- yīrd- Y, yīr- yird- Sh, Zar. to turn round (Sh also to cross a pass, - Cf Sar yirs-, yerd-*vor (Cockerill) ravine, kurum. - "Ghor jerab". yūr N, Sk (E Wkh) penis, X, ytr W scrotum — yur-gāu tuy Sh buckgoat - Cf Sar yūr, Sgl yōr penis ya'r ib Y, yeo X poor - Ar Prs yərəb L yak's wool — Cf yer ya'rāy Sh, 'yaray St, *yırāk B collar of a garment. — Cf. Sgl s v yo'rōk yorung Y, yurung X heavy. - Cf Sogd yrān, Khow (lw) yrānu pregnant vər'i ă Sk. bud — Pis yurra new moon?

yortt Sh to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves -<*gart to roll. γ̂aš Y, găš X, γaš N, St, γāž W, γāš Sk., Sh mouth -- Cf. Yazgh yaš < *gaštra-, cf. EVP s v yāš tooth (< *gaštra·, not *gastra).yoš Y, yext W, yoš, yoš Sk, yoš Sh male -- $\gamma \partial \check{s}^{-1}piik$, $p\check{i}\check{s}$, $ya\check{s}$ Sk — With γ - < w-, cf. § 50? Or ancient lw. from qušn 8 yəš-k'e'la Y, yəš-kə'lă Sk, yoš kala Sh ram - V k'a'la. yəši-yāngəl Y, yoğ yangl Sh. thumb — Cf Prs nav-angušt yītš Y, grš X, yiš N, yūš Sk, yītš Zar, yıš Sh. ear — Cf. Yd. yū. yīšt N meat. — V. qušt yat Y, yāt- yatt Sh., yat- yat- Kl to arrive. - gatevum, kitethem X 'mērasam(?), rasīdam', ki'teik (Sh yatetk) he has arrived — From gata-? But cf. sv gotyūv Sk hollow where grain is stored, you Be cornbin, store-room for food -- Cf Sgl vov ỹiy ỹoid. Sk to copulate. — ỹi/əyəm, yald, yarl, yordam, yi'yak, yi'yatk Sk Cf Prs. gāidan, etc $\tilde{\gamma}\bar{u}z$ Y, Sk , Zar., $g\tilde{u}z$ X firewood, bramble, $p\bar{u}\dot{s}$. — Cf $\dot{\gamma}\bar{u}z\ vor\ Sh.\ a\ fuel-fetcher$ - Cf Sgl yōz yžerf, yərf L fireplace. — Prob with yz = y as also in other words in L's material. — Cf. $\gamma if^{g} < Av$. gufradeep?

Η

hub (hobb Grammophone) Y, hūb X, ūb N, $h\bar{\imath}b^{\flat}\delta_{,1}$) W, $\bar{u}b$, $\imath b$ Sk, hub St, Zar, hub Sh, etc seven — Cf Yd ovdo hib-volrit Sk. Charles' Wain (the Seven Brothers) halq X, v al'qūm (h)alamān L one another -<*anyamanyah? But cf yamān Kl id. V § 126 humu- Sh to be, - human I may be - Cf Saka hama, Sogd māt was Gauthiot, JA, 1916, p 254 hanjūi L pit for storing butter. 'haret X span, arat St cubit · < *ara9ni-9 hešt X ploughpole. V wošp. hat Y, Zar, Kl, Be, hat X, W, Sb, at N, āt Sk, hāt St eight — Cf. Yd aščo ha¹wā X, awâ Y, °ō Sk air — Ar hu'zūr X piesence, majesty. -- Ar ·Pis \check{J} (cf. \check{Z}) ji'dā Y separate. - jo carem. - Prs ji'gār Y, Sk, Sh, °ar X, N, W liver. - Pis jīga'rī X, Sk brown, ori Be green -Prs. jao'jī Sk. pieces [of felt?] placed under the saddle jon Sk soul -- Prs juāna X male calf, two years old -Cf Sgl juwå E. ja'nūb Sk. south - Ar Prs ji'nīb X cause, reason. — az ayou jinīban for that reason 'com jo'nāb Sk therefore - Ar.-Prs jang Sk war. - jo viti there was a war. Ar. Prs 'jangal X forest. — Prs. jən wār Sk female mountain goat. ju'rāb Y, je° X stockings — Prs

jur'yât W sour milk. — Tuik Prs

je'rīv Y mud (?).

ji'rex X, jirox Zar, žerāž Sh knot —
Prob borr. from Sar žerež Cf Yd.
γu'rež.

jūš Sk waterfall (in the Panj) — Prs
jūš boiling, ebullion
ju'wâb X answer — Ar. Prs
ju'wân Y, °ān X, je'wōn Sk young —
Prs Cf ju'āna
jōy· jōyd Sk, jōide X, jō·in Sh to
read — ya'wiš nɔ'mōz 'jōid Sk they
read their prayers — Cf NTS., VII
116 sq

K, Q

ke X to, for (postposition with the dat.) - rest xonar ke he went to the house, čis sabab ke nivdī? for what reason didst thou weep? xalg pišiwâzar ke rešt 'ādam pīšīwāz-ī ū raftan'. I manziler ke režt 'he came to a manzil' Cf H₁ (p 19) dative in $r \ni k \ (= -1 - \ni k)$, Sk žə 'yurm- $\ni k$ (or yurm ər) for my arm — Cf. § 112 ki X that (con).) - Prs kū X, W, Sk hill - Prs. kūr Y, X, Sk. somebody, who? - tu-t kūi? Y, tu 'kuī? X who art thou? saš kūr tūet? X who are you? kūr šayum X I kill somebody. - Av kahuā. § 126 kə būn Sk., hubūn Sh., hoo Hj dish, wooden bowl, cup; kobun Olufsen flat wooden dish, kubun L wooden bowl. $< *kumb\bar{o}n < *xumb\bar{a}na-*$ $q\bar{a}br$ Sk. tomb - Ar-Prs. ka būt X, W blue. — Prs ki'bit Y, Sk, oit X, Sh, kipit L, kobit Z pigeon. — Cf Yd. kovio. kūček X puppy — Prs.

gəldă Sk parents-ın-law galdam Sk pace, step — Ar -Prs. kodinok Sk linen - V kənaı. kədiw Sk. pumpkin — Prs kaf Y foam, seum - Prs. kife Be, kife Kl, kipëi X, har kife Sh both, kifčk Be like kaf-1-dast Y, X, kaf W, N palm of the hand. - Ar. Prs kāfš Sk shoe. — Prs karg X flea - Prs $k\hat{a}_{\gamma}az$ X letter — tark k° $go\check{x}um$ 1 write a letter to thee, ko dast-v-xat dexide he got the letter in hand. -Prs. kik Sh wild dog, kik L lynx kik Y, kok X, kok Z, Hj., žkuk (1) Sh a spring, kik Sk hot spring - < *xāka- Cf Sar kauk (borr from Wkh), Yd xūyo. V § 42 koh Sk, Hj eyelid (E Wkh.). 'qakul X n of a bird, qakul, kāka šon Sk. the Milky Way — Pis $k' \Lambda la \times ram$, $k(a) la \times sheep (m and f)$, kalā Sb, etc sheep. — Cf. Khow. 'kelī? kel- L to itch. halr'ben Y, kalbun St, kal'pipi N, kal L, kal Sh, "khál" Be., "kull" Bi aimpit. - kal would seem to be a Sgl form of kaš, but cf Prs (dial.?) kalk 'side under the armpit', which may, however, belong to the Sgl group (cf "Prs" yōl 'ear'). Cf. Sgl kaš-viš (< Prs. kaš?), Šemerzod k'ašbūn. gala¹mī Sk Inned. — Ar.-Prs. kalmury X engle, kite(?), kalmury Sk kite (bald-headed eagle?). Cf. Khow. kalmury, Prs kalmury vulture (v Yd) s v. war yıjın).

kalan'joy X n of a bird - Prs kal bald

hulv X lock — Ar Prs

kə litoq Y, kalı et (1) W, kalıtok Sh wind-

pipe, kabitok Be larynx (for *kalitok *) kəl'vår Sk. mussuck — Cf Shgh kalıyor

(Lentz) he'll Y yoke-peg - Khow kāri kam Y, X little - Prs - But kamō L inferior wife < Khow kuma 'kəmi kəmətt- Sk to will, kami- kamat Sh to agree, consent - komiom, kimit, kəməttəm, kəmi'yak, kə'mətk Sk - Cf Sgl komaykâ mî W back — Cí Sgl ka măk qim Y, kum Sh owl - Cf Sar kum kom, k'om Y, X, k'oum N, kâm W, khom Be palate - Prs kūm which? - ce kūman from whom? - Cf § 126 kumjer Sk. where? - V kūm kar'moq X cream - T. Prs ku'mak car! Sk help! — Prs qim'mat Sk price - Ar.-Prs ka'mön X bow — Prs ka mån-i-Rus tam Y, ka mān X, ka mön-i-Rus'tom Sk rambow. - Prs. kampal L blanket - Aucient lw from kampī rak Sk thunder Cf Sk. Mater, 138. kalnai X cotton, kinei Sh. bleached coarse cotton cloth; know Hy linen - Cf kodnok kūn W anus — Prs. hin- hott (ku'nak) Sk, kun kott- Sb. to draw a sword, humkott L to dig out, root out. - Av kankona Y. X old (not new) - Prs. kī nă Sk hate - ko car-. - Prs. kānd- Y, kand- X, kānd- kānd- Sk, kand- kandi Sh to laugh - kāndəm, kānd, kānd!, kāndəm, (2 sg kāndī), kən'dak, kən'dətk Sk — Cf. Yd xoud-

Adapted from Prs xanda kend Y, X, kund W, k'and Sk. married woman, wife — uz k'end čilgakar warden X I have come to look for a wife, bāf hondiš Sk the women are good. - Acc to Gerger (Gr Ir,Ph) = Skr kāntā kind Y, kund X blunt. - Prs ka nek X mosquito gå nun Sk. law — Ar-Prs kap Sh camel's hump - Sar kiep, Or kup, of Yd kyifo kapč Y, Sk, Sh, kapča X spoon --Pis kafč kipči, v kifč 'kipok Y cuckoo — Cf (Ar) Prs. kabbūk, $kap\bar{u}k$ kar Y, X, kar Sk deaf - Prs qā, Sk anger — 'wuz-əm 'kār cārəm I become angry, 'yāwušt 'kār-n krtī, 'spåsıx-n ländi they got angry and left us - Ar Prs kūr Y, X, Sk blind - Prs ga'rīb Y, X near - Ar. Prs kar'bāš Sk lizard - Prs.? Cf Yd 'karbəsa karče'yai Y kite — Cf Shgh karči'yāi, etc. Turk kard Sh crooked - Sar, čerd kar vā Y, qər vā Sk crow — Turk -Prs. herk Y, X, kirk N, kork Sk, kork Sh fowl, hen - Cf Yd kinio kir'kun X elbow - Khow kur'kun ka/urum (Cockerill) ravine 'huən Y, 'kurun X plough - Prob 'ploughing', cf hur-Sh. to cultivate, Sgl. kīrūg plough, etc 'ku pa Y bedding - Prs. kırpa¹čā Y mattress. — Prs. qa'r or Sk. silence — q° car be silent - Ar.-Prs

kanda X laughter - k° carem

kurust W bark of a tree, kəhəst, krost i Sk karast Sh fur-robe — Cf Sgl korost, Yd karăst.

k³10š Y, ka'rōš N pea, patek, k³1ōš(ak) Sk pea, hean — Cf Sgl karåš q³1rit Sk cheese (= tužp) — T-Prs kir'žepč Y, kižipči X, karžopč Sh, kərž° Z magpie, qulbeq — Cf Yd LYunyo

kās. kāst (kə'sak), Sk, kas. kast L to thresh, kəsak vand. Y to thresh (but said to follow fraxbiz xaš, and to precede būn.) — Prs kustan to pound, kusta 'rice that has been separated from the husk by pounding, but not cleared from the chaff' have u, and are douhtful words

'kasa-e-sar W top of the head. - Pis kāsa-i-sar

kiš Y, kiš W, kes X, kus N, keš (kež) Sk, kuš B vulva, vagina — Cf Sgl kuš

 $k\tilde{s}\hat{a}d$ Y, ° δd Sk, $k^{\delta}\tilde{s}\delta t$ X, $k\tilde{s}\hat{a}\delta$ Sh. broad, wide Prs, cf Shgh. $ke\tilde{s}\hat{a}\delta$, etc

 $ku\dot{s}'k\dot{o}r$ X male oorıal — Cf Sgl $k\partial\dot{s}'k\dot{d}r$ $k\ddot{s}t'g\ddot{a}$ Sk field — Prs

kaš Y, kāš Sk, kaš LSI, kaš L boy, young man, zamân kaš B — Av kasyah- smaller, cf Psht hašai only son

kšuy- kšən Y, kı'sın (?; kısıng X, kə'sən- kə'səng Sk, kəsuy-, kəsen-kəseng- I., k'uy- k'son Kl, k'son Ksong- Hl, k'sur- k'son- Sh to hear— nīv tı zık k'uyəm Y now I hear thy word, tı zık uuz kı'sınum, ke'sıngat X 'sınāwid', kə'sənəm, kəsənt, k(ə)'suy!, kə'səngəm, k'sə'yak (k'sə'nak), kəsə'nətk Sk — *uš-kln-> *skən-> k'sən- (cf. Bal. uškun-), *sruy-> *səy,

contaminated with kšən- into kšəy-? Or, more prob., < *gušaya-? kšən as a pres stem is secondary, of Sk inf kšə'yak, besides k*ənak

hūt Y, Sk, Z roof, kut X ceiling — Cf. Sh. kat ôīt soot? — < kāta-, cf Av kata, etc? V. iskakut ku'tâb Y hook — Ar, Prs

ktič Sk hut, ktič Kl hut on summerpasture — Cf Ishk krič kŭtk L chaff.

kat- hart Y, X, kāt- kārt Sh to throw, spread, pour into, andāxtan, kāt-kārt Sk to lay, put — wuz yupk ar pīl hatem Y, yupk prola katum X I pour water into the eup, yār katem Y I throw a stone, hātəm, kārt, kāt!

kārtəm, kə'tak, kəṭətk Sk qat Y mucus, kat Be snot (lıšp mucus). kət Y, Sk, kut X, kot Sh short — Cf Sgl kut

qətb Sk the Polar Star — Ar Prs ku'töl W dagger — IA

'qēw- Sk to call — qēwəm, qēwī, qēw cart, qēwən, qēw! qēw kərtəm, etc — Cf Sgl qīw.

ku'wend L sheep tick — Cf. Psht. kūnai (EVP, s v kōn)?

qōx Sk, kox Sh. cough. — Cf Shgh kēx, Or kux, Prs kux kux.

kužt Sk. every, Sh all, whole — °tək
Sk all — kužt čīz everything —

< *kyštı- the world (cf Av karšrar-), cf semantically Yd ža'hānd
much < Prs jahān?

qå zī Sk judge — Ar-Prs

qūz Sk goose — T-Prs

kūza X pitcher — Prs

kəž Y, keš X, kəž, köž Sk., kož Z, Sh, kēž L, 'kurcj' Bı knıfe — Cf. Yd kero V § 80

\boldsymbol{L}

lab W, lap N, low X lip - Prs lafč. $lu\delta$ - $lo\delta t$ Sh to ram in la cer- X to leave, lacar- Sk, to allow, la car- Sh to let go — ləcər yau bc wizit let him come Sk - Cf. Yd la(k)lafč Y, Sk, Sh. lip - Prs V. lab. lo'yar X bad. — Ar Prs. lāyar la'jom Sk. bit of a horse. - Prs lūq Sk rag lamerz L sloping down of a field -*nr marza-. lând W tooth - M1, ef Yd lad 'dendik. landak Sk. cheese (творог ис сметана) lang Sk lame - Prs. ling Y, ling X, lang Sk calf of the leg (Sk. also of a goat) — Prs lunj Sk cheek. - Prs lup Y, X, Sh, lūp Sk big, large. ispa xon lup Y our house is big, žu xonan ti xon lup X thy house is bigger than mine, lup yangl Sk. (hip yo in Sk Materialien, p 141 is due to a misicading) thumb - Cf Tajiki lum(b) (Trudy Tadž Bazy, III, 55)? lipča X milk pail, of lupt Olufsen flat earthenware jug for milk and water? lâst W hand — Cf M3-Yd last 'lâša X lean. — Prs hšp B mucus — IA līv- līvd Y, Sh. to shp — Cf. IE *(s)leib-(Walde-Pok. II, p. 391)? Or *sleub? But Or. xirf slippery < *srifra. Psht šwai < *srifaka-, with Ir s-? lu'uâre Y, la'wore Sk, leware Sh, etc sand

lēw Sk., līw Sh demon — Cf Sgl lēw from "M₁?

'līx- Y, līx- līsetk X, līx- līxt Sh. to līck — Genuine, or from Prs lēs- līst? But cf Sgl lēs- lazja X trembling — loo goxt trembles.

— Cf Shgh lazja, from Prs. larza lox Y udder

M mai Y, X, W, mai Sh, may B sheep, mai X, māi Sk, kūr-mai L female oorsal - Cl Yd mũo me Sk., mår Hj. don't. — 'me pers, pers-imer don't ask. — Av mā mo'i Y, N, mo'i X, mahe W, ma'i Sk. fish. — Prs mū X hair on the body - Prs mız Sk., mūr, mu z L month - Cf Prs māh, etc 'mūbarak X salutation, gratulation — Ar -Prs. mič Sh. (double) handful - Cf Sar mut V, § 73 mâček Y, mâč-šač Be she-dog, moč L female - Cf Yd macio mãd Y, X, mas W, Sh, mās L, Zar (back of the) waist, back, mād Sk back (of an animal). — žə yāš mād zāxm vitk Sk the back of my horse was wounded - Cf. Sgl mēð V § 100 mâda N female - Prs mai'don X plain - T Prs. mo'du Y, Sk, madūr L, madur Sh., madar Z noon - Cf Sar, Shgh mador — Av maidya. + ayara (cf frayara- fore-noon) ma'dāx Y, mə'dāy Sk., madāy Sh mare. — From Phl (?) *mādag

known to Sk.'s informant) - Cf. Yd. miky mēy W cloud. — Prs. may'rıb Sk west. — Ar-Prs. mayz Y, X, N, W marrow - Prs. magž Be 'brain' may be genuine (cf Be sirk, Sh serk marrow) may zī Y, X, N, may zek W arm above the elbow — Cf Sgl. asta mayzak, Yd mižiste. mi jāš X eyelashes — Ar ·Prs māk' Sk neck — Cf Shgh id. mok Sk. hen — Cf Sgl mākək mukuduk Y, muydok X, mokadak W, muklok N, mukt Sk, Sh, mukt L, moxt Be frog - Cf Ishk. mukuduk, Sgl. moydök, Yazgh. ma'gåd maks Y, X, Sk., L, Sh, etc. fly — Cf Yd moyuso maks L ripple. mü'ld Sk donkey-saddle. mul X stirring pin - Cf Yd. mūl mālum X known, mark mo ne vīt it was not known to me - Ar-Prs. mă lūm dor Sk honest - Ar - Prs mula'im X soft. - Ar -Prs molling Sk., maling L, maling Sh middle, waist. - Cf Yd. malane məlung-yaič Sk shinbone, malungyaič Sh. thigh, "malungerch" Be arm - Cf yašč məl'teq Y, mil'tiq X, ml'teq Sk. gun məllax Y, mı° Sh grasshopper. — Prs mūm Y, Sk, Z, mum Sh grandmother - Cf Yd. 'māmo. mīmân xâna X guest-house — Prs 34 - Kulturforskning.

(* $m\bar{\nu}\delta$ -) $m\bar{\nu}\vartheta t$ ($m\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon tk$) L to curdle (milk).

etc, Sar, mâd buttermilk (Be)
mūg H₁ stupid, mug Sh blunt (Un-

— 3 sg. $m\bar{\nu}\theta t$ — Cf Bal madag,

mo'no car · Sk to resemble — Prs mān resembling mānd- Y, mānd- X, mand- L, mānd-(mandāk) Sh to rub, shampoo. — Cf Yd magy-, Sg) mand- V mandith monda X tired. - Prs minde'lič Y butterfly (?), bird (?), mendelič L swallow manditk Be leather - Perf of mand-("rubbed, tanned '?). manja X bed — IA, cf. Yd. mānjo minigas Y, Sk., St, inigas X, winigās Sh sparrow - Genuine (v. § 47), or from Katı mə'nece, mr'a'nec? min'qor Y, oar W, ool X beak - Ar. Prs man'zil X a day's journey, halting-place - Ar ·Prs mə nū W apple. — Prob Sgl mēl mur mon W male oorial māra L store-room on a roof mer L knuckle, joint. - Cf. Skr marman ? morī- mort- Sk, mert X, mari- mortt Sh to die - mort Y dead. marim, mari, mirid, marin, mariv, mərtəm, mərz'yăk, mərtk, mərt(k) death Sk - < marrya, cf Yd mar. mör X, mår W snake. - Prs mur Y, mūr X, N, Be., mr Sk, mur Sh apple - Cf. Yd dmuno mūr Y, Sk., Sh, Z, mor Be cloud. -< *ham-abra-? mūr X locust(?) — Cf. Sgl mūr centipede. 'mēra'bon Sk. friend. — Prs murča X, W ant. - Prs. mordik W pupil of the eye - Cf Sgl. čām-mərdikog. mər'dina Y, ma° Y man — *Prs., ef. Shgh mardina

merg L female ibex, marg Sh fem Ovis Poli, Be wild goat — Av. mərəγa-, cf Kafiri mr'on, mran, etc. fem ibex.

margilam Sh. goat's down — Cf Yd. muryu'lum

mə rīk Y, mao Sh., B, mrık Sk sweet cream — Cf Shgh maı öb, Sar marēb, prob < Ar-Prs murauwab (v Shgh Voc., s v., and Lentz s v), but the Wkh. form is difficult to explain

ma'rām X servant. — jū ma'rām my servant — Ar.-Prs. mahrām friend mīr porīč Y, 'mīr-prič Sk., Sh. ant — mīr- prob < *marwi- (cf Yd mur'yo), but associated with Ar Prs (a)mīr, e g in Shgh mīr-mūšūn (Sk) 'Rattenkonig'

marsī Hj hip Denied by Sk. mī'rōs Sk inheritance — Ar Prs, mīrâ'xūr X stable-boy. — Prs

mərz Y, merz X, morz Sh, marz Sh hungry — mərz əm viter Y I have become hungry, merz em X, 'wuz-əm murz vitk Sk — Cf Shgh Voc s v mažjānj 'hungry' (Old Engl murc gnawing hunger, etc).

mörž L. dew. — < *morgh-s-, cf Russ morox 'drizzle' etc (v. W-P s v meregh-)

mis Y, X, Sk., Sh, etc. nose, Sh also point, formerly — Cf Sgl —Ishk. mis mis Sk brass. — Prs.
mis dīq Y brass-pot — Prs

mos-dīg Y brass-pot — Prs mūi sa'fēd X old (not young) — Pis. maska Y, X, Be (ruyn Sh) butter — Prs mau'sim Sk. season — Ar-Prs

most Y, Sk, mušt X, mušt N, mut W, most Sh., Z, etc. fist — mušt Prs, mut Sgl, reg must (with st < št,

v. § 73) cf. Yd. mīšč, Kurd. must, etc — V mušt

məš Y, mə'šū W ankle (barīkband Be). —
Cf mašīn Sh. leg below knee (Sar.
mīšīnlang)

mūš X mouse — Prs

muš- mošt Sk to conceal, muš- L to conceal, steal(?) — < *mušya-, cf Skr muş-

mēšak Y female oorial. — Prs Cf Sgl. mēš i kiškōr

mešen L along with

maš'rıq Sk east — Ar-Prs

mušt X fist, plough-handle $(g\bar{u}\bar{s}ek)$ — Prs V məst.

mo¹tob X moon — Prs

mutr Sh augury, omen - Genuine, < madra, cf Psht. maraī charm?

me'wa Sk fruit - Prs

mīx Y, X, mēx Sk nail — Prs.

ma'ynu X starling(?) — Hind mainā? mi'yōn X waist — Prs

maza X taste — Prs

mız X table - Prs.

mīzg Y, Sk, mızg³ X, mīzk Be. urine mīzg car. Sk to make water. — Cf Yd mīz-

mu'žek X hail. — Cf Sgl mu'žīk

N

nãu Y, nāu X, Sk, nau N, Sh, nāb(), W, não Sh nine — Cf Yd nau ne X, no Sk not. — mālum ne vit it was not known, ne rețā 'na mēraua' X, no-no Sk neither—nor. — Av na. noi Sk no 'nīu Y, niuw Sh, nāī X mill-race — X from Prs Cf Yd nawo'yo. nō'band Y young calf, nāband Sh yearling

bull calf — Cf. Shgh $n\bar{\varrho}b\bar{a}nd$, Or

noband, etc. Original meaning 'newly bound' (newborn calves are allowed to move about) Cf Or navzod, etc. yearling female calf ('just having born, or going to bear')

nə bəs Y, nı pes X, na pesan L, naposan Sh, etc comb. — Cf Oss sar-vasan, etc, Yd nuvāš- The derivation of Prs fasan, sar-fāhan is doubtful. na'bot Sk. plant — Ar Prs

nuck Sk, Sh beak - Cf Sar, nusk, Khow Iw. nask

na'oun L quiver, naoun Sh scabbard - Cf Skr nidhāna place for depositing anything, receptacle, Prs. nihān hidden

nədavn- nədafst- Y to embrace, clasp, mēčaspam, Sh nadevs- nadevd to affect, stain, profit, nadefs- nadavd to be compressed, dented, nadefsnadefst- to stick together, nedev- L to stick to - Two pres formations, one in n, and one in s. — Cf Shgh nidemb to stick (trans), v. Yd nailo-. $n\bar{o}f$ Y, N, Sk, $n\bar{a}f$ X, $n\hat{a}f$ W navel. —

nafar X person. - cum no 'čand nafar' - Aı Prs.

nayd Y, nayd X, N, Sh, nayd Sk., Kl night. — uūd nāyd Y to-night; nāgde nıkā kerk X — Av naxtar- (cf Geiger, Gr Ir.Ph I, 2, 303)

 na_{γ} din Y, oin(ak) Sh dawn -<*naxtaına-

nayd-'yupk Sk. dew

no yordum Y, não Sh, nao St no y dūm Sk. bear - It is tempting to compare this noa-name with Yaghu, rūbj-dum horse (broom-tail, v Junker, Yaghn, Stud I, 125), Or šu'tum, Shigh situm hare (< *xsita-dumawith lopped tail, of Bal šīay to shear, rub away) - But novor-(*noyort-?)? Cf also Prs dum burrīda bear

nı'kā X marriage, wedding — Ar. Prs nagl car- Sk to tell - Ar-Prs nək'ra Y, 'nokura X, nəq'ră Sk sılver

- Prs

nau'kar Sk. servant - Prs nālčik W reed — *Prs

nə'lād Y jar, kūza

nam X wet. - Prs

nīm Sk half. — 'žə-nīm 'əm; vit bāi 'bod half my life was spoiled - Prs.

nəlmuk Y oək Sk, nalmak X salt -

ni'mil· L, na'mīl· Sh to hem < *lamīn· < *dāmanaya 9?

nemeni- L to dance

nım'rūz X noon — Prs

namurzg Sh, lamurzg L bush-harrow, 1ake - Cf. Av ni-maraz- to sweep down, Sar namužg, Kashan dial. Gaz nimer zūn rake

nəlmöz Sk. prayer — Prs

nān Y, X, Sk, nân W, Sh mother žū nān, you nānar žat ēr nān X he said to his mother oh, mother - Cf. Yd nīno

nund- nutt Sk to plant - Cf Ishk. nënd- < *nı hāndaya-, Sar nālenδån-< *nı šăndaya (v. Tedesco, BSL, 24, 200).

nong X, nung Sk, nung Sh. name -< *nāmaka-, cf Sgl nīm

nə pūs Y, us X, napus Sh grandchild. - Early lw? Cf. Yd nowoso. navas

nar X, N male. - Prs.

ne rau L rambow.

ner Sk. light (adj. and noun). — Ar-Pis.

nar³m X soft, crushed — n° gožum I thresh. — Prs

nar-tūy N he-goat.

nesi (am) Y, nesi-(m) X, 'nosī- 'nost- Sk, nāsī- nast- Sh to lie down — 'nosīm, 'nīsīd, 'nosī, 'nostum, nosi'yak, no'sətk Sk — Av sāy- to lie down, cf. Skr nis'ītha- night

nīs- nōst Sk, nus- nāst Sh to lose, nāš- nāšt Sh to be lost. — Av. *nasaya-, nasya-

naspar- Sh to tread down. — *nn·spar-, cf. Sar naxpor- naxpug, Av spar-to tread, spurn, Prs naspār place where grapes are pressed

nıson X showing. — n° randəm I show — Prs

náš páti W pear — Prs

nıšırm Y, orum X the shady side of a valley. — Cf Sgl nıšorm.

nå tuån Sk poor - Prs.

nev- Y. 'niw- niwd, nivd X, niw- nowd Sk, niw- nāwd Sh to weep, nov- L to soak. — cis sabab ke nivdī? X why dids't thou weep? bisyār niwde X he wept much, niwəm, niwd, nāwdəm, nu'wāk, nu'wətk Sk — Cf Shgh nav- (or naw-) to weep, Yd nov-

nīv Y, Sh, anīb X now.— nīv ti zik kšuyem now I hear thy word, iyem xalg nīv i əxupt this man fell asleep now — Av nū, with secondary fricative? nīv- nīoid- Y, niuv- noyōid Sh to extinguish (a fire) — i əxnīgi nīvəm — Cf niu- neit- Sh. to go out (fire), nietkən Y I have gone out. nīv- < *ni i- + caus v-. Cf Yd uuzīw-nīum L heid's bread. — *ni bhāraprovision, cf Av ni-bərəða store-

room?

nəvəs W giandson — Prs V nə'pūs.
nəvis- Y, nı'wis- niwist Sk, nevis Sh,
novis- Z, nivista car X to write —
Prs

nuluaq Sk breeze arising when the sun warms up the water.

nə wāst Sk it can't be done Cf

Inwiz: nēšt- Sk, niuz- niešt- Sh., .ni'ešt, nieštem Y, pf niešk Y, X to go out (Sh also 'to go, come up'), cf nawūz- Sh to mount? — wuz cew ūnan nieštem Y I went out of the house, niešk Y 'barāmad', pâdšā sail niešk X the king went out for a walk, (ce) xōnen niešk X he went out of the house, žau ce wuš niētom Y I took(??) the grain away from the straw, 'niwizom, 'niwīzd, niwīz! wuz-oninīšti(=nēštom), niwizak, niwīztk Sk. — Cf Sgl nēz-, Yd. ni-

nux W female (??). — Prob due to some misunderstanding.

nax'čīn Y, X, Sk, Sh fox. — Prs
(with specialized meaning in Wkh)
no'xūn X nail — Prs

nixind- nixit Sh, nixn- nixt- Kl. to expel, bring out, nxšīnd- L to extract

nezd- ne in- Y, nezd- X, nazd- ne in(inf nuδn) Sh, nozd- noyn- Z to sit
down — ni'engəm Y I have sat
down, uuz dA amī ᾱon nienḡin X
I(?) am living in this house, wuz
tawar nezd ਕ̄anım X I tell thee to
sit down — *ni-hazd- *ni-haδna(inf *ni haδana-)

'nezdov- 'nezdord Sk. (reg) to place, put, to sit(??), nuδur- Sh to cause to sit down. nežyar- nežyard- Sk to swallow "nıž gar -.

nažaxt Sh ill-advised — Cf Sar nåyuxt $n \in \tilde{z} dun$ L weeding $- < *n i \tilde{z} \cdot dh \bar{a} n a$, but Psht $lal\bar{u}n < *ni^{\circ}$?

\boldsymbol{p}

pāi Y, Sk, Sb curds, māst — Cf Yd poya.

pēr Sh paddle, shovel — Genuine Wkh form of fi (q v), cf Yd fiyo, Par $ph\bar{\imath}$ — Burush $b\bar{u}\imath$ ($<*p\bar{u}\imath$) 'shovel, blade' is borr from early Wkh (cf Lorimer, Bur Gramm, § 10)

pu Y with — pu čáhuwen rostovom I cut with a knife - Av paiti

pac- pacd- Y, pāc pāct (pə'cak) Sk, poč- pošt- Sh to cook, pacuvpacovd Sh to cook (caus), prices gux-X to cook. — $po\dot{c} < pa\dot{c}aya -$

V. palčetk, peš-

pec Sh. countenance. — Cf. Shgh pic, Sar. pec face, but not Sogd. p'z

picev- picovd Y, picow- picowd Sk, picv- picovd- Kl to kindle a fire $r \ni x n i g i \quad p i cev \ni m \quad Y. \quad - < *p i \delta(i) c \cdot ev -$ — Cf. $p\bar{\imath}\delta\bar{\imath}srv$. L to light a fire <

*pati + dag + s? Cf. Saka pa(m)dis

V piding-

pēča Y, W lock, cuil. — Prs.

po'cetk Y, pro X, poo Sh. cooked. V pac-

pacraxpačraxt L, Sh to arrest — < *pati-raxš-??

 $p\bar{u}^id$ Y, $p^i\bar{u}d$ X, $p\bar{u}d$ N, St, pd Sk, pιαεδ L, puδ Sh, poδ Z, poda B1, * $p\bar{u}\delta$ Be, pu,et H foot. — Cf Yd. palo

pâdšâ X king — Prs

 $p\bar{a}\delta$ L ligature on bow, $po\delta$ Sh foottrack. — Both words prob < Av

pada-, cf. Yd. pol. But cf Sar. ped foot and foot-track

pedames- L to swell, podmos- Sh to ferment, foam, rise (as dough) -*patı-dmasaya-, cf. Av dāδmaınya-'blowing oneself np', etc , Brahui lw paddām swelling

poδn Y, peden X, pedn St, poδn Sh, etc saddle — 'yašer po guž saddle the horse, po da dâlân tu the saddle is on the veranda X — Cf. Shgh, etc. bidān Tomaschek (p 805) compares Skr api-dhāna-, from which form we should expect Wkh *paδin *apid(h)ana-, on the other hand, is not a probable form V Yd palan piding- Y, X, Sh, pidic- pidn- Kl to flame up, piding L flame - Cf pidi-L to burn up — raxnīg proing Y 'åtes dar girift', rəxenī pidingem X I light(?) a fire. — Cf. Sgl $p \ni \delta in$, Parth, pdyn- to ignite (Henning, BSOS. IX, 86) Possibly pibin < *pati-dagna., and pidic- a secondary formation?

 $p\bar{e}^{\dagger}y\bar{a}r$ Sk crop (of a bird) piūk L onion — Cf Yd pīy poh car- Sk. to cleanse — Prs pa'khūl Sk cap — Cf Yd, pa'koro $pa^{\dagger}l\bar{u}$ W eyelash — Cf Yd pelck. V patk. pll Y, Sh, pil Be., pi'ola X wooden cup. - Prs (pil early lw., cf Yd piloyo) pil Sk money - Prs palč Y, X, Sh, pālč Sk, parč Be leaf,

X also feather, palč Sk. forest; parč Hj garden - Poss two different words, reg. palč leaf v. § 83.

 $p\bar{u}^{\dagger}l\bar{o}d$ pu° Sk steel — $p^{\circ}xing\bar{a}r$, — Prs poluk W thumb — Cf Lat pollex?? pilek-mi'lek X, pilpilak Sh butterfly -

Cf Khow pulmuduk

palan L to fall pa'lang Y, X, W, N, plang Sk leopard. - Prs. plon gošt Sk, pulangušt Sh finger ring - Cf Yd pargušće pa'lâs Y, pi'lesk X, palās Sh rug — Prs, cf Bur palos, Khow pilisk, etc. pāla'won Sk hunter — Prs pumec- Y, poo X, pamec- pameqn- Sh to dress - Cf Sgl panecpūmecev- Y, pameriv- Sh. to dress somebody else. pə'nü W butter — Cf Prs pinü creamp'ū(*)n Y, pūn Sk., Sh., phūn Be palm of the hand - Cf Yd. peno pa'nīr Sk. cheese — Prs. pānz Y, X, pāns W, p'ānz N, pān, Sk, pānz Sh, panj Z five $p = n^{i} d \cdot k$ Sk unripe apricot — IA, cf. Lhd pind ripe dates. pūp Y, Sk., Sh., Z grandfather - Cf Yd. pap pipir X bedding, piper Sk., pip Sh., St bed - Cf Prs pob tapestry, carpeting, ambūb cushion, mat? pīpir original dat. (= loc.)? -- But note also Sar babër bed parr Y, W, par Sk., par Sh, pūr(!) Be feather (Sk also wing). - Prs pur X full - Prs puru . porod Sh to rinse (a cup, clothes) - Cf. Sar. paro- Not < Av fravbut possibly < *pari-fraw-? porič Y, pi'rič X, prič Sh. worm - Cf. Sgl počuk

par'cod Y, Sk, purcos Sh, purcad Burnes,

ef Skr. paričankā- maid?

par'codak Kl girl, maid (acc to Sk

older than $\delta \partial_{\lambda}^{*} d^{\gamma}$ — Dissim < *parčar,

pārd Y, Sk, parde X, pard Sh last

year (X also day before yesterday?). - < parut, cf. Par parâsur parding X, parding Sh belonging to last year. pāng Y, Sk, Sh, parg X, St, parg N ashes - Cf Sgl park perg X necklace, porg Sk. small ring (worn on a cord), "pyrk" Olufsen stringed kernels of apricots? -*parika-, of Skr parikara- belt, Prs pargar collar of precious stones? prigin Sh horse clothing. — Cf. Sar. parwein - Cf gaw-9 pargoš- Sh to be entangled — < *pari $gu\check{s} < guz + s^{\varrho} \text{ Cf EVP. s.v } \gamma \check{e}\check{z}$ parak N rib. - Ishk $purk Y, p\bar{u}_1k N, p\bar{a}_1k W (= Sgl.) purk$ Sk, purk Sh mouse - Cf. Yd pary, Sgl. pork. parhol- Sh to dig, excavate - Cf Prs kolidan to dig. pīrkit- L to stir. pərməyüng Kl belt, izorband - Wkh permar. L to wither, fade - *pari-mrya-, cf Prs pižmurdan pi'rån X shirt. — Prs pər'nəc Kl churn, deg-i düykası. — *pari-nī-čī? pa'rında Y, X, Sh, o'dă Sk bird p° dar hawā uizīt X — Prs 'pūrind 'pūriut- Y, pə'rind- 'piritt- Sk (reg), purund- pārātt-Sh , frindav-(1) X to sell — *para-rand-? Cf Yd pəlār. V. rand purs Y, pirs Sk., purs Sh. rib, p'ūrs X breast - Cf Yd parsayc. purs- purst Y, pers perst Sk (reg.), pors- porst- Sh to ask. - Cf Yd pysparsif L wedge - *pan-sanfa-, cf. Skr sep(h)a-, Lat cippus?

pur sān X question — po gožum I ask, 'pâdšâ p°-um kerk — Prs parsangal Sk wrist poiš- Sh to sneeze. - Cf Sar puržprut Sk foreward, prut Sh first (adv) -<*parā-tah Cf Or.perod, etc.forepart</pre> pert L back of an animal - Av paršti-Cf s v pist. parve(y)- parvet Sh. porvoy- portott Z to attain, strike, touch — 'napar'wo Sk don't touch. - Lw., if < pani-dp. Cf Yd punaparwuf parwaft Sh to net, plait $-V \bar{u}f$ par'wâna W moth - Prs. pərwās L rafter (smaller than was) pirz Sk, purz Sh evening, purzer, ojar X (dat) this evening, bigā — po yowar yank guxum this evening I shall tell him his work - *pārz < *pāzr < upa azara- (cf Av upa-</pre> naxtar-). Scarcely *purz < *purrazar- < *p) na azar-. piržrp- L to twist - Cf Sgl yev-. plis Sk, pos Sh ram (E.Wkh), Sh a fat sheep - Av pasupos Sh white leopard, ounce. — Cf. Sar. pis id, Prs pis white, leprosy, Av. paēsa- (Tomaschek, p 762) pi'son X whet-stone. - Prs. past X. past Sk low - Prs. přst Y, N, Sk, pist X, Sh, posk W (= Ishk) skin, hide, Y also bark. pist Sk back of an animal (for *pirt, of sv $p_{\epsilon rt}$? — p_{ist-i} d_{iraxt} X = šung-pist Sh, draxt pīst Sh — Cf Sgl päsk post Sh parched grain — Cf. Yd. pūšč po'ša W, N mosquito - Prs pēšāu W urine. — Prs pīš Y, Sk, pūš X, W, piš N, Sh, Be, peš Z cat. - Cf. Yd prško

pēšu L pear — Bur? $p\bar{e}\bar{s}^{\dagger}b\bar{a}r$ N breast — Ishk. < Prs. pošk Y, pušk X, B dung of sheep. -pašin N, påm W wool - Pis., and Ishk pošan-mon, pošo Sk regretful - Prs. pi'sona X, pe'šånī W forehead - Pis $p\bar{e}\vec{s}\cdot i\cdot p\hat{a}$ X instep — Prs (toe). pušta X slope, hillside — Prs pišew pšet- L, pšin-, pšew pšett- Sh, pšow- pšot Ki to return, turn back, pšū pšaud-Sh trans — Shaw (p 53) compares Av apaša backwards plšiwaz X in xalg pišiwazar ke rešt 'ādam pīšīwāz-ī Sultan Mahmūd raftan' - Prs? pišzə mān Sk kitten — V. pīš $p_{\epsilon \delta}$. L to ripen $- < *pa \delta y a$. V pa c. poš'na Y, poš° X, N, poš'nă Sk, pošt L, pošt Sh heel, påšt Sh. sole — Prs pit Tomaschek pine - From what source? Tom compares Skr pitadār upitan Y, X the sunny side of a valley - Prs Cf. Yd pitou. pătk Y, N, pātak St., tapk L, tapk Be, tappuk Bı eyelash, patk' Sk eyelid — Cf Sgl |pātik V tapkpa tek X pea, patek - Prs Cf. Yd pateko. pītk Sk., pītk Sh., Z rotten — pītki wecem Sk. - Cf. Yd. pio. pat'lūn Sk trousers — Ind < Engl. putmur- putmord Sh. to mimic - Cf. Skr prati-mā po'tum L repair < *pati dāna-? patarı X rafter. - Cf Yd patare patr Y, Sk, patu X, putr N, pata W, petr L, potr Sh, Z son Cf. Yd.

pūr

petərδ: petərnə L to spring from one seed (of several stalks). — *patı-tṛdya- to be split.

putrum(b). patramd, potrombd- to scare away, to arrest — Cf Skr pratilambha- passion, rage, violent abuse, pratilabh- to get abused?

putruz- påtråz- Sh to lean against — Cf Sar padråz- Geiger < Av. *paiti-raz-

pti'vār Sk, °var Sh small mussuck (kid skin). — *ptitu bara- food-bearer? putžārm Sh., pitxarim B wooden trough — *pati-xwānman-, cf Prs xwān tray?

pat 1 X worm, kirm — Or = pat 2? (kirm misheard for kir)?

pat ² Y, X, W, pāt Sk (W.Wkh.) penis pet Sh round, put Sh circular — Cf. Sar. pet, put

ptoh Sk bread, small cake — Cf pet? ptou L, poū Sh., pristw Be. mosquito.

pov- Y, pob- X, pūv- pītt- Sk, pev/δpīt- L, pov- pītt- Sh. to drink. —
povəm, povī, īyam xalg yupk pīt, sak
yupk povan, sāiš povəv, xalgišt yupk
povan Y, 'pūvəm, 'pūvī, pīt, 'pūvən,
'pūvəv, pūv', 'pīttəm, pŭ'văk, pītk Sk
— Cf Sgl pov-

pəwaz L driftwood < *upa-waza-?
paw'tă Sk cotton. — Prs

 $pi\check{x}$ Sh biestings — Cf Skr. $piy\bar{u}$ şa-. $pu\check{x}t$ Y, $p\bar{u}\check{x}t$ L cattle-shed.

 $p\bar{u}y$ - $p\bar{i}n$ - L to guard, watch over — Av $p\bar{a}$ -.

pi'yax Y poplar. — Cf yax?
pi'yōz Sk. onion. — Prs.

påz Sh an armful
p'ūz Y, pīz Sk. (E Wkh), pūz Sh. breast
Cf. Sar puz, poz, Khow. Iw pāz,
Yd. fiz Perhaps also Oss. faz podex,

Zaza pīze belly, Skr. pājasya flanks, paks-a-.

pazdan-Sh to recognize. — Cf Sgl. pəzīn

'pezin X, pīzən L udder. — < *payazana-, cf Skr. payo-dha-

pə'zov Y (puziv Gramm), pı'zūv X, pu'zū W, pə'zīv N, pə'zīv Sk., puzuv Sh heart — pə'zīv-'tang Sk depressed — Cf. Sgl ōv'zur? — A purely phonetic reconstruction *apa-zābya-gīves no possible etymology.

pai'zar Y shoe — Prs
pizvāni L, Sh morning-meal

R

rū· Y on, in. — In the Prs expression

parında rū· awâ rəxt the bud flies

in the air — Prs

rū· Y, X, Sk, rū N cheek. — Prs

rō'bā N fox — Prs rīcņ Y, 'rīcīn X, rīcīn Sh smoke-hole

— Cf Yd rūžen

rucepc L, 11cops Bc. cousin

rečεγ L, rrčaγ Sh. a fast — Early lw, cf Prs röza.

rəč. rəyd Y, 1eč rəšt(?) X, rəč. rəyd Sk, rəč. röyd Kl, rač. ragd Sh to go, move. — rəšt 'mērawad', yez əm rəydei 'raftam' Y, yem yark cebas 1eč 'ī kār pas buru', xōnar rić go home; ne re'cā 'na mērawya', kâyaz 1ežt the letter went off, raft, cebas rext, dai huzūn-1 pâdšâ rešt X, rəčəm, rəšt, rəčən, (1əčənəv?), rəč! 'rəydəm (tā ydəm), rə'cak, rəy'dətk Sk. — Cf wərəč?

ro'čom Sk travel(?), is prob pres 1 sg, ef. 'rəžupəm 'sleep'(l)

rad- 12nn Sk, 108- 10n- Sh to flee -

radam, rett, rad! rannī, ro'dak, ratk - Cf Yd lūr-, Yazgh raδ-, Prs rah-. rūda N, X guts — Prs.

rāg Sk vein, tendon — rāgī nazm pulse. - Prs

req X sand — Prs.

13gūm Sk., 1ayūm Sh heifer, yearling cow-calf. - < *fragama- Cf Yd fəryōmček

regiš Y, nigiš X, reo N, robiš Sk, reyiš Sh beard — Cf. Khow (lw. from Wkh) riggs — Sk compares Prs faryīš hairs hanging down (sarfuroδ) from below (az zēi-i) a furcoat, a dirty gaiment with torn hem (Asadī, with quotation from Labībī) < *fra-gaisya-, cf Av. gaēsa-

rūyų Y, rūyun X, rūyan Sk, ruyn Sh (reyn W fr Ishk) clarified butter, rogun Sh. fat, grease - Cf. Yd $r\bar{u}v^2n$

rəyət, rəyd L young she-goat — < *fragatā? Cf rəgūm

rah-'zan Sk. 10bber - Prs rāuj Sh flame.

ruk Y, N, Sk, roh, rok L, rūk Sh forehead - Cf. Prs rux, rox cheek < *sraxwa-, Skr srakva-, srkva(n)-</pre> corner of the mouth

nikob Sk stirrup — Ar-Prs.

 $ra_1q\bar{v}^{\dagger}s\bar{t}/\bar{e}$ car-, $r\bar{r}q^{\circ}$ Sk to dance Ar. Prs

rakš Y grey, rakš L brown — Prs 1 axš. Prob lw., cf. § 60

nami- namatt- Sh to command — Pres, 3 sg rīmit — Cf. Sar rāmi- rāmod, Pis. farmūdan

ramuš- X, rimuš- rimošt (rumužak) Sk, rəmis- romsot- Z to forget - Cf Yd farmo.

Poss < *rauma@a (Bal romast < *rauma9 + ta?), of Frisk, Goteborgs Hogskolas Årsskrift, 1936 2, 14 The si milarity with Santali remet 'third stomach of luminants' is probably incidental

ron Y, X, N, Sk. thigh - Prs run Sh shelf - Cf Sar rūn, Sgl frūn plank

rand- δet- Y, rānd- X, rānd- ratt- Sk, rand- 12tt-/82tt- Kl., rand- ratt /8ett-Sh, $\delta \tilde{a} \delta \cdot (l)$. δet - Hj. to give — yuph rand Y give water, detai you gave, wuz tar kitâb random I give you a book, tu mar kitâb rand, yimē detem tārek I gave it to you, tu mārek kıtâbe detai Y, wuz tawar i rūpīa rāndem I give you a rupee, mark ! rūpīa rande X, rāndəm, rānd, rānd!, 'rattəm (or rātum, dəttum), rən'dak, rat toth Sk, $ra\delta$ ån inf Sh, $lo\delta$ ow(ak)inf Kl - det < *dita-, radå-n < fra da-? But the Pies. Stem prob < rad., with nasal infix rand., and, with secondary preter., ratt-. Not $r\bar{a}t(t)$, K1 $r\partial t < r\bar{a}ta$

rn'dāg, rn'dāk Sk. strap, leather belt rang Sk colour - Prs

rang Y, X male ibex, rang. - Prs.

rānjk Sh light, fast — Cf. Sar. rīnj Geiger (p. 302) compares Av comparative ranjyo.

rip Y, Sh., St, 11p Sk hair on the body, rip N hair, rip L hair of animals. - Sar reb from Wkh, or with epenthesis Poss < *raupi-, cf Norse reyfi wool torn from sheep, etc (v Walde-Pokorny, II, 354, reupto tear out)

านิ¹ptă X ıupee. — Ind

ramet L, ramot Sh. chewing the cud — 1 rapic- rapagn. Sh. to lose the way,

rapecuv- caus. - Cf Walde-Pokorny, II, p 10, s.v peig ? repk Sh refuse, rapk sweepings - Cf Yd rufo ripk X neck-rope of the yoke — If correct, < *raib/paka-, cf Engl rope, etc ?? rur rord- Sh. to make equal in height, stretch out, extend, offer, present -Cf Sar ror- rord id , Av frā-arto assign to, to approach, but Tumchuk Saka ror- to give < fra-var rus L hole, burrow. rost Y, X, Sk right (hand), true. - Prs rost'gūi Sk truthful — Prs. rəstəv rəstovd- Y, rasedavrasesovd Sh, rostv Kl to cut, break, caus of rased- rasen- Sh to break (of a rope), but note rasild- rasan- Sh to cut off, ross. rosn Kl. 'buridan' — pu čákuwen rostovom Y — < *frasid, cf EVP, sv šlēdal. V. Bair, Phl Psalter, p 58, sv plsn $r\bar{u}$ š L Ovis Poli, Be, male oorial. — Cf Bur vūš, but Or ros, Sar. raos rūš II] anger - Dented by Sk rošana'ī X light, brightness. — Prs ru'šān Sk light - Prs rešip L, rašip Sh whip — *fra-xšwaipa-, cf Av xšvaēpa-, xšvaēwa-, etc? But cf. § 60 rešpuk L bobbin, rašpuk Sh shuttle - Cf Av fra-spā- to throw into? rišita Y, raxite W root-fibre - Prs 19 war Y, re wor, ru or Sk, rwai Sh, etc. day $-c\partial^{\dagger}b\bar{u}r\,r\partial^{\dagger}w\hat{a}r\,Y$, $r\partial w\partial r\,the$ day Sk - *fra-vahra-, cf. Skr vasraday (Lex) rowoz- rowozd- Sk, rawez rawezd- Sh to fly - Cf Shgh 1ewaz-, etc,

M Ir N W frwšt-, Av frā vaz-.

rax W dung of cows and sheep. - Cf Ishk yarx rux Y, ruxn N, rəšt W (< Ishk) day-(light), rũxn Sh dawn — Cf. Or roxm, Shgh, rux. - Cf ruxn Y, $r\bar{u}x^{u}n$, $r\bar{u}x^{u}n$ Sk, ruxn Sh, rox H, B white, ruxun X bright, ruxum yekta Sk a white shirt, -Cf. 12x'nig roxiniq Y, N, rixeini X, roxini W, rəžnīy Sk, raxnīg Sh. fire — rəxnīg Out the fire burns, rexniqu picevem I light a fire Y, rexent proingam id X, rexenig ment the fire went out X. - Genuine, or Prs? V § 60. Cf Sgl šonat 'rexup 'roxopt Y, 'rixup. rixupt. Sk, ruxp- voxopt. Sh to sleep. - wuz nīv 'režupam I am sleeping now, iyəm 'xalg niv 'roxupt this man fell asleep now, 'roxoptom, wūz-um 'roxopter 'xau kardam', termis 'roxoptei Y, ri/əxupəm, ruxu pāk Sk — Note 'rəxupəm Sk sleep(?) < *fra-hwaprux'sat X leave - ro kerk, vit, uz tawarke ro gužum — Ar -Prs nuy- L to bay, how I — Cf. Skr ra'yatı. riz. rozd. Sh to rip up a seam - Sar raoz- points to ancient *rauz. < *leuq-(cf Walde Pokorny leug- to break?). rūz X day. — Prs rīza barg X poplar — Prs rezq L saline efflorescence rīzəm L soot, rızm Sh black at the bottom of a kettle - Also in Sar rūz ā'xur X, zar-āxūr Sh manger - *Prs.? raž, ra'žek L sitting dais răž Sh. platform, seat of honour — Cf Yd. raža viž- rižd- Sk. riž- Sh to feel pain (Sh also to be angry) $-ri\dot{z}d$ $(\dot{z}=\dot{z}?)$

Sk pain, cf. Sar. rizd (Be)

S

sī W thirty. -- Prs sit Y, suit N, sut W, siy Sk, sut Sh hare. - Cf Yd sīv. sēb small apple — Prs sub X dawn. — Ar.-Prs sabab X cause, reason. — & so ke nivdi? why did you weep? - Ar.-Prs sub'damik X in the morning - Ar-Prs sibuk Y, 'sebuk X light (of weight). sibās Sh back, rear, tai so behind -V. cebas. sic Y, X, Sh., sij Sk needle -<*suci-, cf Sar. sīc, Shgh seg, Or sec, etc sad Sk, Sh. a hundred. - Prs sadbarg X centifolium - Prs sau do gar Sk merchant - Prs sa'diy sadoud Sk, suduy saboid Sh. to appear - mārək sədüid, sədöidi, sədordak, odətk Sk. I feel, felt, etc., yāvək(eš) sədūrd(eš) he teels, 'sākək sədiydešt, or 'sākəkeš sədiyd 'we feel' - Av sad., Khow lw sar., etc. sudy 1) Sh. smooth — Sar sudy Cf sat. suδy²) Sh. height-sickness — Sar suδy safi'don X, safe'dâr W poplar. — Prs. sə'gin Y, sar'gin X, sıgın Sh. horsedung, skin L yak's dung, sigin B cow-dung - Cf Yd. yu-sken (sargin fr Prs) sa'gāwī Y, oāwī X, W otter (Sh. kamā). - Prs seyori L rump of horse. - Turk. 8∂¹yīr Y orphan — Cf. Sgl. sayēr sthat Sk in health. - Ar Prs sak Y, X, N, Sk, etc. we - sak yāwan we eat, sak sāv dīnen we beat you, yeni spa xûn this is our house Y,

sak Waxi xalge we are Wakhis, sakar īgōn īgōn rūpīa rande give us one supee each, tu čīzir saker ding? why do you beat us? ispa xon lup our house is big, ayem xon ispacan this house is ours, but also ispā Xanduti xalg we are Khandutis (ispa said to be used lower down pāyān-or in jest-toka) X, sak yawum we eat X, sākən, spō, etc Sk § 118 sq. sək Kl on (skəm on this, etc.). — Av uska- V iskasık X, L, sīk-tahl Be spleen - Prs sık vinegar Or, cf Sgl süyük? skīd Y, skīd Sh., Hj. (embroidered) skullcap - < *skauda-, cf. Lat. cūdō, etc (Hubschmann, KZ, 24, 412) skaf- skaft- L to trip - Cf. Prs dial kaftan to fall seiken Y, skan N, skon Sh puppy. - Cf Yd cake'na. sokr Y, Sk, sikr Sk, sokr Sh, su/orx X, W red; seker X white(1) - Cf Yd surx skorč, v škorč skord Y, skord Sk, Sh., Kl, iškorč (?!) X bridge, skord Sh. eyelash (also Sar yerd bridge, eyelash, Schrijnen, semantically KZ., 144) < *skadra· *plank, cf W P, s,v sged- 2 skurf Y rough. sekve det(?) Y in xalg wuz so goxum I send somebody sāl X, sål Sh year — Prs. sail X walk, promenade - Ar-Prs. salâm X salutation — so gužt, žat - Ar -Prs

sal mã X bird-net attached to a stick

- Prs

sal'lot Sk. soldier - Russ. sul'tân X king. - Ar.-Prs sam L edge. - Also in Werchikwar som W, sum Sh, sumb Be hoof sam, etc fr. Prs? simbu'la X n. of a month - Ar.-Prs səm'bonak Y, °banak Sk, sanba'nak H]. pellet-bow - Cf Yd xəsmānak. səm'vər Y, sanvar St, siver L, sivar Sh, saval Be yoke. - < *sami-bara-, cf Yd -- M1 sām san- sat- Kl. to mount, ascend, bolo baromadan. — Sogd. san. Cf also Bailey, BSOS. IX, 77. 'sīna, sī nā X female breast, sī nā Sk. (W Wk) breast. - Prs san'dug Y, son° X box - Ar Prs sın'dön X, san'dāl Sh anvil. — Prs. sə nor 1) N daughter-ın-law - Prs sənör 2) Sk thin, narrow (thing) sangbu'gă Sk. tortoise — Prs. sangurt L, singurt Sh beetle - sang stone + *wart(r)a- 'armour'? spa, v sak sup L spider $spe\delta/\partial k$ L sole of foot. — ? + padyakaspan- spat to fill up (of river). — Denom. < *us parnă. səpundr Y, sıpundər X, spuno Sk ploughshare, spunds Sh plough. - < *spons spārana-,cf Shgh., Rosh seporn Z. sipor X ploughshare - Prs. sopordanj Y, spor'donj Sk., spardenj Sh flea. $- < *spardana-ć\bar{\imath}$, of Av. sporad- eagerness, Old Norse spradka to kick, flounder, etc (cf. Tomaschek, p. 769). spray Sk, spray Sh, saproy Kl flower

- Cf. Khow lw. 1sprū, Av. fra-

sparaya- a shoot, Sogd spry- to

V. spi ež-

blossom

sipurz Y spleen - Prs sprež- L to blossom - Cf Khow lw isprenž- to blossom, Sak. haspaljsto cause to blossom V spray. supask Y rafter. - Cf. Shgh sipāšc sar Y, N, săr Sk., sār Sh, sōr X, sīr W head - Prs. sīr L heap of winnowed grain sn Y, Sk, su Sb., sur St. cold. - Cf Av sāra sti- cold fever. - V wasērsu'i š Sk cold (noun) - Kl. sure y sor čibaat W back of the head - V čebaxt. sērdingī X of this year — Cf Av. sarəba-, etc V pardingi, wu serd sarak Sk to-morrow, - From Ar.-Prs sahar. sar'mo Sk. cold. - Prs sērv Sh hole, sarv Be, pit - Cf Yd surv sur'wā X male markhor. — Cf Ishk surxā, and also Sar rušt quej red deer, markhor. - *Prs. sāiš(t) Y. Sb., saš X., sāyiš Sk. you (pl.) - sāišt kūr? who are you? sāiš čīzir maž dief? why do you beat me? sāiš cerak žeč yāvov? what kind of food do you eat? sāiš yupk povav von drink water, sak sav dinen we beat you, yem xun savan this house is yours Y, saš kūi tūet? who are you? saš žeč yawit-a? do you eat bread? saš cum nafar wezg? how many of you have come? wuz sab dīmim I beat you, ī deyd saban tuet you had a daughter, ayem xon safan-a? is this house yours? safan di'or ce 'kuman? 'deh i šumā kudām ast?' wuz sabar . . . rāndəm I give X; cf. L (Bur. Texts, p 341) sabe, W tumux (1) is Ishk - Cf

\$ 118 sq

stau staudı- L, sto, sıtao stod- Sh. to praise — Cf Sar. stāu-, Prs sıtūdan

sắt Sh. baking pan, slate. — < *sātaflat, smooth? Cf Yd. sūī V suδγ sō'at Sk hour — Ar.-Prs

satk Y, setk L, Sh, sətk Kl satisfied — satk um viter — Ir. *sıtaka- supports the transl of sıtá- RV VIII, 23, 13 as 'satisfied'.

¹stīn Y, sitin X, stin W post, pillar. — Cf Sgl ²stīn.

sı'târ Y, °ör X, ıstöra N, stör Sk., stār Sh, s²tör Z, 'stıruk W (Ishk), "zothroog" (= *sətrug) Olufsen star — Prs?

sotrei Y, stroi Sk, strēi Sh female—

'stroi-pirk Sk she-mouse.— Cf Or

sourelly, Sar stir, Av stri— Wkh.

(and Or?) point to Ir *stray(i), a

form unknown elsewhere.— Hj - soc

(in purk-soc) is an Ishk form, and

its existence in Wkh is denied by Sk.

s(x)trin L barren, childless— *starī nī
Cf. Skr starī-, Prs astarian (Horn

716)
stranj L cotton carpet, "durree". —
*staranačī-.

strās- Sh. to be splashed up — Cf. Sar zatrās, *us-tras- 'to be frightened, stirred up'?

stors L plough-share

s^Itəx Y, 1stex X, stəx Sk, Kl. daughterin-law, cf 'stakh bidganz' (= *stax vitkanj) Be bride — Cf Yd zinio s³tiy- stətt- Sk., stuy- statt Sh to send. — stu'yāk, stu'yətk Sk — Cf Sgl. āstay-.

savand cor- L to throw away — *haćadwan + ta-? Cf Orm k cwan- to shake. sāvz Y, savz Sh, săvz šīy Sk. blue, săvz Sk green — Prs

suv- sowd Sk, såy såmd Hj to rub

— 'supm' (corr from sizem), siud,
sūw, 'sowdem, su'wak, o'weth Sk —
Cf Yd sā-, Sgl såmb-

sa'wâr X horseman - Prs.

sux- L to rub, sux- soxt Sh., səx- Z to smear, jostle

83 xan Sk word. - Prs.

sōy- Sk to be unmarried. — sōyəm, sōy, sōy! sōyəm tū (not sōidəm, nor inf. or past. ptc.). — Cf Lith. šein gs widower, and Oss sī/ējar, Kurd sīwi orphan, v Henning, Mir. Man III, 61, s.v sywg.

'sâya Y, 'saya X shade — Prs sanza Y, sovz X, sabza W, sav'ză Sk grass — Prs

sūz Sh a cold blast, soz cool — Cf Sar sauz, fr. Prs soz.

sauz'tūti X n of a bird (green parrot?)
— *Prs.

Š

šān Y fat, rich — Av xšaya- ruler. Cf. Shgh šayēn pl. "khans".

šui St. moraine, place covered with stones — Cf Skr kşaya-waste, decay? šač Y, W, X, N, Sk, Sh, etc dog — < fem *suaci(?), v. § 33.

šād¹) Y, X, N, Sk, šāδ W, L, Sh, šaδ Kl., šal H six — Cf. § 116.

 $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}d^2$) Sk open enclosure for goats and sheep — If \tilde{s} , possibly = Bartangr $\tilde{x}\bar{v}\delta < *sr\,\bar{a}da$. But $\tilde{a} < *\tilde{a}^2$

šið L uphill, žið Sh steep, paž° uphill šaf'tölu X peach. — Prs.

šə d Kl sort, elass, xēl

ša'yor W hedgehog — Lw? Cf Yd ša'yor

"šyīl" (?) Sk ibex (Swedish "stenget"). šau'har X, šawar Sh hushand. — Prs. $\check{s}\check{u}^{\dagger}\check{j}i\check{s}$ X, $\check{s}au^{\dagger}\check{z}\check{i}$ W hip — Cf Sgl šau žī šak Y, Sk, St, šāk Sh bad - Cf Ishk šakk škop L castrated (ox) — IE (8)qop-(Walde-Pokorny, II, 559) to cut, etc., (cf. especially Slav skopiti to castrate) škūrg- škūrd- Sk (reg), škūr- škūrd-Sh. to seek — Cf Ishk škarr-, Yd škor-, Sar žkār šhāv. škāvd- (ška vāk, o vatk) Sk to catch a cold. — škāfk fever — Cf Ishk. škovšilč, š- L, šilč Sh cloven hoof. šolg Sh piece of brick. - Cf Sar. žalg. šilāp- Sh to splash, slop, surge — Cf Sar wašlåb- — Ct. Brahui šalāping to dabble something in water, fr. Bal ?? ši lax Y, šilaž Sh naked — Cf Yd šilex šola Y, šola X, šola Sh, St, šala B but šâx W, šox Sk branch. - Prs, but with unexplained l šâm Y evening - Prs šem: šeid L to beat and clean wool šām bāf W spider - *Prs ša mol Sk north, šo mol, šo wind (W.Wkh) - Ar -Prs šamõnak L branch šona X, šå° N shoulder — Prs šănd- šanddi- (šandid- misprint?) Sh to mix, compound, rub up in water šendik L a kind of vine, grape šundr Sk, šonder L, šūndr Sh, šundrēv Kl. hot (acc to Sk only about the weather) - Cf. Shund (Olufsen) n of a vill, v. § 5 Possibly < *kuon-roor *kuondh-ro- (not *kwontro-, ef s v

1ron' < *kwnt1-99 šundrī Sk heat šenawa'ı i X, šə nowa'rē Sk swimming - Prs šin L wedge for plough-share. šāp- Sh to suck the breast — Cf Yd šuv sop Be knife, whey (??) šūp L night's halt, šub'r halak Sh to pass the night (= Sar. xâbar reidao) - Cf Av, xšap-, etc Note the distinction between \tilde{sup} and $na\tilde{v}d$. šp $m\delta k$ L bare footed — Cf Bal šafad, *šawāδ (Mayer), Brahui (lw) šapād But what is $\S(a)$ -? šipk L twig, šopk Sb rod. - Cf Sar žēib — V sv rašip — Or cf Skr kšupaka· bush, shrub? špū/un L, špun Sh shepherd - Cf Prs šubān, etc šaupa'rak Y, °ek W. šapārak Sh bat - Prs 'šapt, v. šapt 'šaptal X clover — Prs špaxuv. L to make explode. šār Sk town. — Prs šār- Sh to slander - Cf Sar šöršēr W tiger (?), Sk. lion - Pis šir, šīur Y, šūir L, šur X, šurum X cowdung, šūrm W horsedung - $\check{s}\check{u}r(u)m$ fr. Ishk $(v \circ v)$ $\check{s}ir < *\check{s}\bar{a}ra$ from $\delta \bar{a}(y)$ (AirWb sv fra $\delta \bar{a}imna$ -), cf formally Skr ksārá- from ksāy atī šārm Sk shame — Prs *žarmin'da* Sk ashamed, *šarmındagī* shame — šarmin'da na woce shame! - Prs šī'rīn X sweet — Prs širši'rā Y, šarša'rā X waterfall, šerše'ră Sk waterfall in small streams - Prs

mutr), cf Arm šand 'spark, red hot

šur'vā Y, °wā X, šər'vō Sk soup — Prs šī'rāw- šī'rānd- Sh. to tell one's bends — Ct Sar našīāw- — < *srāwaya ? šīš Y, X, Sh, Z louse. — Ct Yd spūo šāt W honey — Ar. Prs. šət, v šət

\$it L early evening meal.

Sof Sh. landslip — Skr kşati- destruction? Cf, semant., Khow hon inundation < Skr. hanu-.</p>

štik Sk, štik L, š(e)tig HJ. play, joke, štik (Olufsen) game played with bone pegs — Cf Khow. 1stuk, 1štug

šitk Sk. murderer - V šay-

štir v ištīr

štūr Gr. calf. - Cf. Ishk šutur.

štref- L, štrof- Sh to sneeze.

štrax-L to knock against, štrāx-Sh to trip up. štrāx- to impinge, brush against šatta X sole of the foot

ši'ven Y, ši'ben X, šivan Sh, Be rope, še'vun Sk cord — Fr Khow šimeni šuw. šāud L to gnaw — < *xšaw.

Cf Ishk šāw to chew (Zar), šâx W branch, šōx X horn — Prs V. šolx šux Y, Z, šōk X hard, šuž žāk Sh to

tighten — Cf Sgl šox ša'xək Sk hail — V. šax.

šxēlān Sh. whistle — Onomatopoetic, cf Prs šipēl, etc, Psht špēlai.

šaxs- L, šoxs- Sh, šəxs Kl to pass through — Note yi soat 'səxsətk one hour has passed, Kl. p 94. — Cf Sgl səxs-

šay- X, čāy šīt- Y, šăy-: šītt- Sk, Kl, sāy-: šītt- Sh. to kill — wuz ī xalg šāyem, wuz ī xalg-em šīter Y, hūz šayum I kill somebody X, 'šăyəm, sĭt(t', šăy! 'šīttəm, šə'yăk, šə'yətk (šīth) Sk — Cl Av xšay- to destroy(?), Bal šīay to devour, shear

Š

šəu Y, šū N, šau W, šəu Sk, šao Sh, šēw Z horn. — Cf Sgl šōu

šĩu Y, X, šĩu Sk, šũ L, šũ Sh, xũ W black — šĩu jitr X, šui cirāk Olufsen torch — Cf Sgl šũi, Khow šā šačuv Sh to filter, strain — Derivation

from *srač, cf Lith šlaketi 'to drip', is improbable.

šafš Y, Kl, šašp X, šafč N, šāfš Sk, Sh, š/šafš L hair (acc to Olufsen, p. 71 "shafch" are the two long plats worn by married women). — Cf Pis šafš, thin branch, šifša, id., ringlet, Phi Psalter špšy rod — Assim from *šafš?

šoyd Y, šoyde X, šoyd Sh new — Cf Shgh. (Sk) šoida the younger?

šak L, š/šak Sk. white frost, dew. — Cf Ishk šok, Sar žok

škondiv- škot- Y, iškang- X, škondovškondč/oid Sk, škondv- Kl, škend- L, škond-: škott (inf škodan) Sh. to break (tr), škev-, šken- L, škūr-. škond- Sh to break (intr.), škon- škond- Sh. to quench one's thirst, caus. škaduv-Sh — šingi škondivom I break a stick Y — Cf. Yd. skod-.

škupn Sh sling.

škorć Y, Kl, skorć L, skorć Be burning coal — Cf. Psht skor, etc

šīn Y, šīŋ X anus, tam šīn Sh, sak-šīn St. podex — Cf. Yd šīno

šend L, šond Sh raven — Cf Khow (lw) sonthu, Oss. sint, Saka sşund. š/šendik L gums — But cf šendik vine.

Yûng Y, X, šũng N, Sk, L, Sh.
 wood, stick — Cf Yazgh xang,
 Sak sningya- branch, Skr śrnga,

Khow (lw) srung horn — Cf semantically Prs šāx, Par šī hoin, branch — V. EVP s.v šōngarai šūnž Y, šūnž Sk, L, šunž Sh, šo'inž L hip (Sh. also flank, side) — Cf Prs dial ša/inž <*sraoničī V šīn šən'gər Y, šən'gər, šio Sk, šin'gər L, šingar Be guts — Cf Khow şangūr (lw?). — < *strang(a)ra-, cf Engl. string, Gr στφαγγάλη string, etc? 'šūpiš Y n of an animal resembling an otter, with valuable fur — šū-piš = black cat?

šāft X, šāpt N, Sk., L Sh wolf
 Cf Sar. žiŷp Early lw from
 Khow. šā'pīr < šāpītā- cursed. Cf
 §§ 10, 37.

šiš I., šiž Sh., šižn Kl near — spā šizņ Sk — < *siišna- clinging to?

šūš Y, L, šūš X, Sk., šīš N, žīž W, šūš Sh, Z lungs. — Prs.

šūš-dard Sk inflammation of the lungs.
— Prs.

818k Y, X, šūšk Sk, šušk Sh, Olufsen (p 69), š/šūš/šk L high boots made of untanned leather.

sot Y, žet X, šet Sh, St earth, soil, šot Sk dust. — Cf Sgl šot

šaž Y, šaš X, šāž Sh pea, mušung, šax Sk bean — Cf. Bartangi, etc žāš Sk bean

T

tu Y, X, Sk, Sh, to W thou — tu-t kūn? who art thou? tu mar krtâb rand give me a book, ruz tau dīmom I beat thee, yem xūn tīnen this house is thine, nīv ti zik kšuyom now I hear thy voice, uuz tar krtâb random I give thee a book, yimē detem tārek

ter- tu- X, Sh, tor- tū Sk, ther- tho (tinetk) L to be — čiš xabar tei? what is the matter? nong S tu his name was S, you mīrâxūr tū he had a groom, $p\hat{a}d\tilde{s}\hat{a}$ $t\bar{u}^{\dagger}et$ there was a king, tīnen i degde tūet you had a daughter, xūb maza tu'et it tasted good (prob. with $t\vec{u}^i e t$ for pf ptc *tūetk), but saš kūī tūet? who are you? (prob with tuet 2 pl, ef. § 154) X, $t \ni y \ni m$, $t \ni i$ (there is), $t \ni i$, $t \bar{u}(m)$, (2 sg $t\bar{u}t$, 3 sg $t\bar{u}$, 1 pl $s\bar{a}ken\ t\bar{u}$), tə 'yak, tüth/tə 'yətk Sk, 'žənən təi I have Sk - Probably of pronominal origin, of Psht dai he is, etc. V. humu-.

tõi Y, X, W, Sk colt — Cf Yd taya.

tūi Sk. wedding — Prs

¡tōba'lă Sk grazing ground — *Prs

tablar'ză Sk fever — Prs

tōbɔ/is'tōn Sk, summer — Prs,

tač- Sk to go, toč- točt Sh to move,

shift — Sk only in $ta\ddot{c}$ imper 2 sg — * $ta\ddot{c}ya$ -, of Sar teg-, Shgh. $t\ddot{i}z$ -, Ishk $t\ddot{v}\gamma d$, and Wkh tukan, $ta\ddot{\gamma}d$ (v. s v $c\ddot{a}w$)

tāf Sk, Sh steam — Prs tuf Y, Sh, tūf Sk saliva — Prs thr Y, N, Sk, Sh, tug X she-goat (Y, X also female ibex) — Cf Par töy male mountain goat Wkh y disproves immediate connection with Turk Prs taka he-goat — V tux teyd L, tayd Sh sharp - *tixta-, Sar tēid, cf. E Oss civd cheese (Miller, p 25), Skr. tihtá- bitter tayum L, taym Sh, taym Z, teym W (Ishk seed) - V tuxm - Cf Yd $tuy^u m$ tak Sk. button tə kī Y, tqī Sh full, much, many xalgı təkī xəc yāwan many people eat bread tåge Sk cap — Prs. to ko X alone - wuz-um to - Prs, cf Yd toko tek Sk, tuk Sh. willow, teik Capus tuk Kl tree — Tomaschek (s 791) comp Skr. toka- shoot But of Prs. tak vine, $t\bar{a}_{\gamma}$ tree, $t\bar{o}_{\gamma}$ n of a certain wood, Psht $t\bar{a}_1a$ elm, poplar. V Nyberg, MO, 25 189 Wkh i cannot go back to au tə qum Sk, donkey's saddle — Turki t∂kı yā Y pıllow — Ar -Prs togat dor Sk patient — Ar.-Prs. ti'lâ Y, °o X, tillå Sk, Sh gold. — Prs til'pak Y, oek X woollen cap. — Turki, ef Shgh talpak talx Y bitter — Prs. təm'būn Y, tam'bon X, tumbån Sh trousers, tumbūn Olufsen cotton brecches — Prs ta mo kū Sk. tobacco — Pis to mis Sk July - Ar.-Prs tan Sk body - Prs 35 - Kulturforskning

tane- Sh to fold (sheep) - Cf Sogd tyny- to bring (Reichelt, Stud. Indo-Ir 251 < ati-nay-)? turn tond L to work dough with hands into cakes of bread - < tan to spread out? tan'dur Y, tun dur Sk, tungur thunder - Prs. tang Y, X, Sk narrow - Prs tun X, tung Sh hard tap Y, B, tip X wing — Cf Rosh tef Sk V tăptăp- tapt Sh to quake, shake - Prs. tapeč cor- L to water tapk v patk tâpik Y forehead topār Y, tro Sh, tpār Sk, tabar X (Prs.) axe - Cf Yd tu'vor trūr Y, X, N, Sk, Sh, torūr W three - Cf § 116 ta'ri X very wet — Prs tə'rā Sk thithei, tə'rət Sk there - V **§** 133. tor Sh net - Prob Prs, but Sar tur id seems to be genuine, of Yd tur tor Sk. neck, tor St back of the head - Cf Sogd tar, Sak. ttara- forehead, Prs tāra crown of the head V tārak tor Y, Sk, tor Sh, tor L walnut tar biz Sk melon. - Pra tau'rıč Y roof-board ti'rīč L dark. — *tadriya-či? tīr ī-dast Y, tīr X arrow — Prs 'tārak W collar-bone — But Prs tārah top of the head V. tor tō¹rīk X, °ĭk Sk dark, torīkī Sk. darkness - Prs trakč L bitter, tračh B insipid, truč St. bitter, bad-tasting, trāč Sh. badtasting - From IA, of Khow took bitter?

tə'rəm Sk hither — Cf. § 133 tıra mo Sk autumn. — Prs torimis Y formerly, before - V mis trang Sk. girth-strap — Cf Yd. trok trin X sour milk - Fr Khow trin tur'piču X n. of a bird, turpiču. triš Sk sour milk - pār truš Prs tarš Y adze - Prs trešp Y, trešp L, trešp Sh, teruš X (Prs.) sour, tužp Sk = q^2rit - Cf Yd trišp tort Y the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow, tonter X, tortur Bi., tor terak Hj. to-morrow, tort B the day before vesterday, the day after to-morrow. - < trta- third (not found elsewhere in Ir)? But there is no other instance of Wkh or < 2° turt L, turt Sh. ford. - Prob from Khow. thurt tərâ zū Y, tarå zē Sk scales. — to xašəm Y I weigh. - Prs. təsiken W instep tasma-1kaš W knife. — Prs ('strapcutter', cf. Wkh. xas- to cut?). tiš W iron (99) — Cf. Bur tiš ploughshare < Wkh.? tīša X adze — Prs təš Sk, tēš/š L empty; toš-Sh, təš car-Sk. to empty out - < *tus(s)ya(cf Nyberg, Stud Indo-Ir., 214 sq) — Cf Sgl. tašteš L steam — *tafšya-? tiš- tášt- Y, tūš- X to shave, tūš- tošt-L to fashion with an axe; tuš- tošt Sh to cut, whittle. - Cf. Mj tīž-. tat Y, X, tāt Sk., Sh, tōt W (Ishk) father. — yeu tate nong Y his father's

name, - Cf Yd. tat

tūt Y, X, W, N, tīt Sk. mulberry -Prs tət'vart Sk., tstswərt L the year before last. < *tort, v. tort, °vart < *-par(u)t? tīwde, v Jāwta'wīl X stable. — cebūr yaš yōwer to vit he had four horses in the stable, to qožum. — Prs. toxtox X cough. — to quxom. — V qox tux Sk ram (W Wkh). — V tūy tuxm Y, tvxum X single grain. - Prs V tayum. tax'mury Y, Sk., tuxm-1-mury N, tuxmury St. egg. - Prs tax'šim car. X to divide. — Ar.-Prs. — With s from baxs.? taž Y, tāx Sh., taxm Sk. thirsty. taxm vitk is thirsty. - *tj sma-? Cf Yd təšna tīz Y, X sharp — tēz car. Sk. to whet - Prs. tož- L to remain, continue Θ $\vartheta in Y$, B, sin X hot. $- < *\vartheta din <$ * Jafnu- ? verd L spots (of leopard) multicolou red dirs L, v dors $\partial \bar{\partial} t$ L, "thot" Be hzard. — * $\delta atr =$ Prs dad wild animal? Baw- Dit Sk., Bau- Bett Sh , Bet- Y

to burn (intr), viuv- våwovd (tr)

Sh. — It pres. 3 sg, raxnig dater

the fire burned Y, žu pizū tīwde X my heart burned, dāwum, dīt, dāu!

Oitum, do'wak, do'wotk Sk. (intr.),

Jāuum, Jiwd, Jiw! Jitum Sk. (caus)

to kindle a fire. — Cf Sar. Dau

 $\partial ud. < tap-? V \S 27.$

V

võć Y paternal aunt, Sh maternal aunt.
võć ung Sh. outside, tar—võć outside (adv).
— Cf Sar võć-enj, ete; Sogd βyky outside, Av *aiwyač-, ef. aiwitarõ outside — Not with Băiley (BSOS 6, 73) with original w

və'dek Y, br'dek X, v/wɛ'dek L, vadak Sh., waduk St, və'dok Sk, 'dook' Bi rond, path. — Possibly < *abi-taka-, cf Saka ēvatā(ka) street Scarcely < *ā-bda ka, ef Mj ōv/wd ford, Av abda- not to be trodden(?), Mekr Bal badūk impassable place on sca beach

viðaw- viðett- L, Sh to ride. — *abidaw-, cf. Prs. dawidan.

va ye W long hair (??).

vũl Sk, Sh smell, vũl-Sk to smell

- vũləm, vũl, vũl cart, vũlən, vũləv,
vũl car! vũl kərtəm to smell (abstract),
'vũl carəm, v° cart, v° kərtəm to
smell (conerete) Sk. — From a dialect
with $l < \delta$, cf § 36

zöin X light, čiröγ, voin Sh light, radiance — Cf Sar. vöin < *bāhanī, ef Saka bāy ray?

vānd-. vāst- Y, Sb, vand- vast- Sk., vand- X to bind. — vandəm, vand, vand! vastəm, vən'dak, vən'dətk Sk. — C! Yd vad-

vir Sk, vur L, Kl burden, vur Sh load, baggage — Cf Yd-vīra.

vərau Y, vrй X, N, vrəu Sk, varāo Sh., vəruw Z, vəcēr(1) W eyebrow. — < *brāwa-, ef. Yd vrīyo, Saka brau-sāra-. v'wərdenz- L to press, vardenz-. vardegn-Sh to press down. — < *abi-dranj-

v⁹rōk Y, Sk, varoh Sh to-morrow —
It < *aparaka (Tomasehek, p 750)
the word must belong to a dialect
with -p > -v. But cf W Yaghn
f²rōk (E Yaghn f²rōnta), Junker,
Yaghn, Stud. I, 126, with *fr.

vrokš Sh. male Ovis Poli — Cf durukš, yukš

varīn- varit Sh to shear — Cf Av. bray- (brīn-), Prs burrīdan, Keshe brīn-, etc

'vārand- 'vāratt (vərən'dăk) Sk, vārāt Sh to abuse, scold — Cf Sar. rān-, Ishk vrōn-. — If < brand-, cf. Walde-Pokorny II, 216 bhlendh-, eg Old Slav. bledi idle talk, etc

varenj Sh pregnant (animal). — Cf Sar varinz < *barana-čl.

vareš· varešt- Sh. to fry. — varešt <
*brišta- (ct. EVP, s v wrīt), with
present š from the preter. Ct. Sar.
virz- virzd (with secondary preter),
Khow vrenjē· (lw.), Yd vroč-.

v³rit Y, brūt X, wit N, v³rūt W (Ishk), wit Sk, wit Sh, Z, Kl., 'vuroot' Bi, varīt Be., varut H, etc brother — Cf. Yd vrai

vritkənd Y, brūtkend X brother's wife (?), vritkənd Sk wife's brother — Cf Prs. birādar-zan wife's brother But cf Sgl vrūδkuč

varitpatr Y brother's son

varuy. varoid Sh to howl, bay together.

— Gf. Sar. varau- < *braw-ya-, cf.

Av mrav-? V ruy-.

vərz Y, Sk., verz X, vorz Sh. long. — CI Sgl vəždūk.

vorz Y, X, vorzik Z pillow — Cf. Sgl vozd Yd. virzane vašč Y milk pail.

višiv- višova Y, wišū-(am) X, višav-

vīšovd- (vīšə'vak) Sk, vīšīv- L, rīšīv vīšīowd Sh to sweep. — < 'abixšwail-?

vīt, v woc

vez X long hair(?)

vizam- vizamd Sh to sub to powder

— Sar vizāmb- id, ef Yd rezb-.
V. wazem-.

vizizak N wasp

W

wai Sk O
waici W calf — Scarcely a true Wkh.
word. Cf Werchikwar wee < IA
wōc· vit Sk., wāc· vitt· Sh, vīt Y, X,
N, bǐt X to become. — wōcəm, wōst,
wōc, vith Sk — mərzəm (satkəm)
vītei Y I have become hungry
(satisfied), mālum ne vit it did not
become known, sawār vithe mounted,
aušwaxt bit X he became happy,

būta-, but wāc ? wīč Sh. grub, moth

wuč Y, X very high, Sk. up, wuč Sh, Kl high, Sk upper (bālā), wučtar Sk higher. — Cf Ishk wuč

ruxn viti N it dawned - $v\bar{i}t$ <

wuē L, wuē Z, Kl, uč Sk, (w)uč Sh arrow, bullet. — < "ušč < "išučī-?? wâd Y, wād X, St, wõil Sk., wåð Sh. watercourse, canal, 'aryq', wado Ol minor channel — Sar uåð Cf Yd wolo

wâda X time, period — dar w°-i Sultân Mâmūd — Ar-Prs

wūdg Y, 'wudge X, wůdg Sk, wudg Sh, ūdg St, etc to-day — wūd nāyd Y, wůdgnājd Sk to-night — < *adyaka-* uīdər- wodŏrd- (uudə'rak) Sk to have, hold; wuður- wodord Sh to grasp, seize. — Cf. Sar. uadoi-, Av. avadai- adhibere

υλδ L, uāδ Sh. handle of a tool. — Cf Sar wiēδ. — Cf Av. vaδa.

wāôn Sh. root-filament — Poss. Psht. wula 'root, fibre' belongs here, and not to Oss widag.

way Sh price — From Khow. wāy? Cf Yd. hū?

wāy- L, Sh to bleat — Sar uẩy id, Shgh way- to bellow.

wa'jab N span. — Aı Prs

waqt Sk time — 'mārək 'cūm wo 'vitik ki 'wuzəm bē'mör = wuz-əm 'yā waqt vitəm, bē'mörəm I have been ili for a long time. tārək (yau) cūm wo vitik ki tūt (yau) bē'mör. — Ar.-Prs — Cf 'eəwaxt, 'šēwaxt

wu'lēt W span — Ishk wudīt (but note l' uölē Sh., St quail — Cf Ishk wörc, Prs. lexx wals Cf §§ 48, 60

wolon. L to shake (apricots) — Cf Skr. vi-dhunoti to shake about?

ualth Y, 'wəlt'h' Sk, wəlk W, welk L, welk Sh, ualtik Be kidney, woltuk St. liver — Cf. Yd. wulya, Sgl wolk. 'wīn- 'uīnd Y, Sk, 'win- (ui'neth) X,

win- wind Sh to see — ytnöt windəm Y, 'wunuk wunetkin X I saw (have seen) a dream, čizəv sāyıs windəv? what did you see? uš'nāk, uš'nətk Sk. — Cf Yd. win-.

wŭndr Y, Sk, Sh, vund^ur X field. —
Acc. to Benveniste (v Par Voc. s v
γantr) < *awa-antarya

wānj X, Sh, wanj Sk belly. — < *waničī, cf Skr vanisthú, Lat ienter, etc?

winek Y, wun'dek X, ook Sk marmot, uundek — Bad Prs Cf. Burush. arnaq (< Wkh.?) uonok I. willow — Cf. Sar uanūj, Shgh. wān, etc 'uunuk X dream(?).

wu'ner Y, wəndr Kl, wanar Be, 'tomer'

Cap stable, manger. — Shgh. venīr wa'rī W lamb — Ishk, v s.v. worok wār Y, war Be male oornal, kiškār, L war ram — Cf wūrk

wēra Y, W, 'wēla X gums — Prs, cf Sgl uē'rē

wir L single-handed (in family), Sh alone — Cf Skr αντιά having no son or husband?

wūr Y, Be, wir (vur?) Sk., wur Sh rain — Cf Av vār

'wərəc- wərəyn Sk, to stay, remain, wəry- wərext L to remain, ware/ic-. wareqn- Sh. to remain, to be tired — 'wərəcəm, wərəst, wərəc! wərəynəm, wə'rəcak, wərəy'nəth Sk, vərəxh Y, wurixk X, wə'rəxh Sk, warexk Sh tired — *awa raik-, cf Sgl fəris. Cf § 55

word Sk. tripe, usid L, uard Be belly (of animals) — Cf Av. varidva, varidva soft, cf German 'Weiche'. uīrdīna L clear (sky, weather) — <

*widr, ef Yd sv. leroyo

wirdan L mill-wheel — Cf Sogd wrtn car, etc

'wərəfs- uərəfst- (wərə'păk, °pətk) Sk.
to stand, wurufsatk-əm Y I am
standing, warefs warefst- (warefsetk)
Sh, vərvəs- vərvəst L to stand, stop
(intr) — Cf Sar warðfs-, Shgh
Voc s v wirūvd

urrg L ridge between irrigation plots — < *wāra-ka-, cf Av °vāra- protection.

uurlgeš Y, °1š X, wargašt Be, urgešt Cap big basket, hajawa work L scar

würk Y, X, N, St, work Sk, wark Z lamb — Cf Sgl worok V wari. wert L to knead (in washing cloth). — Av. vart to turn

ww/wrt L mill-stone (in compos). — xλδūιga w°, sare w° — Cf. Kurd, Prs bard stone, Khow bort, Lhd vattā stone, etc.

wərəw wəröd L to water (before ploughing) — Cf Skr vi-srāvaya?

werxar- Sh to flood, werxuv- Sh to canse to flood, werxiv- L to scatter worzg(2) L right hand — Cf Yd. urzuy was Y, wās Sh main roof beam, wās Sk ceiling — Cf Sar, Shgh. wās. Poss related to Skr vams(y)a- beam, rafter, v. EVP s v wēša V s v. parwās

wə'sar Y, wîsəy Z, wasē Sh. cotton thread — Cf. Ishk. wösi

wis: wist Sk, . nist N to set (about the sun) — ir wisti the sun set N, 'ir 'wisti, 'wisti, wi'sak, wi'sak Sk. — Prob < *wi-isa., with secondary preter, cf. Yaghn wis to descend Not < Av. vaes to enter (Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph, I, 2, 339, and Air Wb. s v.) — Cf. Yd. vis.

wask, yask L revetting wall.

wesk Y, Sk, wesk Sh, wusk Be, wösk
Hj dry, weske X, wesk L thirsty —
weske bitim I became thirsty X, wusk
carem, weskem I dry, wesk cart Sk
— Cf Yd ušk V. § 73

wos'kăt Sk waisteont. — Ind. fr Engl. waser- wasert Sh to cool, become cold.

— < *awa., or wisārya., cf. sīr — Parth wys'r., Henning, BSOS, IX, 87 ww'serd Y, uvserd L this year. — V sērdingē. wist Y, ulst Sh twenty - Cf Yd. wisto

wuståd Sk artisan — Pis'

wisti səi L bareheaded. — *a wastiyaun-clothed?

wvšdon L barn — Cf. Sgl uš'tīn, Yd. ušičeno V wiš

wošk Y, wošk Sk, wušk X, Sh calf -< *wasya-ka-, cf Sar uišk calf, Samnānī vaškā child Cf. Sgl wosōk V wacī

wušik X key, bolt, woliik Kl., šīk Sh key, šik Sh padlock — Cf Ishk uškaz?

wušeng L entire (bull). — < w sanaka-? wəšp Y plough-pole. — Cf. Sgl. āwišp $- < wi šp\bar{a}$, cf. Av. $sp\bar{a}$ to throw?

Cf rešpuk?

wušūy- wašan- Sh to untie, wušwašın- Sh to loose $-< *vv\cdot šay$. *wi-šāna-, cf. Air Wb s v. $h\bar{a}(y)$ -

wiš Y, wiš X, wiš/x Be, straw, $k\bar{a}h$ -i safēd, ūš Sk. hay, wuš Sh, wīš Z grass - Cf Sar. wux Sh grass, 'wikh' Be. corn straw Cf Yd wus.

wešt- Y, wošim-(?) woš- X, wə¹šıywəšt- Sk. to be afraid wəsim, wisid, (wəsin), wəsi I wəstəm, wo'šak, wo'šotk Sk , 'wo'šov- 'wo'šovd / weštovd. wošo vak / wošto wāk. wošo-'vəth trans Sk — < *wi sriya- ? Cf Orm. yuš-, ywašr-, caus yušaw-, viva šrēiv- ?

witiinwitrit- Sh to shy, trans $witriuv- < *vit_i h-na-.$

 $w \Delta^1 t \bar{o} x \times ram - V. t \bar{u} x$

www./š L root — Cf Shgh wyaš, etc. V. yax.

waxār Sh. ladder. — Cf Khow. uxār, lw? wax'ti X once, at one time — Ar Prs V waqt

uu'xen Y, u'šen X, N, wu'xən Sk, wuxan Sh blood, wuš/šen L blood vessel. — < *wahwani- (cf Barth Mir Md, V, p 6) Not with Henning (ZII, 9, p. 227) < *wóhunwiyang L pace

wiyin Sh., wû'in H pass, wuin LSI hill - Wiyino Sar 'Top of Pass' (in Shimshall, Zhoewīyīn 'Lake Pass' Cockerill — Cf Sar weyawun. — < *wi-ayana-, cf Av. ayană-, Skr. vyáyana- going apart, vi-i- to go through, traverse (e g RV I, 50, 7, V, 18, 3) wāz-: wāšt- (wəlzak), Sk, wāz- wāšt (wāšk) Sh to fall - Cf. Sgl waz-

wəzi- wozd- Y, wəze- wəzd- X, wəziwəzd- Sk., wazı- wazd (waza) Sh to come — dərəm wəlzan come here Y, ce'bas weze come back; parında dar ha'wā wizit, wezdīm 'āmadam', tu čis yarkər wəzd? for what purpose did you come? wuzgem I have come, wuz-um wəzget X 'wəzīm, wizīt, wəzīn, wəzīv, wəzī! wəzdəm, wəzī'yak, wə'zətk Sk, 'yət dai ki 'wuzdəi bāf = t 'dai wuzdəi bāf xalg the man who came is good, 'dədiydəm bar 'wuzder I saw the man who came Sk. - < *uz-aya-(but Av. us-aya- go out)

wuz Y, X, N, Sk, Sh, aze W (= Ishk) I - wuz tau dīməm I beat you, wuz žeč-em utk-em I ate bread, tu mar kıtâb rand give me a book, tu mārek kitâbe detai you gave me a book, yem žə xūn this is my house, tu čizir maž dī 9 why do you beat me? Y, wuz(-um) Wa'xī I am a Wakhi, wuz sab dimim I beat you, uz-um žinak I have spoken, uz.. uozdim I came, žu xonan ti xon lup my house is bigger than yours, mar(k)

 \bar{i} $r\bar{u}p\bar{i}a$ rande give me a rupee X, wuz xec yawum I eat bread, ze xūn my house N, wuz, maž, že, ženen, mārək Sk — Cf § 118 sq wozdošt-(?) Y, wizdi- wizdik uuzdi (pf) X, wizdey- wozdŏid Sk, wuzdiwozdord Sh to wash - wizdeyum, wīzdeyī, wīzdēšt, wīzdeyən, wīzdeyəv, užzdevi wozdordem, wizdeyak, wizdeyətk Sk. - Cf Yd wuzd-, zənay-. Influenced by $d\bar{e}$, q v wezem- L, wazem- Sh to express, squeeze out - V vizam-. wezūm L big wooden ladle uuzem-. wozond- Y, wuzem- X, wuzemuizəmd (wizə măk) Sk (reg), wuzum wazamd. Sh to bring — yiu, kitab wūzumem Y, tu be wuzum bring it X, 3 sg. witzend Sk - Cf. Turf Phl z'm- to send, lead wižīk L ibex (m and f), važik tuy Sh female 1bex wiž/žerk L, wujerk Sh lucerne - Cf Mj. 1ryaga

X

xō—xō either--or — Prs xwāh—xwāh
xūb X good, well — xūb maza tuet it
tastes good — Prs
'xabar X news, aware — čis x° tei?
xalg x° bīt. — Ar ·Prs.
xeč Sh. bread. — Cf Yd
xu'dōi Sk. God — Prs
xɔ'dōig Y, xu° X, Sk, xaðīig L, xaðōig
Sh water-mill. — Prob borr from
early Shgh or Ishk. Cf Yd. xīiryo
— V § 30
xɔ'dōig-'ȳār Y, xu'dōig bort X millstone — boit fr. Khow
xūf L, xuf Z, Sh, xep X foam, froth
— Cf Yd xof, Saka khava-

xiq Sk, xuq Sh pig — Prs $x\ddot{b}'(h)$ oš car- Sk. to wish — Prs xōkī X greenish grey, xōkī Sk. grey - Prs xākis tār Washes — Prs xålī Y, X empty - Ar Prs xălq Y, X, Sk, Sh man, person, people - iyam xalg yupk pit this man drinks water, xalqıšt yupk povan the men drink water, wuz i xalg sitar I killed a man, xalq i təki xəč yāwan all the men eat bread Y, sak Waxi xalge we are Wakhis, ispā Xanduti xalg we are Khandutis, ayem xalq (be) xec yewet, īu xalq dar huzūr-ı pâdšâ rext one man went near the king X, xalg-yāš the man's horse — Ar-Prs xalq Sk people, nation (народ) — Ar-Prs, but a more recent lw than xalq xa'mir Y, X dough. - Ar. Prs xūn Y, N, Sk, xōn X, W, xun Sh, house. - ce xūnen from the house Y, (ce) $x\bar{o}n\epsilon n$ $n\epsilon k$ he emerged from the house, xonar rič go home, rešt xonar ke he went home, žu xonan ti xon lup you house is larger than mine - Prs, early lw xu'nuk X cold - Prs xıngar Sk scimitar, xo Sh sword — Cf. Yd xugor. $x\bar{u}r \times \text{other (doubtful word)} \rightarrow x\bar{u}r \times alg$ $x\bar{u}r$ $x\bar{o}n$ — Cf Khow $x\bar{u}r$ (fr. Ir.?). xūr Y, X, W, N, Sk, xur Sh ass -Cf Yd. xoro xa'râb Y lean. — Ar.-Prs Cf Yd 1d xar'dopn Sk breakfast $xa^{\dagger}rid Y$, X buying — x° carəm Y, x° gūžum X I buy. — Prs xar qūš X hare — Prs. xa'rek W span from thumb to index-

finger

 x^{u} $r\hat{u}k$ Sk food — Prs xirs X, W bear - Prs xoris Y, xois N, autrūs X, W, xoius Sk cock - Pis xəruxəröst- Ki to snore, xurxur kardan — Cf Ski kia(n)d- to neigh, 10ar, make a noise, scarcely hrathanasudden interruption of breath (Susr) xıriz L gravel xarı'yon X, xəriyan Z, xilian Sh. xaryan Be nephew — Cf xaryūn Be niece — Cf Yd. xurī V § 48. vest N, xuo W father-in-law -- Prs V. žūrs. xoš X happy — yaf xoš bit. — Prs. xušdoman X, xəs toman N mother-inlaw. — Cf. Sgl xušidāuman, V žaš xašč Y, xaišč Sk, aaič Sh wet, xašč L damp - Cf Sar aāst, Yd xusto? V \$ 73 xošk Y, L soft (L about 1ron) - Cf Khow (lw) xašk xušk X dry. — Prs V wask x³šrūi Sk beautiful — Prs xuš'waxt X happy, merry — Ar-Prs $x\bar{a}\dot{s}$ - $x\bar{a}\dot{s}t$ Y, $x\bar{a}\dot{s}$ - X, $xa\dot{s}$ - $xa\dot{s}t$ Sk, xãš- xãšt Sh to pull (Sh also to ent into stripes) — torâtzū xazom I weigh, fraxbīz xašəm I winnow Y, čilim xašem, I smoke, xašem, xaštem, $x \ni \check{s} \check{a} k$, $x \ni \check{s} \ni tk$ Sk — Cf Yd $x \circ \check{s}$ -. xošk X bitter xešt Y, xešt X brick - Prs xuyun Sh husband's sister xāyūn id, but cf Skold, 489, s.v Schwager (Bruder der Frau) - Cf. Yd xāyūn. xyār, xiāi Sk, žiār Sh old, aged x° k'ənd Sk — Prs hušyār wise xeyaz, xeyisk Be hammer — Cf Yd $x\bar{o}isk$

xūz Sk wind. — Cf Shgh xūdz Sk?
LW?
xəu'zzt Y, šabzōd X a kind of insect, šabzōd, šauzāt. — Cf Sgl šav'zåd, Shgh id bug — Prs *šab-zād?
xūžg Y, xužg Sh. sweet — Cf Ishk xažok

Ň

xū Y, X, N, Be, xu Sh, xuy Z, xuy Sh,
xū W (= Ishk) sister (X also cowife, husband's brother's sister, Be also sister-in-law) — žu xū X — Cf
Yd t̄xō

žēb- Sk to beat — Cf Lett svarpīt 'to whip', (*suerp-), Av xšwaēwayaţ-aštra-(*suerb-), etc ?

xec Y, X, xəc N, xəc Sk, xoc Sh bread, food. — wuz xec em yitkem I have eaten food Y — Cf Yd xisto? V § 67

x̄ıl Sh, xaı St (denied by Sk) perspiration — Cf. Sar. x̄aiδ, Yazgh x̄uiδ, Khow (lw) xēl — From a dial with l < δ, but cf Yd xul x̄ām- x̄āmd Sh. to descend — Cf Sar x̄âvs- x̄āvd-,Yd xafs-,Khow ax(w)am-(lw) Cf. also Wkh xam L bent, xam ding Sh to bend.

žam'*žēr* W sword − Prs

xān- xat- Y, xān- xatt- (xi'nak) X, xān- xūtt- ('xnāk, xɔ'nɔtk) Sk, xān- xātt- Sh to speak, say — wuz tauar nezd xānum I tell you to sit down, salâm xat he saluted, uz um xi'nak 'guftum', Sultân- Māmūd xi'nak pâdšā tūet there was a king called S M — Cf Av x`an-, Saka hvan-.

xunen Y, oan X own — yem xun žə xo

Y this house is my own, žū xo xūn X — Pred gen of žat, cf Sh. žu žεnj- L, žonz- žogn- Sh to fill into a receptacle - Phonetically < *hwanj. Skr sva(n); 'to embrace' idees not suit the meaning, but of Walde-Pokorny, s v sueng- (II, 526), e g O H. Germ, swingan to fling, etc. 'To throw' and 'to pour into' are semantically related meanings

žārīki X n. of a bird — Prs šārak talking-bird.

žšūram L dust. - If for *šūdam, possibly < *xšaudman (cf JRAS 1937, p 348), but note different semantic development of Psht šomle butter-milk

žūrs Y, žurs X, Sh, zūrs Sk fatherin-law — Cf Yd xusur

žerz Y, qūrj (?) X n of a bird, čārda, xšerz L ramchikor, žorz Sh snowpheasant - Rhyming with Prs čarz bustard

 $\check{x}asiz$ Sh wife's sister (= Sar xasiz), but xaserz Be wife's husband's brother, sister's husband (= Sar xasīrz), Shgh. xe'sīrc Sk wife's sister's husband, xezīn (-s-?) Morg brotherin-law in general - Prob. < *hwasura-zā 'father in-law's son'.

žaš Y, xaš N, xuž W, xāš Sk., xšāš L, $\check{x}\bar{a}\check{s}$ Sh mother-in-law. — Cf. Yd $x^u\check{s}o$ $\check{x}\check{a}t$ X, Sh, Kl self — $dast\cdot\imath\check{x}at(t)$ his own hand, gen xu Sh - Av. x ato, cf Yd xoy V. žūnen

žat did, v gož-

 $x\bar{u}w$ Sk spring — Av $x\bar{a}$

Y

yau (a-yău) Y, X, Sk. that, he, yao Sh he, yā that Sh, ye X (adj). — yau xon tinan that house is yours, ye

xalq da ye xon mengin those men live in that house, you nanar žat he said to his mother, you nan his mother, yeū tate nong his father's name, you mīrâxūr tū, yowar žatt he had a groom, and he said to him, pâdšâ youer nuxsat kerk the king gave him leave, pâdšâ 'yawark pursān-um kerk the king asked him, ce'bas yowan kâyaz rext the letter came back from him, wâda-i yayōr his (?) wedding, yāwiš they X. Cf § 124 sq

yau Sk and(?). - In waz tu yau I and you(?).

yō-yō Sk either-or - Prs

yıb'ya Sk very quick ambler — Cf Waz Psht ābiyā amble

 $y\bar{o}\check{e}$ Y, Sk, $yo\check{e}$ X duck. $-<*y\bar{a}\vartheta\check{e}\bar{\imath}$, cf Yd yēxho, Saka āce waterbird (Bailey, BSOS, IX, 70)

yōd Sk memory — dē tər ž-yōd I remembered, ba yad ı man zad - Prs. $y d\delta$ $y d\delta t$ Sh to pile up, to make up a fire $-<\bar{a}\,d\bar{a}$ - ?

yildesen L crops reaped, lying in handfulls on the ground.

yaf'tā Sk. week — Prs.

yūy Sk yoke — Cf Yd yūy Note $y\bar{u} < *yau$

 $y\bar{u}_{\gamma}\partial u\varepsilon \quad \gamma\partial r \quad L \quad \text{anvil} \quad - \quad < \quad ^*\bar{a}\text{-}gana$ 'striking upon'?

*yoyut ('yoghut') Be groin -< *yoy ^{9}d , cf. Av. haxti-, Kurd het hip, etc

yı'jīn Y, Z, 1° X, Sh. felt, 1'žīn Sk carpet

yūk L dewlap.

yakš. L. yākš. Sh to boil — Derivation < Av yaēš- phonet impossible

yukš Y, yukš Sh big male ibex, rang ikalān — Cf Sar yaž.

yak ta Sk shirt — Pis yem Y this — Cf § 118 sq V ayem $y\bar{u}/\bar{o}m$ L twin. — Cf. Av yəma-, etc yūmį Y, Z, Be, yumį X, Sh flour. yūmj-um qoxtes I ground flour Y -< *āmačī-, cf Saka hāmaa- barley meal, Skr ama- grain not yet freed from the chaff, unbaked It would be quite natural in the Pamir valleys to designate the ordinary flour as the 'raw' one in order to distinguish it from the widely used parched meal (cf Yazgh vraxt 'flour' < *brištā 'bakcd'). The derivation of $y\bar{u}mj < *\bar{a}rtaka$ - (Junker, Cauc. 3, 110) is phonetically untenable

yan Sh, St other. — Cf Sar yan, Ishk an — yamān Kl one another, yak digar prob < *yanān < *anya-anya- halamān L id < anyam anya-?

yān X yes, indeed, balī — yān, wəze yes, come! yān, tark cebas kâyaz gožum Yes, I shall write you a letter back

yand Sh late, recent

yūnd- yūt- Y, yūnd- yŭtt Sk, yŏndyūtt Sh to carry (away), burdan —
žūu yūndəm xədörg I bring grain to
the mill Y, 'yūndəm, yūnd, yūnd!
'yŭttəm, yūn'dăk, yŭtk, wəs 'k'ənd
'yundəm I marry Sk — Prob. < *yātwith -n- iufix Cf Yd is-

 $y\bar{\imath}^{i}n\bar{o}t$ Y, $in\bar{o}t$, v_{inuk} Sk, $in\bar{a}t$ Sh., wunuk X dream (yunuk Sh sleep) — $(y)\bar{\imath}n\cdot < *\bar{\imath}u\cdot < *hufna t\bar{a}(t)$, or $\cdot \vartheta\bar{a}\cdot$

yīp L fat — Cf Khow yīp (< Wkh?) yīng Y, īn X, yūng L, yīng Z raw yung Sh. unripe, uncooked — < *āmaka-, v yūnj yāng(2)l Y, °gal X, yang! N, yā° Sk finger, toe — Cf. Oss. angul; (with secondary l?), Mazand engel, also Psht mangul the five fingers (v EVP s v grut), Av zarrımy anura- tortoise (v Benveniste, Stud. Ind Ir., 223) yupk Y, W, X, N, Sk, Sh water — < *āpakā-, cf. Yd yduyo

 $y\bar{e}r$ L sinew, tendon, yerr Sh the pulse — Khow

yīr Y, Sh, ĩr X, N, St, vĩr Sk sun — Cí Av. gen hūrō

yōr & Kl open space between hearth and sleeping (sitting) platform, yāri & Ol square hole in the middle of the hearth-room — *arda-čī, cf Yd ārdi? yīrgōt L white-headed eagle

yīr'ya Y, yurya W pine, čūb-i saxt (not found in Wakhan) — Cf Yd. sv wulyeyo Prs

yur'yă Sk ambler — Cf Sgl 1d — Pis yark Y, X, Sk, Sh. (yark' Sk) work yark guxum, tu cis yarkər uəzd? 'barā i cī kār āmadī?' tinan cis yark tu? have you any work? yōwəi yark guxum 'kār-i ūra mēkunim' X. — Cf Yd hory

yirk Y, yirk X, St, irk W, N, yurk Sh, yirk Sk., yirk L, Be barley — Cf Phl ywrlk (Barth Mir. Mund II, 28)? But Henning, BSOS, IX, 90 reads yavardāg

yurm Sk, Sh arm, folearm, yūrm Be. cubit — Dat sg. žə-yurmər/k, pl yurmiš-əv Sk — Cf Yd yārme

yārs Y, yai č X, yərz L, yārz Sh juniper.
— *arza-, but cf Turk-Prs arča.

yirzy Y, yərzy Sk. millet — Cf Yd yurzun

yisp Y, yısp Sk shoulder — < *ā-spă ? ya'sīr Sk prisoner. — Ar Prs

yöst Sb fowl house, shed — Cf Or yöst cow-house (Lentz), < Skr. ā sthā-place of abiding?

yaš Y, X, N, yăš Sk, yāš W, Sh horse.
— cebūr yaš, yašēr peden guž saddle
the horse, yaš peden gužt X — Cf
Yd. yasp

yašč Y, Z, L, yarč X, yarč Sk, Sh, yerč Be, yahč Bı bone — Cf. § 67 < *astı-či?

yīšn Y, 'išin X, īšņ Sk, išn Sh, yišt Bi., yīš Be, tiš (!) W (išn said to be Ishk !) iron — Cf Yd ris pen, Saka hīšam.

yīšir L threshold — In bore y°.

yašk Y, yašk Sk, Sh, Z, yašk L, wašk N (Ishk.) tear — Cf Yd yāšk

yašk L trained, taught, yešk cer. L, yežk žāk Sh to teach - Cf Sar ixmānd, ixman Sh, cf. Yd yuxs.

yt sok Y plough-handle. — Cf Skr isa' plough-pole, isā-danda plough-handle, Av. aēša- plough

yəkt L hostage, agreement — < Av āxšti- peace, not lw from Prs. āštī yət Kl. this, that — V § 124

yoθ L, Sh., yōθt Z, yōtr St, yâθ Be. nest yōtr, if correct, <*ā-hada-θra-? — Cf Or yōθ, Yd yēxio

yāw- Y, yaw-, perf ytk X, yaw- N, yāw yĕt- Sk, yāw- yīt- Sh to eat.

— yāu imper 2 sg, yāwum pres 1 sg., īyam xalg xəč yīt this man eats bread, sak yāwan, sāiš cerak xəč yāvov? why do you eat bread? xalgi təhī xəč yāwan Y; yawi-ā² do you eat? ayem xalq xeč yawet, yawan 1 pl, saš xec yawita² do you eat bread; ayem xalq be xec yawan these men eat bread? yitket yon have eaten X, wuz xəc yawum,

sak yawum, yawa! N, 'yāwām, yīt, yau! yĕtəm, yō'wak, yō'wətk Sk — Cf Katı yū-, Damelı žū-, etc to eat (< Skr yautı gets hold of?) — Cf. Skr aśnótı aśnātı!

yawer- yaward Sh to select, choose out. $-<*\tilde{a}$ -war-

yaž Sh twig. — Cf Par žőx fire-wood < *yašša-, cf Av yaxšti- twig?
yež Sh grizzled.

yıx Y, Sh, Z, (*)îx Sk, 18 X ice. —
Av aëxa. Also Sar 18 'cold', î81
'coldness' belong here, and not to
Av 18u- as proposed Air Wb 372.

yī xūn Y, I xūn X, V xūn Sk., yıxān Sh., yı xūn Kl bridle. — Tomaschek (p 805) compares Av axnah, but this is phon. improbable (v. Air. Wb. s v) But yī xūn could go back to *axāna- (axnah- influenced by °amı- bāna-)

yaz L ice, glacier — Common in placenames, e.g. Lup yar-yaz 'Great Stone Glacier' in Shimshal (Cockerill), Dukuti-Yaz, etc. — Cf. Khow. yoz (Ir lw?). < I E ½eg- ice (v Walde-Pokorny, I, 206).

yĕz Y, X, Sk, Sh yesterday — yez-əm rəyder I went yesterday Y, 'yez-₁nāy'd Sk — Cf. Yd. 121ko.

yāzņ Y, yazn Z inflated skin mussuck
— Cf Yd. īzē.

 $y\tilde{z}$. L to bear (of animals), $y\tilde{a}\tilde{z}$ - $y\tilde{a}\tilde{z}d$ Y, Sh to bear a child. $y\tilde{t}\tilde{z}g$ L saliva

Z(J)

zā Sk, zah Sh child, infant — Prs.
zēi I. wave — Cf. Av. zāy-, Skr haya-, from hi- to set in motion?

jei Y, zt X (Prs), j/zei L bowstring — Cf Psht žaī V jēl. zu'bon X tongue. - Prs V zīk. zobut- L, zubutzubott Sh. to burst (trans); zubed- zubon- Sh to burst (intrans) — Cf Skr ud-bhidyate, ud-bhinna- to spring open, to burst forth zūy L cooked fat — Cf Psht yōz? juy Sh, zūq Be, jūγ Kl. yak. — Cf Khow 20y, hyhrid yak zulyōl X coal, — Prs zīk Y, Sk, zik N, Sh, 'ziuck' Bi., zerī W (Ishk) tongue, word — nīv tr zīk kšuyəm now I hear your word. — Prob < *hızūkă- Cf Yd zeviy zəq Sk tedious, boring (скучно) zəka'lar Y, zakə'loi X, jak'lar Sk, ja° Sh., jəq'lai Kl, cxalāi Be, etc small — zak²lāi wušk a new-born calf X. - < *jəlkar? Cf. Shgh jəlik, etc z³kōm Sk head cold, rheum — Ar ·Prs jēl Kl string of an instrument, tor -Cf. 121 zəllfak W comb — *Prs zö'lım Sk unjust — Ar-Prs zulm Sk injustice — Ar-Prs zulzu'lā X earthquake — Ar ·Prs zem Y, zim X, zom Sk, zam Sh. snow - Cf Av zyam- winter, Sar. zamån snow (but Yazgh zə'nay, Shgh žə'nıy, etc < *snaiga-) zım Be yawn — Sar. vızām. Cf Yd zōm-. zam'būr X, W wasp — Ar-Prs zam'būr-r asal X bee — Ar-Prs ze mān Y, zo Sk, zo mon X, zaman Sh. child. — Cf Yd zə'mön, za'mīn Y, X, Sk earth, ground, zimīn X floor - Prs zəmā'nōk W bov — Ishk

zamīn'žəm Y, zalanjum Be. earthquake. — Prs — Cf Yd zibijim zemis'ton Sk winter. - Prs. zōlnū N (Prs), zun W (prob Ishk) knee. zend- zet- L to take away from. -* $uz + y\bar{a}nt$ - (v s v $y\bar{a}nd$ -)? why not $\check{z} < zy^2$ 'zında Y, X alıve. — Prs zındə qoni car- L to live — Prs zang Sk rust - Prs. za'năx Y, N, Sh, zə'nax Sk chin, jaw — Prs zār Sk poison — Prs zūr Sk. strong -- Prs zardolu N apricot — Prs zərend- L to scrape, zirānd-, zirest- (inf ziruin) Sh to turn in a lathe — *uz-rand-, cf Skr 1 ad- to scrape, scratch zart Y, X, Z, zārt Sk, zard Sk, zöl W (Ishk) yellow — Zartiyar n of a place Y, Cockerill — Cf. Yd zīt, Sgl zāl ze'vī W tongue, zevak Hj language -Ishk — V zīk zwāy- zwett- Sh to roll up — Cf Sar zerway- < *uz-uăy-, Skr ud vayatı to weave or fasten up. zaxm Sk wound - Prs. zăž Sk, zaž Sh thorn — Cf Khow g/zox (lw)? But note Orm zēš, $zy\bar{e}\tilde{s}^r$ thorn $< \tilde{s}^*ja\vartheta r\bar{t}$ zonya L destruction, ruin — < *zayā-? Cf Av. zyā- to injure (cf jayāi, inf of jyā- 'to weaken' acc to Barth, but see Benv. Infinitives Avest, p 65) But note phonet difficulties Ž. Ž

žāu Y, Sh, žau L, St, Be, you W (Ishk)

Khow. žō?

grain, (provisions Sh). - Cf Ishk

yau, Yd. you, Sar zau - ž- from

žoe ('zhoe') Cockerill lake — From Khow? žabd Hj stable (unknowu to Sk)

žod- žodt Sh to sow seed, žed- žodd to sprinkle, strew - Cf Sar yeδ-, žie∂-. — < •wi-ā-dā-?

žâla Y, W, žō° N hail - Prs

žə mak Y, N, žə māk Sk., ju Sh moon - *užmahka- < *uxšm°, cf Yd amoyo Butcf Benveniste, JA, 1936, 231. $zum\bar{a}nd$ - Sh to wring. — < mant with hača-9

žm'da Kl, žm'dāg Sh, zmdsq (ž?) L tale, proverb

žinan Y, X mire (predic) - halyem xon žunan X — Cf. § 122

žăng Sk nit

žip- L, žup žovd Sh to spin — Cf Yd. γī., Shgh žīb. V p. 454, n4.

žār Y Adam's apple.

ž'žirev/y- L to need, lack. — Cf žirov-(< to be in need < to be stuck?) ži rav Y, ji rab X, caw Sh ravine, valley, ja'rāv Sk brook, jīrāw (Cockerill) a gorge with a stream.

žirov- žirogn Sh to hang from a peg, žərov $\check{z} \partial i o \check{\gamma} n \quad (\check{z} \partial r o \check{\gamma} a k)$ Kl to be stuck

žei ax Sh knot - Prob from Sar žerex, etc, cf Yd. yurex.

žārž Y, Sk, Sh., žārj N, Be, jarje X milk - žārž Sh foster brother or sister, žo zamān foster-child (Sai žorž, žo balāh fr. Wkh), cf. Khow chīr-brār, etc - < *yžaracī-, cf Av vžar- to stream, aipi-vžar- to be liquid (about milk), of semantically Prs šiftan to trickle N.W Ir šift 'mılk', etc — But $\check{z} < -\check{c}l$ (ef \$ 33.?

žītr Y, jītr X, žuti Sh woollen thread - čiu-jitr X a black thread - < *yaiftra-, ef. žip-99

List of Names

Abgač Y n of a vill. Abgač Curzon, Ifkerš Russ.

Ku'tal···Ankura X n of a pass.

Išməry Y, Išmurd X, Išmarg Survey, Curzon, Išmurg Russ n of a vill.

Buru'yul X the Baroghil Pass

Baz gir X, Bazgiran Survey n. of a vill between Ishkashm and Zebak Cilkand Y, Cahilkand Survey, Cexel gal'd Russ. n of a vill.

'Darkut X the Darkot Pass.

Kala-1- Wust Y, Kala Wust Survey, Kala Yust Curzon, Ust Russ n of a vill Körkut Y, Karkit Russ n of a vill Kišin X n. of a vill and cantonment

Kišn Kl., Langar Kisht Curzon

Kezqit Y, Kezget Burhan ud-Din, Kebkut(?) Russ., Kipkot Curzon(?) n. of a vill

Nud X, Nut Hj n of a vill. near Ishkashm

Namad'güt N, Namadgut Survey, Namatgut H_I n of a vill

Nirs Y, Russ, News Curzon n of a vill Pi'giš Y, °iš X, Pigiš Survey, Pigaš Curzon n, of a vill

Pay Y, Fax X n of a vill

Pa'kūi Y, Pu'hui X, Pokoi Russ, Paqui Curzon n of a vill,

Panja Y, Kala-1-Panj X, Kala-1-Panč H₁., Kala-i Panja Russ, Kila Panja Survey n of a vill

Pu'tuš Y, Patuč Curzon, Patus Russ n. of a vill

Pit|xar Y, Pirxar Russ, Curzon n of a vill

Rejebik X n of a vill. (in Gaian?)

Rokut Y, Rakot Survey, Curzon n of
a vill

¹Rētxud Y pass leading to Gāzikistān, to the left of the Sad Istraγ, but not passing by Deh Gol(?)

Sa¹nīn Y, Sanın Russ., Curzon n of a vill

Sarhadd Y, Sarhad Survey n. of a vill. Sast Y, Sist Russ. n of a vill Sa'wōr X, Saor Curzon n of a vill Šiya'nōn X Shughnan Cf Šikāšm W Ishkashm

Wark W, Warg Survey, Curzon, Wūry, Hūrγ Hj. n. of a vill. Wux Y Wakhan, Wa'xē Sk Wakhı.
Xodārgbort X, Xora Bhort Survey n
of a pass

'Xandut Y, X, Survey, Kən'dut H₁ n of a vill, Xanduti a man from Khandut — Cf § 3

Xorog X n. of a vill, and cantonment (čauni) in Shughnan

 $\check{X}ik$ Y, $Wa^{i}x\bar{\imath}$ X, W Wakhı — sak ən $\check{X}ik$ ən $\check{s}ik$ Sk Wakhı ($^{i}\check{s}ik$ $z\check{\imath}k$ eastern dialect) — $< *W(u)\check{x}ik$

Yamg Y, Yamk HJ Yimek Russ n of a vill

Ya'mit Y, 'Yemit X, Survey, Yamid Russ, Yamit Hj n. of a vill

Yūr Y, Yur Survey, Yot(?) Russ n of a vill

Zarti'yar Y, Zirxar Curzon n of a vill at the foot of the Baroghil Pass

SHUGHNI SUPPLEMENT

- (Sentences not given, or not given in full, in Notes on Shughni, NTS, I. Sentences from the dialect of Bashar are marked B)
 - 1. âdam-um zīt B I killed a man.
- 2. 'araı ca'vår mēd-om yast, tam t'īm B I shall stay three or four days, and then go (se cår rūz bâz mērīm)
- 3 Awal Jalāla bâd sāwom, tām badēveta Pešāwar sāwom B First I shall go to J., and then to P
- 4 Haz ude ar Xuž'nūn cond mēð pond yast? B How many days road is it from here to Shughnan?
- 5. Az čâra šac za'wēd B Draw water from the well.
- 6 Az me yī mūn par jīv Take an apple from him
- 7. Az we (de) pēšc Ask him (this one).
- 8 Az xūðman a'gā de ke B Wake him from sleep (az xau bedår ku)
- 9 Az yūdande Badaxšūn cūnd mēv põnd How many day's road is it from here to Badakhshan?
- 10. Beyâr-um ıkme âdam-um wint B I saw this very man yesterday (dina hami ådam didam)
- 11. Biyâr-om az we pēšct B I asked him yesterday.
- 12 Biyâr-om wēšt, zâr-um sut B Yesterday I fell and got bruised (dīnarūz uftâdum, augar šudam).
- 13. Ca waxt-at-1 yat? B When did you come?
 - 1 Cf bade we ta 'pas az i', Notes, p. 48

- 14. Čâk đãđom B I bore.
- 15. Da mūn yâs, lāk B Take this apple away, and leave it (ī sēba bubar, bumån).
- 16 De'vē xam'bēn'—De'vē-m waxt xam'bēnè B Shut the door!—I have already shut it.
- 17. $\Delta e n^{\dagger} d \tilde{a} n^{\dagger} \delta a \delta u m$ B I chew
- 18. $\Delta \hat{a} r g$ -um $v e r \bar{u} \xi t$ B I broke the stick
- 19 Gap-um rınūšt I forgot the word
- 20 Gar'ða 'xārom, gar'ða-um xūd B I eat (ate) bread
- 21 Gūšt-um pēxt I cooked meat
- 22. $G\bar{u}$ št xarâb-a, xīdao na bâf* xīdao na var δ ım B The meat is bad, it is not to be eaten, I cannot eat it
- 23 K'īmb uēddom, k'īmb·um wēdd I throw (threw) a stone
- 24 K'imb mū te na wēde' Don't throw a stone at me!
- 25 Ku naştördum B I went out (baråmadım) But why ku?
- 26 K'âr-um čūd B I worked
- 27. Kurtı-m¹ penūid B I washed the shirt
- 28. Kurtā-x-ščendam ² B I tear my shirt (kurtara burrīdam)
- 29. Kıtâb-um tur vūd (turd-um vūd) I brought you the book
- 30 Kitâb mēz te lāk B Put the book on the table.
- 31 Lap k'ēn-om zud, šiš-ta 'nāvom B I became very sorry, now I am weeping (bisyâr deq šuda-im, ālī giryā mēkunum)
- 32. Ma dâdand-ın xåwš puc My father has six sons
- 33 Ma de ma' B Don't beat me
- 34. Mund sut puc, xu dâdard-me lūroum mu pucik nūm nēd I got a son I said to my father Give my little son a name.
- 35. Murdə må dâd vûrjə dâd My father gave me a horse.
- 36 Mu rafiq-at vut, kīvdum tu B You were my comrade, [therefore] I called you Answer to: čīr-at mu kīvd? Why did you call me?
- 37. Mur vār B Bring it to me
- 38 Nur-um dar pond tūid I have walked a long way to-day.

¹ For hurta-ım?

² For kurta šč°, with notation of a glide between a and š

³ With sonorization in sandhi, for sut.

- 39. Nūstum nūr yūdand To-day I sat down there.
- 40. Naw-om nust B I sat down now
- 41. Naw-om šut to âwâz B Now I heard your voice.
- 42 Pon tim, pond-um tuid B I go, I went (rå megardam).
- 43 Ra'wåen sa' B Get off!
- 44. Sahar t'im B I shall go to-morrow
- 45. Sa, žīz zewēδ! Go, and fetch wood
- 46. Šič dīm tō Now I (shall) beat you.
- 47 Šič-um tūīd B Now I went.
- 48. Šīnt-om, naw-om šīnt B I laughed (now).
- 49 Šac ar pu'âla k'een, var! Brējom B Pour water into the cup and bring it. I shall drink (au dar puâla partau, biār buxurim).
- 50. Šāč-om δūd, ho gap ma renēs B I was afraid (saying) Don't forget this word
- 51 Šâj $\delta \bar{e}rom$, siš-ta wå \S^w um az $k\bar{u}$ te B I am afraid to fall down now from the hill
- 52 Šāpa'rak rə'wāšt The bat flew (fem.!)
- 53 Tu cawax-teyē? I čand rōz ga tīm When shall you go? I shall go in a few days
- 54 Tam ta vâ tīm B Then I shall go.
- 55 Tu nūm na vzūnum I don't know your name.
- 56. Tar Šērpur 'sāom B I shall go to Sherpur
- 57 Visam B I bind (basta mēkunam).
- 58. Vârjə (vērj) tēr yast The horse (mare) is black.
- 59. Wuz-um bēčāra, nātu wản B I am poor and helpless.
- 60. Wuz-əm 'âdam, tu t-m -əs¹ âdam I am a man, and you are also a man (man âdam-am, tu ham âdam-ī).
- 61. Wuz-am man kītāb xo verādard dāx-šut 2 I gave this book 4:0 my brother
- 62 Wuz na wzånum, yn čīz wezåne to B I don't understand it, do you understand this thing?
- 63. Wuz turd ôâdom I gave (it) to you
 - 1 The meaning of 28 is unknown to me
 - 2 Prob $man=mam,\ dar{a}xar{s}ut$ for $\deltaar{a}k$ $\deltaar{u}d$

^{36 -} Kulturforskning

- 64. Xabar'dâr, žīr šič-ta wåšt B Take care, the stone is falling now
- 65. Xedârjan xu yâžj narm yan Grind your flour at the mill
- 66 Xūdm-um wint B I had a dream.
- 67 Xu dust ze'nēam (-um ze'nâd) B I wash (washed) my hand.
- 68. Xu dust-om dikt I licked my own hand.
- 69 Xu pīc mā-njab (= anjav), wuz-um tō wint Don't be ashamed, that I did see you (rū-i xuda na gīr, ke ma tura dīdim)
- 70. Xaš jâi we čūžj (makam (= muḥkam?) na karda-ī)
- 71. Xu paisa ma be'nes B Don't forget your money
- 72. Yû âdam recūst The man fled.
- 73. Yâc pedenum, -um pedet B I kindle(d) a fire
- 74. Yâc-um dude B The fire burnt me
- 75 Yäm čid čədåm âdamand? Which man does this house belong to? (în xåna-ı kudåm saxs-ast?).
- 76 Yi mūn mård-um bâd I gave this apple to this one (?).
- 77 Yi mið yå âdam xurdə lūr δ One day a man said to himself (yak rūz yak âdam ba xud guft)
- 78 Yi sowâr wi draxt bunan nūšč B A horseman was sitting under that tree
- 79. Yıda yatam B I came here
- 80 Zemâd am zedūd B I swept the floor.
- 81. Žindam yâs xedârjan B Take the wheat to the mill (ganduma bubar âsyâ)
- 82. Žəni dap (= lap ?) δi^2 Much snow falls (?).
 - 1 Writter narmian.
 - ² Cf. Or (Zar) diyan snowstorm?

Song from Ghund (Bait)

Shughnı Text
Ar 'jâık 'sāwe tu Xo'dâık tā'wīl, /
mo'râdık te'lāb az 'pâ-ı 'xâjā. /
Ba'wån, ra'wånık tar 'dēf šā'līn /
'ta sadu'qık tu bås-sē'mīn

¹ نعوبل. * Sadq-ıt šawam.

Persian Translation

Har jâ mērawī, ba Xudâ turā tawīl¹ kadim /

Duå (mu ād) bigīr az pâ·ī Xōjā /

Pēš·ī mā raftī, dar mābain ī maidān, /
satkičawon² čišm.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page.

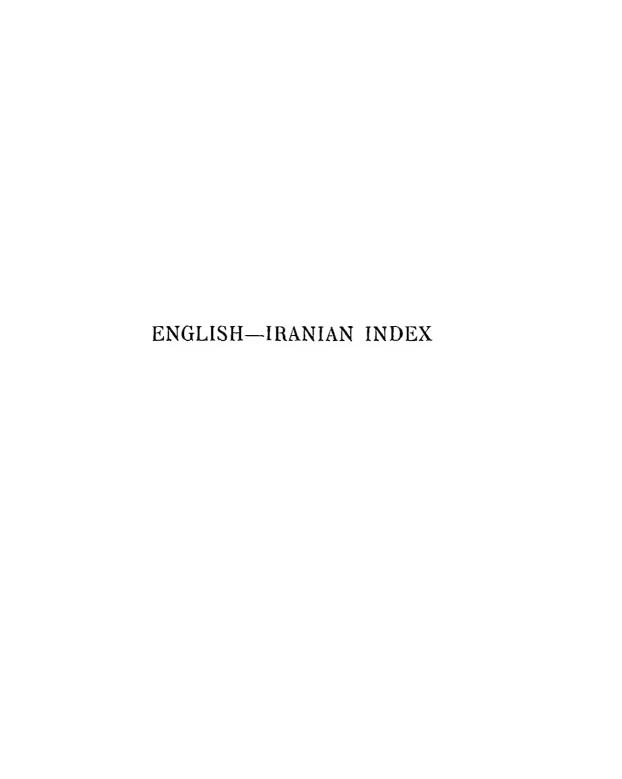
Line

16	4	from bottom Add Hingan, cf. p 426				
29	8	Aspiration is noted in a Shgh vocabulary published				
		ın the Annuaire de la Rev de Kabul 1934—35 Eg ($= kh\bar{a}l$) head.				
73	1	in margin. For tk read sk				
77	5	from bottom Ad tūga, ef Voc s v				
79	4	Cf also kındaka gırl				
3	8	Cf also pəcəg- 'to break' < *pati-sinda-?				
84	5	from bottom Add yiky < *gy šnuka-, v. § 117				
86	12	For *spīšā· read *spīšā				
87	7	Cf also § 52.				
89	7	Add Ir,				
105	19	Add zoviy tongue < *hizwāka-				
•	22	Add lo with $< *had\bar{a}$				
109	9	•				
114	2	from bottom For § 148 read §§ 149, 163, 175				
121	3	Add Ysh šināmii girls				
122	7	» But pure might go back to *pudrai, with pronominal				
		ending				
149	1	Add Cf Voc. s.v. kəlnī.				
151	3	But v. p 129 ll. 10 sqq, and p 159, ll 2 sqq				
155	20	Cf also Par. mât killed (mēr-) < *mānīta- (not *manīta-).				
158	9	For 327 read 227.				
204	10	and 15 Articles čatīr and čšīr to change place.				
220	20	() () () () () () () () () ()				
222	12	() 100, 100 () 100, 100 () 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 10				
		δρέ(?) But scarcely Prs. dala 'weasel' from a dial. related to Sgl				
		with $l < \delta$ —With *dušaka-, cf. Av dužaka- hedgehog? Semantically				
		cf Yaghn sugur 'marmot'				
224	11	from bottom (s v 19royo). Cf. Wkh. wirdina clear (sky), Jaunsari				
		(Indo-Ar) bidri				

482

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Page
       Line
236
         7 from bottom (s.v. p\bar{i}y) Cf Wkh pi\bar{u}h
         5 Insert before shut skapīr G above
246
D
        22 (s v. sāl). Add Y sālo, Par săr < *sardā-
         7 from bottom (s.v. sani). Cf Bur sinč roof-beam
247
248
        20 (s v. sar^{\dagger}y\bar{a}r)
                          Add Ysh
        11 from bottom (s.v wuzιā-) Cf Parth. wzyh- < uz ι-, v. Henning,
264
                           BSOS, IX, 89.
266
        11
                          (s v xōan-) Cf Saka ggan-, v. Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71
274
         1 For ni-yang- read ni-yaug-.
278
         1 from bottom. After žang add žingo Yg n of a bird
        11 Add Cf E. Yaghn s (old \vartheta), W Yaghn t < \vartheta, v. Junker, Yayn
305
            Stud. I, 128.
                          Cf also ormozd/rēmuz sun, v. Voc. s.v.
330
            from bottom
                           Add: foryem, viv-lav
331
         7
                           Add durk, purk
D
>
                           Add § 144
            Ad to-be add tom-ba Sgl. p 3 V Voc s.v astay-
345
            Add Possibly kuč-i his wife, nes-i la-kub didn't allow him.
348
349
            from bottom Add Sk wav Ag Pl of awī (Texts VI)
         2 Add Final -1 also in Sgl is la-kurō-mō-1 I have left it (enclific
354
            pronoun?)
355
         8 Add Sk. nist, Sgl nes i la-kuδ.
391
         9 from bottom (s v dos). Add das I
398
         3 from bottom Ad kamak cf Sar, Shgh comj back
419
        19 (s.v. wulmēk) Add transl. moon
        26 (s v warv-) For M1 wurv- read Yd urw-.
420
422
         5 (s.v. xum) But cf, § 55
438
         1 from bottom Acc to 'Annuaire de la revue de Kabul', 1934-35,
            p 143 this dialect "used to be spoken in the district of Faizahad
            on the banks of the Saraghlam river Now it is dead and abandoned
            ".(مرده و مدوك)
442
         1 from bottom
                          Add The geographical distribution of -2v and -1t is
            not clear Kl describes the dialect of Langar Kishn in Eastern
            Wakhan.—Another dialectical variation is that of Y, X, Sh spa 'our',
            and Sk, Kl spo, H<sub>1</sub> su<sup>1</sup>pd.—The Perfect forms given by Sk (v § 156)
            may also belong to a restricted locality
471
        12 in margine For sp read sp
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3 from bottom Add xenj- to fill, var denz- to fill < -aya-?



ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX

to the Vocabularies contained in the following publications by the author Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I, II, Notes on Shughni (NTS, I, 45 sqq), The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto (NTS, IV, 156 sqq, with reference to page), Supplementary Notes on Ormuri (NTS, V, 10 sqq), An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto (Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videuskapsakademi i Oslo, II, Hist.-Filos Klasse 1927 No 3), and to Notes on Prof. Charpentier's Article "Some Remarks on Pashto Etymology" (AO VII, 198 sqq).

The languages are, as a rule, quoted in the following order Wanetsi (Wn.), Pashto $(P\S = \text{Etym} \ \text{Voe} \ \text{Psht}, \ P\S^i = \text{Notes}, \ \text{AO VII})$, Ormuri of Logar $(O \ \text{IIFL}, \ I)$, Ormuri of Kaniguram $(O^i \ \text{Supplementary Notes}, \ \text{NTS}, \ V)$, Parachi $(P \ \text{IIFL}, \ I)$, Yidgha Munji $(Y \ \text{IIFL}, \ II)$, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi $(S \ \text{IIFL}, \ II)$, Wakhi $(W. \ \text{IIFL}, \ II)$, and Shughni $(\S \ \text{NTS}, \ I)$

Identical, or nearly identical forms of a word are only given once, and in this manner the order of the dialects has often been deviated from Minor variations of vowels (such as \bar{a} , \hat{a} , and \hat{a}) have not been taken into account in such cases. Thus, e.g. "Garden $b\hat{a}_{\gamma}$ O, O', S, Š" stands for " $b\hat{a}_{\gamma}$ O, $b\bar{a}_{\gamma}$ O', $b\hat{a}_{\gamma}$ S, $b\hat{a}_{\gamma}$ Š" (and, besides, Munji $b\hat{a}_{\gamma}$ will be found in the Vocabulary s.v. Y $ba_{\gamma}a$).

Accents are omitted, and uncertain vowel quantities within a single language have not been noted. Thus, e.g., a for \check{a} of the Vocabularies, and o, e, for Psht \check{o} , \check{e} . Note that in IIFL, II ${}^{o}st$, ${}^{o}sp$, etc., will be found under s- Verbs are given in the root-form, except in the case of Psht.

Translations have frequently been broadened and modified in order to make the Index more easily surveyable. In every case the Iranian word given in the Index must be looked up in the Vocabularies, where the more special meanings will be found. Thus the Index catch-word 'wheat' will include 'summer' and 'autumn-wheat', 'cap' several kinds of caps, etc.—In a few cases obvious mistakes in the earlier translations have been corrected.

Wanetsi forms are given only when they differ from those of Psht. A few words not given in the NTS-article have been included within square brackets. For the sake of ready comparison a few important Psht and Shgh words not found in the above mentioned publications have likewise been added within square brackets. The Shgh, forms are taken from Skold's material

Very rarely new etymological snggestions have been added to the Psht forms

 \boldsymbol{A}

ability hogūf P. able, to be č- O, nar- P, v. ken-, kir Y, koken- S, bās wəzī- W, var 8- S above pabēga O, -bēža O¹, pasmīno, vəlyo Y, cə-pšūr, vərāz S abstinent parīz P. abuse astio Y abuse, to škanjel Pš, vārand- W account hisâb P. accursed lain P, v curse accustomed rūžd Pš ache, to v pain. acid food, eaten as a relish tanda O. acorn pərgai [also Afr etc] Pš across pore Pš. action kâr O. Adam's apple yaraī (v yaral) Pš, yurvokuluwa, tūta Y. yālviš S Cf throat admirer guriagas P advice nesiyat, pand, salā P, nasiāt Y adulterer yar Y adze taržaj Pš, škīnj O¹, toško Y, užāk. tarš, tīša W. affair gap, sūy P afflict, to blosedsl (v blos) Pš affliction tâb P Afghan Paštūn (v paštō) Pš, kaš O, auyân P afraid, to be v fear after wrusto Pš, bâd O, bâdaz, peš, peščhan P, čpāč, dīd, vno, Y, bād, pasi S, bâād, ga, pas Š asternoon joštai O', nemāzdigar, pēšin, (1)ziāne Y, pešīn S, namâz-e digar S afterwards pēc O, bâd, bâz, pēšthērâ, pešte, ēka P, băd Y after that dava S again biyār Wn 162, byā, byarta Pš, bē, pēc O, bâd, bite, wapēš, dūbāra P, bət, cebas W, wâ S.

age umr P, humr S agitation šūr P. ago mēn O1. agreeable xwaš (v xož) Pš, xuš Š agreeing fâreš P, kābūl S. agreement angūr Pš, rezā P aım murâd, maxsa/ūd P. air (h)awā O, P, S, W. alarm čiq P alas darīy Y, afsōs W alive žwandai (v žwāh) Pš, zinda O, S, W, S, °o Y, zenda, jano P all drast, wāra Pš, kull O, P, S, ar, ayēra O, hu, harčī, hus(s) P, drust, pāži Y, hor S, kužt W, fuhat [-at] S. all three hušše P almond bādām O1, P, Y, Š, bābām S, (wild) kitaya Y alms wičārum, xudâī Y alone yawājai (v. yau) Pš, tanâ O, žahī P, fhyrriko Y, toho Y, W, tāke, wulyēka S Cf single. along with, v together with already waxt S also $m\bar{\imath}$ Wn 162, [hum Pš], ga(r) O, ham P, mm Y, am S. always mudâm O, P ambergris ambar P ambler yıbyă, yuryă W ambling yur_ya S ambush psūnai Pš amır amir P amorous *âšugbâz* P among mēn P, tar S amulet, v charm ancient gahīna, kona, tariual P, kūna, qadīm S, kīna Š and [o] Pš, u O, P, wo P, Y, Š, awī S, ot W, at S. angel malâik P, fərašte S. Angelica kurušo Y

anger khar, šanufart, xešem P, kyahre Y, xafa S, k/qār S, W, rūš W. angry xafa O, P, Š, bi os Pš, yussamand, pērīčân P, bur W. animal haiwān, žāndār Y, aiwān, čārān S, awon W. ankle linda, narai yarai (v yarəl), šongarai, šatgarai Pš, kanak O, šengerar O1, band e par P, trəboda, wuški ostia Y, band-i pā S, band-ipūd, maš W, bijelak-i-pāī Š ankle-bone $[p; \bar{v}^{\dagger}ka \text{ Wn}], wary\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ (v āyažəl) Pš, bujulak P, ušk-mažiko, pola baļūka Y, čta-lang W, šurčak S ankle-ring masī P answer jawab O, juwap P, žuab Y, juwāb S, W, Š. ant mērža Wn 161, mežai Pš, murčā O, marcoi O1, mūčo, murč P, muryo Y, mārcik, mən č S, mun ča, mīr-prīč W, mūrj Š ant, white uēna Pš antidote taryâk P antler čot Y anus kūna Pš, hūn O, W, kyūn O1, gūyək, šīn W, šardīc Š Cf podex anvil putk, sandan, (small) xōisk Y, sındön, yüyəne yər W. any ēč O, hēč P, hãč Y anyone kōk O, koī Y, iško, koči S anybody khin P anything (ē)ca O, hezâ P, hēči S. apart bigána P apparent māləm Y appear, to sədiy. W. nemai Y appearance nemâyân P. appearing paida P, Y, S apple maņa Pš, mlīč O, mīlīz O¹, amar P, sēb [Wn], P, W, dmuno Y, mēl S, mur, mənū W, mūn Š appointed time wâda O

apprenticeship šâqirdī P approach, to garz- Wn 167 approve, to kabūl kan- P apricot matat O, O¹, zardâlū O, P, [zyard° Wn], mindut P, čīre Y, zardolu S, W, čuwel S, čuwan W, náš (meorr naš) Š apricots (dried) čiryišče Y apricot (unripe) čūrwa Y, pəndək W apricot-kernel čilyāne Y aqueduct tarnāw (v nāwa) Pš. archer kamândâr P arghawan, Judas-tree aryawân P arm bizar O1, last Y, dost S, dast. yurm W, bâzə S Cf forearm, hand arm (upper part of) leča Pš, bâzū P, S, kâlâja P, vīzya Y, astamayzək S, mayzī W, fyak S arm, strength of the bâzūī P arm (weapon) erâq P armlet, v bracelet armour zyara Pš, zyiro O¹, parkâla P armpit kucana Wn 168, txarg Pš, O¹, bayal O, P, S, W, banabayal, taiköl P, šafšīyan, tākaš Y, kašviš S, kalsbən W, bzyūž S army laškar P, S, fauj P, W, paltan P, kārun Y, ashar, fauž S around daur P arranged jör P arrangement wâda O, bandubast P arrest, to pačrax- W. arrive, to zay- O, z- O1, zah- P, ros- Y, īδ S, jat- W, fərâp- S arrive, to make to zahew. P. risad. Y arrogant sor-xas S arrow [yēsa Wn], yəšar Pš, tīr O, yēšar O', bano P, pix, yufčugiko Y, dərnāk(?), xastīrek S, tīi i-dast, wuč W, cankamånak, pât S. Cf bullet arrow, barbed šataī Pš artisan močie Y, wuståd W

as, v like ascend, to lik- O', san- W. Cf 11se ascending $b\bar{e}k$ O ascent pečūmai Pš, patarāj Š as far as tu-manak O ash, mountain tür Y ashamed šarmunda O, °enda P, °inda S, W, čemše P ashamed, to be lejj- P ashes are Wn 159, ire (or) Pš, xâkıstar, yānak O, yāk O1, bhây P, yaxio Y, park, wuter S, xākestār S, W, pārg W. Gir S ashes, hot sxwaštan Pš as if *laka* Pš as if, just as găya Y ask, to puštedel Pš, khuj(ēw) P, prs Y, faros. S, purs. W, pešc. S. ask for, to žay- O, za- O1, čalg- W asleep prou Wn 160, ūdo Pš, nwastak O¹, mınduk S, šâft S. ass xar Pš, O, O¹, Š, xro O¹, khởr P, xoro Y, xor S, xūr W, markāb Š ass, wild yyara Pš. ass's load xerwâr P assembled jam P, gol S. assignment barât P. assistance v. help assistant hamrâ P astonished hairân P. astringent stay, zmoxt Pš at pa Pš, O, O¹, P, da, dâl P at last âxer P, pəčuwaxšt (?) S at once mudâ P, ugah Y, mis S attached, to be awas- O. attain, v. find augury muti W aunt nandiār, tandor Pš, koko Y, voč W. aunt maternal māšo Pš, xâla O, P, Š. aunt, paternal tror (v tra) Pš, ama O, S, tro O1, amajī P, bībī S

autumn [1mana Wn], manai Pš, me° O, mınaı O1, sâmur P, păiz Y, tiramā Y, S, S, omo W, tamūz S avalanche puma, rešk Y, yārč S, [rīšt Š] avalanche (of stones) čar xo Y, oa W, Š avaricious stay Pš aware poh Pš awake ["wárish" Wn], wīš Pš, anga(h), usxūbon, bidār, bivāre Y, bē° S, aqā S awake, to (intr) wust-(ust-) O, čīd-P, (tr) čīdew- P, angahu- Y aware xabar S away pū P awl rīna Pš, durf P, lerefšo Y, cārzņ W axe tabar Pš, O, načixai Oi, pašō, tašō, tawarca, uengā P, tuvor Y, tovor S, t³pār W, taf/vār, taršak(?) Š axe, battle- tuverzin Y.

\boldsymbol{B}

babble, to brām- W babbler ünar Pš baby zolikik Š bachelor bundoq S back (adv) byarta Pš, pēc O, apešt, bite, wapēš P, cebas, vispač Y, sibās W, wâ S Cf again back, n. [puštēi Wn], šā Pš, pēc, pūšt O, pešput, pušta, put P, piščo Y, arqa S, W, kamak S, dām, kâmī, mād W. back (lower part of) biyan O back (of an animal) dam S, pert W back (upper part of) pat O, O1, taxta e putika P, harko Y, arka, dām Š back (of the head) pēškalā P, sor-čibaxt W back-tooth pačagi danân P, kām-lad Y, kərəsī, woždān S back-wall čana Pš backwards epošt S

bad bad O, P, S, yanj O, xarāb O, O1, P. Š. ēlāhī, bīšī, geš, kačal, wačhanā P, līw, naškel Y, ganda S, šak(k) S, W, loyar W, šake Š Cf evil, lean, 10tten bad, ill-omened badkār P badness badī P bad smell uah S bag gomē O', božai Y Cf goatskin bag, mussuck baker nayön-pečāk, nayönphako P, xādem Y. baker, professional woman- xanadaro Y bakhsheesh šīrīnī P bakıng-pan usīd S, såt W bald kal O, P, S, kyel Y. band riškai (v wrešal) Pš band (of sheaf) wandanai, waicdanai Pš, oenai O1 band (of a shirt) kaitan P bank (of a river) bar P, daryā lab W barber, a modreb P bare footed abl (v pal) Pš, xīr pul Y, špušk W bare-headed wisti-sər W bark (of tree) xwar Pš, pāņi (?) O, pūst (·e bhīnīka, °·e tīka) P, pisto Y, pəstāk S, draxt-pīst, kurust W, post S bark, birch barj Pš bank, to yap [Ps], O1, jaf-, wakar- P, rov. Y, lav. S barking of a dog yauyau O. barley [arba/əsi Wn], ōrbūšē Pš, əspēk O, uspēk O¹, žo P, kosh, yeršio Y, iərvəs S, yırk W, cūšc S. barley (beardless) kyal yar šīo Y. barley bread, v. bread barn, v hay-stack, store room barren šand Pš, s(r)trin W bashful lejjanák P

basket kajāwo O¹, boriko, kūmio, sāvde Y, čumol S, wurgeš W, cemūd Š. bat (zool) šauparak O, P, S, W, šawurkai O1, mūš-i pairān P, lə-verzəya rūso, šabparekilay, živderaus Y, šabgardak, šāparak Š bath ammåm S bathe, to jamb. O', zənay. Y, šənōwarē kan-S Cf to wash battle jang P battlefield jangjár P baxter tabaī (v. taba) Pš, novnoyo Y bazar băzār P, Y, S bay, to ruly W be, to i Wn 166, šta, wu1, yam Pš, b. O, -a, $-\hat{a}$, $h\hat{a}$, $s\bar{i}$, $b\bar{i}$, $\bar{o}st$ P, ast $v\bar{\imath}$ - Y, $-\bar{\sigma}$, ast, \bar{v} sto, v ∂ δ S, humu-, ter- W, vu-, yast S beacon sunya Y. Cf bonfire beak nūl O, P, S, S, mašūko O¹, novyo Y, mingor, nuck W beam pəžō Y. beam (of floor) sanj Y. Cf roof-beam beans kačeraphör, máš P, muyo Y, bālyē S, bakula W, maš(?) S bear yırž Wn 161, yaž Pš, xırs O, P, W, yīrs, yižo O¹, uč, ut P, xərs, yarš Y, xars S, novordum W, yūrš Š. bear, to (a child) zīy-, ažaw- Y, yɔ̃ž- W bear, to (endure) $\check{z}ar\bar{a}$. Y. beard žīra Pš [Wn], aurušt, gīš(?) O, dhârī P, yaržo Y, rīš, vīn S, regīš W, bon S beard (of corn) laša Pš, sūg O, lešī O¹. beast of burden bhârgīr P beat, to wul- Wn 166, wahal Pš. prī(b)-, tikaw, zan O, de(h) O¹, P, S, jan O¹, ur-, jan-, lag- P, dah- Y, čuk-, žeb-S, W, dē-, dīm- W, δā- (de-), zīn- Š beat (a drum) $h\bar{u}b$ - P. beat to (eachother) dong vit- W beat and clean wool, to šem. W

beating $z\bar{o}k$ O beautiful kšulai (v kšul), [šāvista] Pš. šâsta O, šaista O1, negâr, nâzanīn, sutra P, xºšrūi W beauty kângī, surat P. because ka O, če, čâ P, ke Y, ki S, W because of bâbadī O become, to šwal Pš, b. O, s. O, O1, ch., par- P, oy- Y, š- S, woc- W, saw- Š bed gāi O1, čârpāi O, P, Š, kat P, čorpoyī, mānjo, žen Y, viš, manjē S, °ja, čåi påya W bedding brēsten Wn 162, brasten Pš. bistar O, lef O1, P, S, kasāyan, wīrand P, nivīlo, kurpo Y, -°ē S, kırpa, pıpır W bee [angīnmēčā Wn], ylawza, mačaš (v mač) Pš, šādzambūr, šātibhambur P, (agmin-)kurmikī Y, zambūr-i asal W. beehive agimīnyēž Y beetle čačk Y, sangunt W beetroot lablabū S before wrānde (v wrumbai) Pš, šam O, pač(etar), pailan, pēš, pušt, tar(ī), tartar P, apīr, piro, psaro, skapīr (v Addenda ad p 246) Y, ža S, xēz Š before, in front of wulāi S beggar fagir O, P begging boruâni P, gadāi Y. beginning awal W behind wrusto Pš, apešt, damāi, dumbâl, peš(te), peščhan P, debāl, špāč Y, čpošt S, zebâ S belief bāwar believing kābūl S bellow, to narel Ps, buy-, nar-O1, anuv-Y. bellowing bay O, dönas, khânas P, bayaz Y, boyas S Cf bleating bellows gudēi O1, dəm, puīne Y. belly [geda, xeta Pš], nas, škamba O, dīm O1, aštaf, xīt P, darūn, laņdik, ilīr,

ūžut Y, der, vēčik, šikam S, dūr, wānj, word W, kerč Š Cf. guts, intestines. beloved yar, zurbar P. below kšata (v kše), hūz Pš, jēm O, O¹, ta, wačhaně P, dalen, novosár, sáro, šitāhan Y, pīān, viš S belt psol (v psolel), walmastanai (v mlā) Pš, kamarband O, O¹, P, Y, S, ezârband P, lākīn S belt, (leather) suy-məlān Y, rndāq W, karapči S bend, to $k\bar{o}\tilde{z}a$ - O^1 Berberis azīto Y. berries, a kind of wild, red-udrivane betrothal kozda Pš betrothed čanyol Pš better, is biba(?) S beware xabardâr S beyond pore Pš bier žinazo Y. biestings wurže Pš, filla S, piž W big loe, star Pš, ustur O, Y, stur O', ghand, ferīmân, yulū P, žəšt S, kalān, kat(t)a S, Š, lup W, xədir Š. bile rəma Pš bind, to taral Ps. tar O, O1, bez-P, trāž-, vad- Y, vānd- S, W, vīnd- Š birch zeviryo Y, b⁹rež S, bulli, furz W birch(-bark) barj Pš bird marya Pš, parinda Y, S, W bird (n of a) bubitīti, yuči, kajīr O, dasxār, pūi O¹, bâdâr, xarkau P, bubuka, caroyo, tfo, waryıjın, xoryū, žingo Y, pīrmāi S, bakar, bilfak, kalanjoy, gakul, turpiču, žāriki W Cf. water-fowl, bird-net salmā W. birth zât P bit, horse's yalamī O¹, lajām P, om Y, W, °ūm Š, lažām S, nuxta Y, dāna S

Cf bridle

bitch [spai Pš], mâdakučok, tâzi P, macio Y, māčih S, mâček W, ked Š bite, to dārəl Pš, gas- P, noyo- Y. Cf chew bitter trīx Pš, tēš O, tēšr O¹, takku P, talx P, Y, S, W, tarku P, xošk, trakč W, cıš Š black tor1 Pš, yrās O, O1, paddo P, n³roū Y, šūi S, šīu W, tēr Š black-pocks gulamīrī W blacksmith $p \ni \check{s}$ Pš, $\hat{a}(h) e_{ij} gar$ močie Y, ustād S. bladder spoxz Pš blanket šajai [< IA] Pš, kambala O1, polās, žīl Y, kampal W Cf bedding, rug, shawl bleat, to wenger- P, yanil- Y, way- W. bleating brežan Pš, banas P, boyas S. Cf bellowing blessing duwâ O. blind rund Pš, kor O, S, S, ond O', bītech, kâno, kor P, kurbes, yāde Y, kūr W, bezūwj Š blindfolded tečpetaká(i) P. blink, to v wink. blistei ōwa, šinai Pš blood wina Pš, in, šun O, sun O¹, hin P, xūn P, Š, īno Y, wēn S, wuxen W blood, mixed with water malob Pš blood, dripping with hinčakor P blood brotherhood biyādarxândagī P blood-fine badučâmb P blossom, to sprež. W blow zarb P. blow, with closed hands gurmat (v grut) Pš blow, to 'pab-, puf ken- S. blow out v extinguish. blowing phi P blue šīn Pš, O¹, xıngak O, kabūt P, S, W, S, sauz P, axšin Y, savz W.

nile Š

bluish grey xing S. blunt kund O, Y, S, kull P, mrky, somte Y, kind W, gund, tund S boar mate Ps board larie O1. board, roof- taxta S board (round fireplace) taxtabande Y boat kišti O, S, kešti P, xan S bobbin rešpiuk W Cf spindle body jan O, P, badan P, S, W, ton P, tono Y, bana (?) S, tana S, S, tan W bog buštana (v buštēdəl), tarma Pš. boil n lūna, nonkat, šalūna, šanza Pš, dâna P, parəpati Y. boil, to vi yašedel (v yašnā) Pš, yasvek O, yarw. P, urw. Y, yaki. W. boil, to, v t juš- O, yarwēw- P, kāky- Y, uār v- S, wūrv- Š boiling yašnā Pš, još O, varw P, wūrv Š bolt, of a door poruy Y. bolt, hole for the door-b poruylan Y. bone [had Pš], stoyān O, hadd P, yaste Y, ostok S, yašč, ustuvon W, setvån Š bonfire dūna (v tod) Pš, pumbaraš Y book kitāb O, O1, P, W, Š, ketiu Y, kıtāv S boon xubī O boot bot O, but P, buto Y, ohold S, šišk W, pēx, paizār Š Cf. shoe. border of a field vázak S born paidâ P, Y, S born, to be zowul Pš, zay- O, zâ- P, ažistai Y. born in the preceding spring sāmurī P both dwārə Wn 162, dwārə/a (v wāra) Pš, addugad, ardū O, huddi(nân) P, aveli Y, kifč W bottom van Y bottom of a bed (planted) yise Y. boulder xīžai Pš bound basta O1.

bow linda Pš, kaman O, P, drung O1, drūn Y, kamon W, can Š bow (pellet-) yūlak P, Y, yō° S, x°s mānek Y, səmbonak W bow (for carding cotton) kamanek Y bow, the point of a suvdiko Y bowstring ziā Wn 169, žaī Pš, zaī O' jīr P, zē P, S, žīo Y, dərnāk(?) S, 201 W, zīl Š. bowl, wooden kunduk, padreško Y, kolavā S, kobūn W box sandux O, səndūk O¹, sandūq P, sanduq Y, W, ouk S, tovūnyo Y box (for cheese) vərkyakye Y box (on the ear) čapilāk P boy werkar (v. wur), zanar Pš, bača, klanâk O, kulāk O1, bačī, bâlā, lerē P, mardumpūr, žunaye Y, zəmanök S, W, kaš W, yddā Š bracelet bāhū, wašai (v. wandanai) Pš. čurī P, palastiko Y, piēšt S, boin W. braid yafdył P. braid, to, v. plait. brain māyzə Pš, mastəry O1, mayz e sorika P, mäyz Y, Š, kala-mayzīgo Y, moyz·i sor, satxån mayzi S. biamble yana Pš, kuryuda Y, čarīr W branch [cāngə Pš], šâx O, P, W, cāngo O1, šī P, šāxo Y, vəzōk S, šolx, šamōnak W, šēxčak, xēš Š brass ziyar Pš, mes P, mis Y, S, W, Š, birinj S. brass-pot mos-dig W. bravo šâbâš P, šābaš Y, ofarīn S bray an O bray, to rayəl Pš bread wel, [nəyan] Wn 169, nayan Pš, on P. en Y, txan O, O', kok O', naharī Y, gola, xēšte S, ptoh, žed W, šepik S bread (thin) pāstēi, wisilyē [< Pš] O'

bread (piece of) xšan Pš, noni O, O' (Cf. morsel) bread (barley) koskon (nayan), aršonin Y. bread (millet) arzəmin Y, kileščak S bread (wheaten) yadmin nayan Y, gidimxec W. garda S bread (made with curds) kutaxin Y bread (made of muyo) maymun Y. breadth psor Pš, bar P break, to v1. šledel Pš, měz, syōk O, maz- O1, pətišč(e) Y break, to v tr mızaw O, vrī Y, vrēl-S, rəstəv-, škəndiv- W, šičend-, vəraž- Š breakfast nārai Pš, naharī Y, xardopp W breast bar P, S, W, sinā P, S, W, S, fiz Y, pīš-i-bar, puz S, pēšbai, p'ūz W. breast (female) qualun Wn 159, tar Pš, cīk O, sīz P, iščīn Y, čičī S, bap, dai W. biš S breastwork murčal P breath ūda, sāh Pš, phī P, dom Y, tom S breeze niwaq W briar axrīo Y, gulxår S bribe *māaselī* P brick xašta Pš, xešt O, uštu Y, detk, šolg, xešt W brick, burnt silo O1 brick, dried xišt O1, P, S, S bride nāwē Pš, ărūs O, P, S, °so Y, kenyâla P, šābuk Y, ōris W bridegroom palasta Wn 168, šâ P, sābuka, šai, šābuh Y bridge [pal Wn], pul [Pš], O, O1, S, hī P, yeya Y, yotuk S, skord W, yeid S bridge, rope dut W bridle awlūn Wn 159, mlūna Pš, kaiza O, jelau P, aulān, gizagī, yuuīz Y, yīxūn W Cf bit

bright run Pš, rūšana O, rušān P, roušan, sinni S, nir W. brightness brēšnā Pš, īra P. Cf light. bring, to ra-w- Wn 160/1, prew- Wn 167, (manım obj) rā-wrəl (v. wrəl) Pš, war- O, âr- P, avor- Y, ižim- S, wuzem- W, vār- S, (anım obj) owastel Pš, ēn-, zahēw- P, avaz- Y, nīv- S, kutāl- Š bring in, to hel kan- P bring up, to deg- W. broad v wide broken māt Pš, rhâzot, xâr P, fered S brooch čamo Y. brook, v stream broom jârup O, parawak O¹, jârū P, Y, parwaxše, rufo Y, ref S, derepe W, vədīrəm (corr. form) Š brother wror Pš, marzâ O, O¹, b(ə)yâ P, vrai Y, v³rūδ S, v³rit W, v³râd Š brother, elder lâla P brother-in-law boja W, xezīrj Š, (husband's brother) lewar Pš, O¹, hiwar P, xusur, yūi Y, tēu S, bakš, īwar W (sister's husband) dâmâd O, zamai Y, (wife's sister's husband) $b\hat{a}ja$ Y, (wife's brother) axšai Pš, xusurbəra O, āxšur O1, xasurbīra P, x3sarb3rō, 10von Y, xusərbət S brown xər Pš, xir O¹, žiqaren Y, šurangzárd S, jígari, rakš W bruise, to jabel Pš bruised augâr O. bucket kuzəli O, boko O', aftawa P, ´ōvo Υ, °āvε S, langau, mašerba Υ, yudāra S, kūza W, S, kuščak Š Cf. water-vessel buckle of a belt pišawiz Y bud yandal Pš, yūto O1, yunča P, bučayı,

tūga Y, yərrā W

buffalo meš Pš, miš(a) O1

bug xowiza Y, šavzåd S, xouzit W bulbul bulbul P, W bulgar leather buryâl P. bull lēžda Wn 161, yuckai, ywai, (v ywā) Pš, nargoī O, (nar-)gyīī O1, qiay Y, axta, (yy-)hužuk S, buqā, durukš W, sitor, šīj S. bull, young tunda O. bullock sxuandar (v sxai) Pš, O1 bullock, plough- gažōī O, kâšagū P bullet počūn S. Cf. arrow burden bar O, P, bhar P, vira Y, vin S, vir W, vīz (w-) S burial feast čázdánī P. buried šax Pš burn, to v.1 swal Ps, bras. O, thi- P, tav- S, daw- W, : dod S burn, to v tr segal (v. swal) Pš, braz- O, thew P. guv Y burnt thối P. burrow 108 W burrow, hare's sō-yālai (v. yālai) Pš burst, to caud(al) Ps, tar- P, zubut- W bury, to diz. Y. bush tarânī P but balkım O, xu, walē, walēkın P, allo nō S, onəi W, ammō S, ammā W. butter čuk Wn 162, [kuč Pš], maskă O, W, Š, °o Y, pisk O¹, pənū W. butter, clarified, v clarified b butterfly šāparak O, Š, °ik P, pingrak O', kautia, rawa Y, parwinek S, mindelič, pilek-milek W butter-milk šomle, tarwa (v triw) Pš, pikăk, topī O, O¹, doy, waspē P, niya Y, nīduk S, diy W, dūy S. Cf eurds, milk, whey, button tūga Y, tukmo/a Y, S, tāk W build, to rez- P built al P bustard [cārai Pš], caroyo Y

buy, to pīrawdəl [*parya-] Pš, šen- O, šrın- O¹, gurī- P, xōan- Y, xərn- S buyer gurıagar, xarīdâr P buyıng xarīd W, Š

C

cairn cəlai Pš Cf beacon cake hulčā S cage kafastūr Y, kafas S calamity balâ P. calculation šumâr P, isāb O, O', S, W calf [sxa Wn], sxaı Pš, yuskak, xusī O, ywos O', gūsāla, yaso, torpt P, bakel, šutur, wosōk S, štūr, wošk, dotkī wo, waci(?) W, šig Š, (he-) bārai O1, bakında, muškoya Y, juāna Y, W, bakendī S, noband W, (she-) bārrē O1, faryomček, miščovo, patežo Y, juu åe, wānīc S, fəryəmč, rəgūm W calf of the leg yarai (v yarəl), pundaī (v pūnda) Pš, odie O¹, iškambek-i pāi, baftak P, ilira, linga, naliko Y, kåxlink, šot-i podf, wont, zūngviš S, ıškamba ı-pâ W, ling W, S, pura ı aōšt Š call, to u\(\bar{a}\)- Y, q\(\bar{v}\) ken- S, q\(\bar{e}w\)- W, $k\bar{\imath}v\cdot S.$ calling kīči O call together, to dhew- P. camel (wuš Wn), uš Pš, šutur O, P wūš O1, 18kiro Y, 28ter S, 28ter W, setur S camel-driver sârwân P can, v able candle šam, čirāy, siyā čirāy S Cf lamp, light canter, to halka kan- P. eap kolai (v xol) Pš, xöli O, O¹, kulâ, kur P, $x\bar{u}lo Y$, $kul\bar{\epsilon}$, talpak S, $pakh\bar{u}l$, skīd, tåge, tilpak W tâkē Š cap, woolen pakoro Y

cap, woman's pakyiky Y. captain keftan P. captured destgir P. caravan kāfila Y caravanserai si âi O. card, to (wool) tak- O1, lib- Y, domb- S. care eteât, parwâ P carpenter nažār S, ustāt Y carpet daryē, yalıco O1. carpet (cotton) stranj W. Cf. coat, rug carrot gajar O, gâzerak P, zardak P, Š, °ak S carry, to upol Pš, g- O, O', bar- P, is-, van- Y, wus- S. carry to (off) yūnd- W. cartilage tandwai Pš cartridge kortus Y cartridges, having jayunt P carve wood, to berd car- W cascade, v waterfall cash nāxt P cast off, to ražedal Pš castle sraī O, arg, kāsr P. V fort castrated škop W cat [pšī Wn], pišo Pš, pišī O, bullī, pus O', pišak P, prško Y, pūš S, pīš W, pūšak Š catch, to v seize catch a cold, to žkov- S, škav- W cattle mâl P, Š, čorpâ P, čšīr-pâla-f (v s v čšir), sotūr Y, čārvā S, čat W, (small) psv Pš, carwok O, čârwoyi, rīzayak Y cattle-shed yūjəl (v kəlaı) Pš, bāṇdə, š $k\bar{a}u$ O¹, $\gamma\iota\gamma\iota o$, $p^{3}r\bar{\imath}vur$ Y, $^{3}\bar{k}\bar{o}\delta$ S, ayel, pužt W, yejid Š Cf. goats' pen cavalry resâla P. cause jinīb, sabab W cause, to (to be made) kəni- Y cave cavda Pš, čīw O, yar O, S, khur P, kēn Y, båi W

cavity garang Pš ceiling co O1, ko, talaf P, cof Y, widun S Cf roof cellar wačhane-yus P centfoil sădbărg Y, W, S, kabūt so S centipede šobla, zanza Pš, mūr O, S, girgičo O1, čilpát P, Š, saibal P, hazorčangolo Y. certain yakin P. certainly wale P chaff kütk W chain zanjīr P, žažīro Y chair sandali O, kursī O1, Y, kò° S, čauki P, °kyė Š, mindal(?) čovki W chamber, upper bâlaxâna O channel, v irrigation channel. charcoal, v. coal Charles' Wain hib verit W charm maraī Pš, elm, tawīz P chatter, to varedal Pš cheap arzân O, P, on W. cheating, v deceit cheek yuc/ča Wn 168, anangai Pš [< ānana-], mux O, P, boyur O1, ruxsâla P, $ni\check{s}\bar{o}k$, $r\bar{o}x^{\bar{g}}$ Y, $r\bar{u}i$ Y, W, $l\bar{i}n\check{j}ek$, pšūr S, lunj W Cf face cheese tarwa (v trīw) Pš, panīr O, P, Y, W, poo S, kirār, plāc, tarān Y, 13gar(?) S, landak W, alyâk S. Cf. curds, dried cheese-box vərkyakye chenar činār O, Y, S, W, Š, če° P. rīm S cherry gīlās Y, S, os W. chest v. box. chew, to žowul Pš, gran-, zay- O, jaw- P, axšūw-, mā, žaf- Y, šāw- S, yemeš- S Cf bite, gnaw chewing the cud xšān [šxwand] Pš, ramet W 37 - Kulturforskning

chicken čirgotai O1, čužiya Y, čūčik, (kurčūn) z>mānī S, ċiċa W. chief rahis P. child workar O, yur ok, jura P, zəmon(ak) Y, telf S, zā, zemān W Cf boy children aulâd O, °t P, baškač S child bearing zažko Y. childless būr Pš. chin kaž (v kše), zana Pš, zināk O, zaniē O1, zanuk P, zanax Y, W, alāša W, zingūn Š, (no separate word) S chip of wood totanai (v. taršaj) Pš, froz Y chisel civurlai Pš. choice extiyâr P choose, to bož- O, yawer- W. chosen ywara Pš chop, to waržel, ožel Pš, tuhun- Y. chuck into the mouth, to pinal Ps. churn parnac W churn, to ušān- Y churning hīmzo P circle daur P circuit dūbara, gerde P circumcise, to nailo- Y. circumcision yērk-skodom Y. clan xel Pš, ulus P. clarified butter runa Wn 161, ywəri Pš. $r\bar{u}n$ O, O¹, $l\bar{u}w\bar{o}n$ P, $r\bar{u}_{\gamma}(\bar{r})n$ Y, W, reyon S, zird S clasp, to def- Y, nedavn. W. claw mangul (v grut) Pš, mangulai O1, čang P, W, panjál P, čigáli Y, čingāl S, čangīn Š. clay gel O, P, S, jer O, šū P, gil Y, S, W, x³laryo, šifon, milyuz (red), milyo (white) Y, loī S, šartk, šatk Š. elay-pot gurcuk O, pižīn S clean pâkıza O, kûrī, sâf P, pāgzo Y, pāyzē S, pâxja Š.

cleanse, to spejal, winjal Pš, pok ken-S, pōk car- W, pâk ken- Š. Cf wash clear barcer (v cer) Pš, sâf P, (sky) ləroyo Y, wirdina W clearly čūrt, nâteq P cleave, to cir- O1, pacag- Y Cf. cut clever kāy Pš client $a(s)s\hat{a}m\bar{i}$ P cliff, (high) vənayaro Y cloak kač žōy, prlamru, royz, šižoyun, žōy Y, wanjī, čapān, čayman S, čpān W Cf coat clod of earth yuroi-pīx, yarbase Y close v near close, to, v shut closed dok O, bot, kore Y. Cf locked. clothes $l \bar{v} \check{s} a$ Wn 168 [Pš $loxa = l \bar{o} \check{s} a$ bedding], kâlī O, °a P, zope Y, mus S, but W Cf. dress. cloud yarza Wn 168, ora, wryaj Pš, yēwər O, abar, wriej O1, air, tam P, $m\bar{\imath}_{\gamma}$ Y, $ab(\bar{\imath})_{\gamma}$ S, W, Š, $m\bar{\imath}_{\gamma}$ S, $m\bar{e}_{\gamma}$, mūr W cloudy ozqū P clover sabargo Y, šaftal S, šaptal W, sēbarga Š club gurz P. cluster of grapes žangūrai O1, voro Y coal skor Pš, O, angešt O, oušt S, skāro O¹, yâr P, skåvrio Y, zuyōl W. coal, live skarwata (v. skor) Pš, zuyāl O, spox O1, ažuryo Y, žīc S, angišt, škorč W, nižâr S coal, pit- kemur S coal pieces of, charcoal pēmāna O1 coat kot O1, kūt Y, wanjī S. Cf rug coat, sheepskin, v. posteen. cobblei kovzdūz Y cock čirag Wn 159, čirg Pš, pīng O, O', bâšana, xurős P, oūs S, narkire Y, x²rıs W, čuš Š

cock crow bâng P cognizance darak Y. com paisā Y. com, gold- ašerafi Y. cold (adj) sor Pš, cāk O, O¹, eštâwö P, axlen, yox Y, sard, xənək S, sır, xunuk W, šetâ, et šečâjum S, (n) sāla O, šūriš P, (h)ayās S, surī, sarmō W, cold, a zukam S cold, to be škov- S colic šwala (v. šomle) Pš collar gərwi Wn 163, giribân P, hasaine Y, yarāy W, dog's yar-wandai (v wandanai) Pš collar-bone hekī Wn 161 [< *huška-ka 'the dry bone'?], grewa Pš, gruwiē O¹, fīz-yastı, parayastı, šuĭko Y, brūtiyarč, čigas, tārak W collect, to yen- P, blaca- Y, yurt- W, višt da- Š collected tol O, jäm O, P, gol S collyrium wazan O, surma P colonel kārnail P colour rang O, S, W, rong P, rok Y, (of skm) γūna Pš colt biyan d) O, biyan O1, kur(r)a P, Š, taya Y, tayāk S, tor W comb wžəng Wn 162, žmang Pš, šakk Ot, šana P, šfin Y, afšūn S, nəbəs, zəlfak W, vešūj Š, (curry-) yašō Pš comb, to lmežəl Pš, nuvāš- Y. come, to $r\bar{a}s$ - $r\bar{a}\gamma ya$ Wn 160/7, $-\gamma a lai$, rā-yəm (v. šwəl) Pš, žē- P, as, ϑ am (??) Y, is. S, wəzī- W, yad S Cf. arrive. come out, to ni- Y, nez- S. command uk³m O, farmân, gap P, hukm P, Y. command, to farmâsi, wesej- P, bandawā- Y, fərmē- S, rami- W, rəmâd S commandant kümardân P commission barât P

compassion rahm, rhammi P complaint zâri P completely bībâkī, hanwâr, puxta, saī P comrade mal Pš, rafug, andwâl, hamrâ P. rafiq S. conceal, to utaf-P, pāš va ken-(?) S, mus-W concealed put O, bud O', jut, pet P. concerted sefla P conclusion ijrâ P condition auhâl, hâl, hawâl, tab P conscious (of a crime) ūbâlī P consciousness huš P conscription, military hažnafai i P consent rezâ P consideration yaur, parivâ P constantly hanvâr P contract, to kaš kan- P conversation guftique, guftar, xitab P. gap S convert, to pherew- P. converted into, to be pher- P cook, to [paxawul Pš], bīž- O, biz- O1, peč- P, hāky- Y, pac- S, W, pn- Š cooked pox Pš, krkyn Y, pxōk S, početk W cooking-pot dēglī O, dēg O¹, âtešī, dastē P. tāl Y, S, zaxēidīn Y, čudan S, dīg W, dēk, dīh, misbar Š cool, to waser- W. coquettish mastâna, nâzuk P coquetry naz P copper loh, trla Y. copulate, to yowul (v yo) Pš, kin- O, gēh- P, kun- Y, bugāy-, koc- S, γιy- W copulation yo Pš cord ristan P, rismon S. corn v grain, ear of corn corner yežai (v ywaž) Pš, gūša P, W, kunj P, Y, S, burž, šungā Y, xānbərš S corpse murdā O, P

correctly raste Y cotton karvasi, purum Y, paxtă S, W, kənaī W, ševīnj Š cotton cloth šoc Pš cotton thread didanwo, paxtai, šižovun, wušūles, wizinga Y, udsi S, wəsai W cough zukâm O, tuxiē O', khūfö, surfa P, xāpui Y, xōfuk S, qōx, toxtox W, k'exah S cough, to tux-O1, khūf-P, xof-Y, xof-S, $k'\bar{e}x$ - S count, to smeral Ps, ımar. Y country mulk O, P, uatan P, S countryman watandâr P courage mardī P, juwanmardī S. conrageous dilēr, dilövār W court darbár, darqâ, (of justice) kačârī P courteous bāadab S, baho W. courtesy adap P, (h)adab S, W. court-yard yōlar (v yālai) Pš, °ar O1 cousin, male tərbür (v. trə) Pš, O1, trēpīr O1, vrai(min), baipur Y, boyē Y, S, rucepc W, petiš Š, female tərlə (v. trə) Pš, °lə O¹, bailəydo Y, mumbučināi wdūy S, bəčdəjd W cover, to ūtaf- P, gaw- W. Cf conceal covered xašpūš P covering yəlâft O, pūš P coverlet v bedding. cow ywā Pš, gōi O, gyōi, šiza-gyōi O1, gũ, mâdagũ P, yavố Y, uyũi S, yiu W, žâw S, young sxwandir O1 heifer cowherd $[\gamma ab\bar{\wp}n \text{ Wn}]$, $\gamma \bar{\wp}b\bar{\wp}$ (v. -b $\bar{\wp}$) Pš, yēibon O¹, galawān Y. cowpen, v cattleshed co-wife ben Pš, wan O, O1, amboy Y, W, oāy S, souno Y. crack čāwd Pš cradle vâz O, šīnā P, šuwin S. cramp brēš Pš

crane zāņa Pš, kulang O, P, zāņiē O1 cream [perawai Pš], ras O1, silyo Y, sārek S, mərik W, marob S, (sour) kaimāx O, oak P, ook S, oog W, °ōxč Š creator parvardıgār creep, to cxedəl, xwazedəl Pš, rukuš-Y. creeper zela Pš crest of a cock taj P. crime jurm, ūbâl P. crippled zmol Pš crocodile nahāng S crooked cor Pš, kož Pš, O¹, kāj O, kužo, pât Y, kard W Cf curbed crop of a bird žəyūrg Y, pēyār W crops hâsel P, (resped) yıbesen W cross, to gudar- P, šəxs- S, šaxs- W. crossing guzar, guzərân P. erow kārya Pš, krāy O, O1, zāyo Y, sīāsar S, čāyelī, karyā W, akáb (?), xûrn S Cf. raven crowd dal P. crowing $b\bar{a}ng$ O¹, bon(g) S crumble, to fril- W erush, to nošra- O1, kut-P, šak-S, δiž-W. crushed maida P ery nāra, šūr P. erv, to žaral Pš cry out, to naral Pš cry, of camel barbar O euckoo kakūk, šayuk Y, bībuk, kipok W cucumber kadūi Y cultivated field, v field cup jâm O, piyâla O, P, °lo O1, čine Y, přálž S, °a Š, wooden lošan O¹, piloyo Y, pīl W, wooden milk- xšīrkyesa Y curbed cang P Cf crooked curdle, to m̄δ- W curds māstə, matar Pš, juryat P, W, poya Y, māst Y, S, põi S, păi W, S.

curds dried kurūt P, Y, S, katex P, kutox Y, S, qərit W. Cf. buttermilk, cheese curl wurbal Pš, kapčī O, zulf, kâkul P, soyond S, pēča S, W, parčan S. curls, having kâkull P. curse šarā Pš, šâp P. curtain parda P, taxt P, S, pardā Š enshion, v pillow. custom doe Pš custom-house bandar S, -official xaržcut n cīra Pš, hawâla P cut, to parčaj · O, kap· O¹, kat-, mač-, thâ- P, pəcəg-, skəd-, tīž- Y, biriš cār-, rəstəv- W Cf chop, cleave. cut down, to kri- Y cut grain, to dir. O', durr. P. cut into pieces qurt P cut off, to pre-kawul (v prā-) Pš, curt han- P cut out, to skaštel Pš cut up, to kūtal Pš. cutting grain, v. reaping cypress sārv S

D

dagger kəkvaro, maxmudiyo Y, xanjar S, kutöl W C1 sword.
daily bread 1 ūzī P.
dam *hel Pš, band P.
damage yīrânī P
damp xušt Pš, šəlōk S Cf. wet.
dampness zyam (v. zimai) Pš
dance bâzī O, wâyâr P, raxs, yōba Y, raqōsī W.
dauce, to wâyar- P, drūv- Y, raqosī/ē ken- S, nemenj- W.
dandelion talx-kardačī Y
danger xatar P.
dark târīk O, P, tirīć, törīk W, (-complexioned) skān Pš

darkness tara Wn 159, (tam), tyara (v tor 1) Pš, torašyū O1, tarīk P, tīro Y, torik, turkī S. darn, to pezal Pš. date (fruit) xajuro O' daughter lur Pš, dua, duka O, duo O', dut P, luydo, odiko Y, wuδργδ S. δəyd W, yāc, rezīn Š daughter-in law nžôr Pš, O¹, nigõr O, su, sunū P, zinio Y, wuznel S, sənör, s^Itox W, zenaž Š dawn sār O, subdamī P, jausaren Y, rašt S, navdīn, rux, sub W. morning day [wrēz Wn], rwaj Pš, rož O, ryoz O1, dewâs, ruč P, mix Y, dīn'?), mēi S, roz S, S, rəwâr, rūz W, med S day after to-morrow besar O, bye-1 yuz O', passabā, šīruč P, məzdira, yāmo Y, paraštem S, tort W, afaž Š days, three—hence sūyyāmo, yūyyāmo Y. veder S: four-hence pasaveder S day, before yesterday wai m (v wrumbai) Pš, injan O, inzan O1, ašoruč P, žirizen Y, āļuzd, vākoļin S, tort W. days, three—ago muš-injan O, čašoruč, pēšparīruč P, čircvīzen, čurmo Y, aļuzdēv S, peršīb S, four-ago afa bī-nzān O1, pčūrma, pānjemo Y daylıglıt rucân, rhīnē. 1 ušanī Ρ, rux W dead mar Pš, muro P, muro Y deaf kon Pš, kar(r) O, P, S, W, $k\bar{v}n$ O¹, bīgū, būru P, kuņyaste Y, čūn Š dear fri S, (costly) kimati P. death mero P, faut W debt por Pš deceit yulat Pš, fəreb O, bâzī P. deceived, to be yuledal Pš deceiving mazak P. deep žawar Pš, yauč O, čaqwy S

deer ösai Pš, lakašawai O, lakašuwiē O1, âhū P, ramūz Y, āhūi S. defeat šikast P deficient zwam Pš defile tangi P, kūgs Š Cf. hole, delay lãrya Pš, yarya O, mūlat, mhōlat P. delicate nâzanîn P demon perai, rauai Pš, but P, barzange Y, almasti S, °e, léw W. dense tat (corr. tit) P\$ deodar royo Y. departing sahi P Cf. starting dependent, a a(s)sâmi P. derision tâna P descend, to tos. Wn 167, nim. O, šrim-O', uzg. P, xafs. Y, xav. S, žām. W, (xafe- S) desert maira Pš, biābān O, Y, sāharo, sahro Y. deserving lâyaq P design yaraz P Cf. aim desire hawâ, mudâ P desolate yiran P, barbad Y despatch, to nesej- P Cf send destroyed barbât O, quit, xarâb P destroyed, to be naredal Pš destruction halâk P, zoiya W. devil šartan O, S. dew parxa Pš, purxo O¹, zamarīt P, nəb, pražyār, šaklām Y, šagnam, šak(?) S, morž, nayd-yupk, šak W dewlap yulek Y, yuk W diaphragma šuc Š die, to mrel Pš, mr- O, mer- P, mer Y, mur- S, məri- W, mar- S different byal Pš difficult roc, zūl Y, moškil S, xaš Š, -crossing kapra Pš difficulty tangi P dig, to kandal Pš, kap- O, waxa(y)- O, O¹, kında- O1, kusēw- P, ken-, nıkanā-,

paš- Y, kan, kāw S, parkol- W, čān-Š. dig out, to hupēi - P dig up, to neten- S dinner muliik S. direction palau O, taraf P direction, in some or other kâwun P. dirt raš Pš, čirk, makan (?), matta P. dirty čirk O, Y, vark, kačal P, kržvo, yuzyap, xatraloy Y, k'az, nāštē S. kark, xeden S disaster balâ P disclosing xwāla Pš discorteous bēhadab W. discourse skālīva Pš discussion radd o badd P disgrace rusivâ(i) P dish, v. plate. dishevelled (hair) yūza P. dishonoured dašwâr P dislike, to yandal, każal Pš disobedience bīsarī P. disputing āriya (āra) Pš dissolute ēlāhī P. distant, v. far distress xârī P distressed yussamand, pērīcan, ranjo, sargardân, xafa, xâr P, dunayəy Y. Cf troubled. distribute, food at a feast, to baxš. Y. distributing tit P. distribution weš (*baxšya-) Pš. distributor of food xadem Y ditch xandak P divide, to baxš car-, taxšīm car- W dividing taxsim O, P, S, boxš Y, babak, baxš S diving nimekyika Y division weš Pš, of a field zgān O. do, to k- Wn 165, kral Pš, k- O, O1, kan- P, ken- Y, S, S, car-, gox- W. Cf make

doctor tabīb O, oīp P, hakīm P dog [spā Wn], spai Pš, (3)spuk O, spak O¹, kučuk, espō, espay P, yalv Y, kuð S, šač W, kut/d Š, (wild) xurūso Y, xreseg S, kik W Cf. bitch dog-rose tarânī P doing what? čekâra P donkey, v. ass don't na P, S, mak O, či Y, mo W, ma Pš, Š Cf not donkey's foal tiya xarak S. door war Pš, O, bar O, O1, W, bor P, darwâza P, S, lovor Y, vor S, derē Š. door-frame daršal Pš, čaukāt O¹, čape Y, (upper part of) yūvərsən Y. door hinge yūiniko Y, gorj W doorkeeper qâpčī P double byārg (v. bray) Pš, lohyīnj Y. dough patira O1, agunqy Y, dis W, leavened xambira O', xamir W, baked levaza Y, unbaked xisto Y dove, v ring-dove, pigeon. dove-coloured kabūt Y. down spāheta Wn 168, kūz Pš, jēm O, wačhaně, pasto P, saro, pursoro, kalāpo Y, -å S, -âi S down of birds patt P, muryulum, tobot Y, təbət S drag away, to huper. P. dragon ažder Y. draught, a nőš P draw, to kšəl Pš, xoš- Y, xaš- S, čaž- Š Cf pull draw out, to nawar- O draw a sword, to kin- W draw water, to newar-S drawing pay tanxâxūr P dream $x\bar{u}b$ $(x\bar{v}b)$ Pš, xau O, $xw\bar{a}b$ O¹, xom P, xūbun Y, misūk, xodm S, yīnōt W Cf. sleep

dress nwaraı Pš, drēšī P, anjām, pūšāk Y, female $taw\hat{a}r$ P, $\check{z}o_{Y}$ Y Cf. clothes. dress oneself, to $\bar{a}_{\gamma}ust\partial l$ Pš, $par_{\gamma}an\cdot\bar{o}k$ O, âyun- P, ayd- Y, pənec- S, pūmec- W, peniz-, wē8- S dress somebody else, to $\hat{a}_{\gamma}un\bar{e}w$ - P, $a_{\gamma}d\bar{a}$ - Y, pümecev- W dribble, to tür- P dried up hušk P driftwood pawaz W diink, to yōz- Wn 166, cašəl [šūməl] Pš, x1- O, tr- O, O1, ter-, sup kan- P, šam- Y, pov- S, pov- W, berez- S drip, to cacedal Pš, pic- O, čak-, tūr- P, naxče Y. dripping čakkak P, čakak S, (inside a house) $ustu_{\gamma}n\bar{u}l$ Y, (with blood) $h\bar{i}n$ čakči P Cf drop drive away, to šaral Pš drivel šāf S drop, a čak P, (of drinkable liquids) čakka P drought, year of ušksāl Y. drum nayara P, dəmāmo, təplaya Y,

tambūn Š, of a spinning wheel līra Y. dry spor, wuč Pš, tosand Pš¹, wōkā O, wyōk O¹, hušku, oškār P, ušk, gard Y, xušk S, W, hāk S, Š, wəsh W. duck helaī Pš, muryâwī O, Š, mə° S, ēliē O¹, kury-e âwī, muryâwī P, axšensıre, kožvioko, wūro, yexko Y, yōč W dumb gungaı O, O¹, bībân, dīwâna, gun P, gūl Y, W, gungəstə, kūr Y, gol S, gōl Š dung sarā Pš, sōro Y, yarx, wuðīl S, bərt W, bīd Š, (cow-) ywasyā Wn 159, drabla (v dre), yōšāk Pš, rəx W,

³skan O, skan O¹, sayön P, yuskən Y,

šīr W, žâ-yad Š, (goat-) wudīl S,

pašc Š, (horse) xaršin Pš, lid O1,

pāru, xašhən Y, šun m, pōru S, sargen Š, (horse- or cattle-) səgīn W, (sheep-) pukē Wn 161, pača Pš, piškal O, pučuhar O¹, pōrk P, p³škedrĭ Y, pvšk S, pəšh W durbar darbâr O dust xāwra Pš, gard O, P, čārk P, kōrgar, šət S, šət W, sşt Š dust-storm γubâr P, Y, S, Š, xâkbât, aīr P, hundūt Y, γəbâr W dwarf-palm mazırar O¹ dwell, to osedəl, pre-mištəl (v. mešta) Pš dye, a kınd of- čukār S dyke wand (v. wandanai) Pš, bānd S, boda Y

\boldsymbol{E}

eager zurthō P
eagle hukâb P, ukâb, kvalyereno, karyəz Y,
aqāb, šūž S, bispur, uqōb, yīryōt W,
tazarf(?), cf. akâb Š.
ear ywaž PŠ, gōt O, O¹, qū, gōš P, yū Y,
yōl S, yīš W, yūž Š
ear of corn wažai PŠ, xūša O, P, Š, °o Y,
wēžai O¹, sor, yūya Y, sōrox S,
of maize sōṭai O¹, of wheat râužc Š
ear-ring barywažai (v. ywaž) PŠ, alka O,
jumkī P, kadrənə, yūarike Y, gušwōr
Y, W.
earth xāwra PŠ, xâk O, bhây P, yuroi Y,

šət S, šət W, sit Š, the zmaka Pš,

bummă O, bummo O1, dharam P,

zəmin Y, za° S, W, wəxs S, zemāδ

[not \$\hat{a}\$] \text{ \text{S}} \text{ Cf ground, soil, dust} earthcoloured \$xak\bar{\text{V}}\$ earthquake \$zilzil\to O^1\$, \$^a\$ P, \$hanu\$ P, \$\text{\text{\text{\$\sigma iso}}}, zibi\bar{\text{\$\sigma im}} \text{Y}, zile\text{\text{\$\sigma im}} \text{S}, zamin\text{\$\$\text{\$\tinity{\$\text{\$\tex{

east åftåb baråmadam S, mašrıq S, W easy ăsān P, Y, S, subuk O, P, askān Y eat, to xward Ps, xr- O, wangew- P, xăr- P, Š, xoar-, pərxāw- Y, xwār- S, yāw W, fur-, xā S eatable xaranë P eating xurdan O, xūrō P eaves, skirting boards of prošū Y eclipse grah Y edge mux, bruž O, kenâra P, sam W effect iji â P egg hōya Wn 168, hā Pš, supāl, wulk O, olk O', ex P, dyury Y, ākik, təxmarg S, oury, falenz W, tarmurx S egg-shell pučala i čxika P eight ota Wn 158, at(a) Pš, ašt O, hašt O1, ďšt P, aščo Y, (h)ot S, hat W, wašt Š eighteen aštēs O, O¹, aštōs, hažda P, hōtə8ō8 S, ažda W eighty atā Wn 159, atiā Pš, câr-jīstu O, aštāi O1, čör yuštah P, aštās S either—or yå S, xō—xō, yō—yō W. elbow cangal Pš, ārunj O, P, oinj S, oenj Š. cangal O' razin Y. bāndik, uusuk S, burrt, kirkon, orīnj W, wistyëin S. elder mašar Pš, (greater) xušči Y elegant nâzanîn, xērīmân P eleven yaulas (v yau) Pš, šandas O, sandas O1, ž(u)wos P, losyū, yōzda Y, kosos S, das-īu W, dīs-at-yīw Š ell gaz O, P, Y, S, Š. embankment, field- šrī mol O Cf. dyke. embers, v. coal, live embrace $[y(w)u\check{z} \text{ Wn}]$, $ye\check{z} \text{ PŠ}$, $y\bar{a}n_{\gamma} \text{ O}$, bayalkašī, čangâu P, avyuš Y, kačāk S embrace, to nadavn- W. emerge, to, v. come out. emprisoned ptramd-o Y

empty taš Pš, xālī O, P, S, W, Š, °e Y, tusk O, təš W, təs Š empty, to na- Y, toš kon- S, tes- Š encouragement dilâsâ(i) P end oxer S. W. endurance tākat S. enemy dušman O, P, S, on Y, mudaī P, dəšman W enemies, possessing dušmandar P enmity dušmant P. engaged mamūr, mangīr P. engagement uâda P enough bas P, S entangled, to be pargoš- W. enter, to wis- O, dar žē- P, tī- Y, dēδ-, axtob S. corm. W. entertainment mazâk P entire (ox) uušeng W entrails lorai, larmūn Pš, roda O, yīšri, larmin O1, rūdâ P, dzl-z-žigar Y, žānžək S Cf guts entreating arz, minnat P entrust, to pāslawul Pš, supār. P, pižam. Y, spār- S. entrusting supáriš P envy wiyār Pš epilobium, willow-herb suruxsāč Y equal sāāl Pš, barābar P, Y, (in weight) tual Pš eructate, to kar ken- S eructation aržai Pš, O¹, ai arōy Y, arək S essence ain P even ga O evening nmāšām (v nmūnj) Pš, mášâm O, šām P, Y, S, W, xuftan Y, v(u)žēr S, pirz W, šūm Š eveningstar ustur-žovo Y every ar O, Š, har P, Y, S, hor S every day rūzī P everyone harkī P everywhere harkū P.

evil bad O. ewe, v sheep. exactly fakat, sat P excellence fazl P. except yaıra P, bayaır O, P, beyarı S. exchange badal, sarbadal P excited, to be $\delta \bar{u}r$ - P excrements, human yul Pš, gūt O, P, $g\bar{u}\bar{t}$ O¹, yoh Y, guh S, $g\bar{\iota}$ W, ya ϑ , šāfc Š. Cf dung exempted pal Pš exertion stam Pš excursion sail P excuse uzər P, nuwāre Y exhausted hajes P exiled farâr P existence hast P expanded uir Pš expel, to nixind- W. expense talaf O, xarč P, S expensive kimati P explanation bayan P, tagbir Y explode, to spaxuuv- W explore, to šanəl Pš extend, to rur- W extended pan O. extinguish, to gul- O1, wuziā- Y, nīv- W, · wizud Š. extinguished alvān Y, gul O, P eye stərg(a) Wn 159, starga Pš, cimi O, com O1, dida, tech P, cam Y, cam S, čažm W, cīm Š, (of a needle) swamb Wn 161, swam Pš, sim O1. eyeball lēma/ə Pš, O¹, tēiko Y. eyebrows wrūje/a Pš, O¹ abrū O, S, °o P, kāš P, vrīyo Y, vrīc S, cemīs (?), vərau W, vərūž Š. eyelashes bāṇo (v pāna) Pš, mujă P, S, pelek, penaxko Y, mijāš, pəlū, pătk W, pūfč Š eyelid zezma Pš, palkāk O, pātik S. kak W Cf eyelashes

F

face max Pš, mux O, O1, P, rū P, rū Y, ro S, pec W, pic, pēšanē Š cheek. facing rux ba P fade, to permor- W faded mrām (v. mrəl), spor, Pš, māk O, jingar O', hušk P. fair (market) maila P fairy parī O, P, parīzāt Y faithless bīwesâ P faithlessness bīuafāī P falcon bāša Pš, yurzand O', bāz P, S, puze Y, bâša Y, W, Š, čaulī, bowurž W, šâīn Š, onī P fall, to lwedel, pre-watel (v. prā-) Pš. yūz- O, ywaz- O', char- P, čad-, tiž- Y, at- S, uăz- S, W, palan- W, wâš- Š, (as leaves) ražedel Pš, spūcaw-yēk, xūl yēk O fall in, to drabol Pš fallen prot Pš falling yalt S falsehood palma Pš family kor, korma Pš, ulus, aulat, ayal, xīš P, ažyāl, nəfs Y famine gātī P, žondokī S famous manšahūr P. fancy xiyâl P far lire, wrāya Pš, pēc O, O¹, durīn P, dīr S, dīr W, dar S, distant prat Pš, lūro Y. fart yər (v. yara), pəs Pš, puska, tīz O¹, pilyo Y, čos S fart, to pil- Y, tor- S fast a rānjk W fast n roža Pš, rūzo Y, rečey W fat (adj) corb Pš, čixat, rut O, cxat O1, čārbī P, farbə, yafs, landık Y, māst S, yāfc Š Cf. stout, thick

fat n. wāzda, ywər Pš, ywēzd O¹, čārbū, yāzd P, hoc, səbrīm, wāzd Y, cabrū, farbe, wost S, čarvi, yip W, čarve, raq S. Cf greasy fat (of the kidneys) yoz Pš fat-tailed $dumb\bar{\imath}$ P. father piyār Wn 160, plār Pš, pē O, piē O¹, bâw, dâda P, tāt Y, S, W, pedar S, dad, ped S father and son bâwehâ P. father in-law sxar Pš, xusur O, Y, S, xa° P, xsir, xōšai O¹, xusər S, xə°, žūrs W. fatherless bibáw P fathom kulač Y, kolāč S fault aib, yalat P, aīb, xatāī Y favour marasta Pš fawn kablaı Pš fear wēra Pš, bīm, berkhō, tars, xaif P, tros S, šáj Š fear, to tarhedəl Pš, yuš. O, dar., yušr. O^1 , berkh. P. daro- Y. t(a)ras. S. wasny- W feast mēmânī P, šūr P, S, wōtuk S feather bana, etc. (v pāņa), paxa Pš, parr O, P, S, W, puxai(?) O1, pon P, pūņa Y, pār Š feel pain, to rīž- W. fell, to $k \ni r$, x = r. felt lamcai Pš, lamsai O¹, namö, namat P, livzīn, nāmyo, yiston Y, numōd S, yıjın W, namad S. felt-pad (under the saddle) $d\bar{a}ku\bar{s}a$ S, ırγalī, jaojī W female mâda P, W, šičak P, šīyo Y, šəc S, sətiei W fester, to xūyedəl Pš festered v inflamed festival maila P, mailis Y, id S feast.

fetch, to uar. O

fever taba Pš, tebba O, tau P, īdou Y, tav S, tablarza S, W, andav W, tābak Š fever, to have les- P fidelity wafâ P field yanīr, kešta P, zaxmo Y, zamīn S, wăndr W, zemc S, cultivated âbâtī O, xaı O¹, ābādī Y, dēkānī S, kštgā W, kišt, kašta, sēbc Š, (open) pungiē O1. field, section or division of a- zgān O fiery dam P fifteen pinzəlas Pš, panjes O, O¹, paçs P, pēnzda Y, pēnzedos S. fifth ponč/jumi P fifty panjos[t] Wn, Pš, panjāstu O, O', pinjā P, pao S, lūwistolos Y, p'insəbis S fig injar Pš, ınjir O¹, kowito Y fight jagra O, šaxa O¹, žang Y, dēd S, Cf battle, war fighting $g\bar{e}nd$ O¹, $balaw\bar{a}(n)$ S file šār Y, suhân P fill into, to xenj. W. fill up, to (of river) span- W film over the eye $p\bar{u}l$ Pš filter, to šačuv- W filth 1aš Pš find, to mom- Wn 158, mundal Ps, waw-O, $w\bar{o}w$ - O¹, γun - P, $\bar{a}w\bar{t}r$ - S, $g\bar{o}t$ -, $parv\hat{e}(y)$ - W, vūd, deriyam (for *veriyam) S find place, to wuj Y, wuc-S. fine (adj) mahin P, maida S, nazuk S fine n jurm P. finger n³gut Wn 161, gūta Pš, angušt O, P, nunqušt O¹, yušt P, panjá P, S, oguščo Y, ingit S, yāngel W, angišt Š, (index) čoromī oguščiko, čarangušć Y,

little kilkyušt P, rīza oguščiko Y,

zelikīk Š, middle- manzangušt O,

malane oguščigo Y, the five mangul

(v grut) Pš, space between grut Pš

finger ring, v ring, finally axir O, axer (ul amr) P finished adât, lhâš, tamâm P, tayār Y, xalās Y, S fire au $\ni r$ Wn 160, ($<*\bar{a}tr\cdot$) or Ps, $r\bar{u}n$ O, rowan O1, ar, rhine P, yūr Y, šanāi S, rəxnīg W, yâc S. fire, to set—to braz. O, dar dah. P, · guvavd- Y. Cf kindle. fireplace uryulā Wn 160, or-yālaı (v. γālaı), borjal, nyaraı, dərbalai (v dre) Pš. dēgdân O, dio S, yrāi, nyarai O1, gapâr P, livden Y, digdān S, dildung, vžerf W, kocarak Š, board enclosing the taxtabande Y firewood largai, dara Pš, dyūra O, dyūro O', kör, žāx P, izma Y, čūb, yōz S, yūz W, žīz Š, pile of lažīno Y first wrumbai Pš, aw(u)al P, Š, awwalin P, (adv) wulākī S. first watering xâkâv Š fish kožo Wn 168, kab Pš, māt O, O', māhī, maso P, kap Y, moī S, W, mâye S, uneatable kormahī P, karyasp Y ilst mit Wn 168, mutta(i) O, O', mušt P, W, mršč Y, mit S, gawust, mist W, mut Š fit munâsıb P five pinja Pš, pēnc O, pēnj O¹, ponč P, pāns Y, ponz S, pānz W, pins S five braids, with ponžbaf P flag stone pistdu-yar Y flame lambo, šuylo O¹, awarxo Y, rauj W. flame up, to piding- W Cf kindle flank *pālū* S Cf. side flat čit, sat Pš, sam O1, pistāū Y, maidān S, amivar Š Cf plain flattery žāna Pš flavour maza P. Cf. taste

finger-nail v nail

ruč P, frīyo Y, kaig, səpərdanj W flee, to paredal, that, tastedal, zyāstal Pš. tiš- O, aūz-, lawak-, čatak- P, lūr-, z³yal- Y, jih- S, 12d- W, recid- S, to make so, tišaw-ok O, mahmizā. lurō- Y flesh, v meat flight kâl P flint čumax Y, čaxmax S flock yele Pš, (of lambs) ole Pš Cf, herd flood niyūz Pš, sēl P, S, sēlâw P, sīl, tulismād, yougo Y, lâyâv S. flood, to werkar. W floor nax, ārdi Y, part of yorč W flour or Pš, mai O, warun P, yare Y, wuļāk S, yūmj W, ydužj Š, dried borna Pš, mulberry pišt P, talkān, tūi pušky Y, tūt-pət S, pišt Š, wheat $d\bar{a}na O^1$, made fr dried apples pušč Y. flow, to weh- P, zid- S, (naštīz-) Š flower gul O, O¹, P, Y, Š, $g \in l$ S, $g \ni l$, sproy W, full blown brang O1, name of a láltág P, gulsambare, milkondi, nəvyiko, xaxālič Y, čūj, šīnšūδ Š flower-bed xiāban Y. flute spelai Pš fly meč Wn 159, mač Pš, mangas, maši O, miši O', mayas P, moyuso Y, pašē S, maks W, čangīn S fly, to wurzedel, owatel Ps, parr rhâz- P, vrōf-, wurafs-, zəyū- Y, araz- S, rewust S, to make to mahmızā- Y fly up, to wuškyōi Y foal, v colt foal, donkey's tiya-xarak S foam kaf P, W, x\delta f Y, S, x\delta f W, x\delta f S fodder v grass. fog, v mist. fold bray Pš

flea wroža Pš, kaik O, P, S, šrak O, O1,

fold, to palašt- O fold (sheep), to tane- W foment, to tabel (v taba) Pš food nwarał Pš, xur(r)ak P, Y, tāam Y, xůrůk S, W, tahām S, distribution of-at a feast xādem Y. foolish, v stupid foot špa Wn 162, pša Pš, pâi O, pārī O¹, qadam P, pá P, Š, palo Y, pūδ S, pūid W, pâδ Š, (of a hill) dāməne Y, upper part of pušt-i pā S, sole of the *štanan polo* Y foot-chain pičaujo O1, zâwlâna P. footprint pal1 Pš, paijāl P, pol, wulid (v. Zar) Y, layat S, pāδ W. for $k\bar{\imath}$ O, kun P, $n\bar{\alpha}$, po Y, be S, ke W for the sake of $(da)p\bar{a}ra$ Pš. $p\hat{a}rak$ O. peš P force $z\bar{u}r(\bar{\imath})$ P forcibly mhākam P ford, a guzar P, Y, S, ovd, pilf Y, tort W, pūd, troke Š fore-arm cangal Pš, bazar O, dost S fore-hair kajekī O, hulbar P, parčam Y fore-head wučwulai Pš, pət O, pıt O1, pīsār, pīšânī P, pē° S, pšāne Y, pišona, ruk, tâpik W foreign begana P, Y fore-leg yarme Y foremost tariwâl P forenoon část P. forest jangal P, S, W, ž° Y, kyesina Y, jingāl S forget, to farmo. Y, farmis. S, ramus. W, renēs- S forgetting š^ramot O, O¹, nhâmur, farâmuš P forget me not šuvazī Y. forgive, to baxš- P, gyēr- Y forgiven pəl Pš forgotten her Pš.

fork, v. winnowing-fork form sūrat P former gahīna P formerly wrāte Wn 169, awal, tərmis W. fort kala P, hzo Y, qală Y, S Cf castle fortunate mubârak P forty calwest Ps, cāstu O, O1, čel P, Y, S, luwist Y. forward apače P, prut W found paidâ O fountain v spring four calor Pš, cār O, O¹, cŏr, câr P, čšīr Y, c³fūr S, c³būr W, cafor S four days ago, hence, v day four-hundred cūn-so Wn 161/3 fourteen cwārlas (v calor) Pš, carēs O. cores O1, čorda Y, čā° S fourth $\check{corum}(g)\bar{\imath}$ P fowl, v hen fox lembar (v lem), spalam Pš, robā O, W, rawas O', robâ, rūyasok P, rūso Y, vəries S, naxčīr W, rupsak Š fraud hīla, makr, rēw P free xalâs O, P, yalā P free, from sorrow byam P free will extryâr P freeze, to cīy- Y fresh tānda Pš, šūr O, nö, nauča, tâza P Friday juba P friend mal Pš, īmbāi, marzâ O, dūst P, Y, S, W, handam P, yar P, Y, azīz, merabon W, âšnâ Š friendship selwa Pš, ašnat, dosti P friendliness mehrabûnī, xūbī P fright tor 3 Pš Cf fear frighten, to yušaw O, yušiē-O1, beikhēw-P, drawā- Y frightened halapata P frog $\delta l\bar{a}nda$ Pš, $\gamma \bar{o}k$ O, S, $may \bar{u}_{\gamma}$ O, °oy O1, bakâ, yūh P, azuzyo Y, moydok S, mukuduk W, šīrbīj S.

from la2, na2, tar Pš, az P, W, Š, tar, ze P, že, žo, žo Y, co S, W. from the presence of dâli P. from there can W front-tooth kalagi danân P frost y = x S. frostbitten pčio Y fruit mēwa P, S, W, phor P, miwa, vory Y, of briar axri-gula Y, (ripe, soft) fšīi Y. fruits, dried nogl P fruit-tree miwaye Y. fry, to wrīt-awul Pš, vareš- W frying pan čimdērio Y full dâk O, thar P, pir Y, pur, təkī W, lap Š full-moon čados P funeral jenása P fur cap talpak S fur coat riška Y, rušt S furze kačő P furze-gatherer kacoârak P future world, the axirat O.

G

gait čɨmö P
gall raswalai Pš
gallop čār xaiz, duqolåč S
gallop, to bədəwön- S.
game said, šekâr P, naţ S Cf hunting,
play
gang of robbers tāṛ Pš.
gap wat Pš, in a dam dar yol (v. yālai)
Pš
garden bâɣ O, O¹, S, Š, bâxča P, baɣa Y,
bōɣ W, small baɣakɛ Y.
gardening bâɣwânī P
garlic ["moorzha" Wn], ūža Pš, sēr O,
sīr P, S, bīn P, wižnu Y, wild chive
latiək Y

garment jâma P gate darwāza S gathering jalsa S. gazelle, v deer gem yamaı Pš general jarnēl P. get, v find. ghee, v clarified butter. giddy ženayem Y gift baxšiš, piškaš, sauyāt, šīrīnī, xīraī P. werga Y, pâitaxče Š (wiong transl. Notes Shgh, of Lentz, Pamir-Dial. 188) ginger šund Pš girdle, round iron- paste Y V baxter gırl čuara Wn 168, jinai, peyla, tüng Pš, $duk\bar{a}$ O, $d\bar{u}k\bar{\nu}$ O¹, $kan\bar{v}z$, $ka\bar{s}te$ P, šinamia Y, (h)əšcāk S, pərčöd W, (small) kaštēšk P, kinčaka Y. girdle t_{Ang} O^1 . girth tang, trok Y, trāng W, terang Š give, to l- Wn 167, lel, [war-krel], šandel Pš, baš-, šir- O, $(šr\bar{u}k)$ O¹, baxš kan-, dah- P, dal- Y, day- S, rand- W, $\delta \bar{a}(\delta)$ - \dot{S} glacier šayoz Y, yaz W. glance nazar P Cf look glass šišo Y, istakān S. glans penis čula Y glide, to šwahedəl (v. šwai) Pš, šmuš-Vēk O Cf slide. glitter, to bruš yek O glove destkaš P. glue šrīšta O, sətrīšəm Y gnaw, to žowul Pš, šuw- W go, to drm- Wn 159, wiyār Wn 160, drūmēdəl, (lārəl), tləl Pš, caw- O, O¹, $\check{c}h$, $\check{c}(h)\check{t}m$, par-, $u\check{e}h$ - P, oy-, $\check{s}\bar{u}\imath$ Y, š-, toyd S, čāw, roč-, tuk- W, sāw-, tīz- Š, (imper) muž P go, to cause to caw- O

go away, to yarz- Wn 167 go in, to dēδ- S go out, to watal Pš, nis- O, nī- P, nēz- S, nuviz- W. go round, to ram- P, wənīž- S goat wuza Pš, bakrı O, wzo O1, buj, ostūr P, vozo Y, buz S, W, bčåk, vəz S, tuy W, vaz S, he wuz Pš, buz O, O', narbuj P, ferrāmə, narbəz, vuza Y, čut, kata, narvəz S, buč(ak), nar-tūy W, bučak Š, young čipiš W, young he- češān Pš, young she- royat W Cf kid goat (wild) trowū Y goats and sheep rizayak Y Cf cattle, small. goat's down maryilam W goat's hair ožyūne (v wuz) Pš, dāš, wužyeno O1, lirs, voz-yūnoy Y, šo&x S, buzmūi, dirs W, doša Š goat's pen špol O1, taryo Y, šād W goatskin wžen (v wuz) Pš Cf skiu goatskin bag yūndai (v. yūnde) Pš, ize Y Cf skin, inflated goat-track roy Y go-between rebār Pš, dallâl P. god xudāī Pš, O, P, Š, Allâ P, Xədā(i) Y, xədā S, xudoi W going cho P, rawan S gorture yur Pš gold sərazar (v sūr), ziyaz zar (v ziyaz) Pš, təla O, sür-zar O1, zar P, suworum Y, tılă Y, S, W, S golden təlâi P. gold com ašerafī Y. golden oriole čkalpio Y. good šə Pš, šir(r) O, sir O¹, bakâr, kârī P, nēk P, S, xūb P, S, W, baf, yaše Y, frī S, bašant S goodness kârıgi, xūbi P good, to appear ywarš-yēk O goods māl O, Y, asbâb, sâmân P

goose $z\bar{a}_{y}a$ Pš, $mull\bar{a}k \ni iya$ Y, $k\bar{a}z$ S, $q\bar{v}z$ W gourd $ka\delta \bar{u}$ S. governor âkım O, hâ° P, ākum S government service sarkârî P graceful xērīmân, xīrâmânī P grain vallă O, S, W, valo O1, bīz P, xosto Y, yōu Y, S, dūnik S, žāu W, (single) dânâ O, phố? P, nănoyỗ, $tu_{\gamma}^{u}m \, Y, \, t^{\imath}\bar{e}_{\gamma}(\bar{r})m \, S, \, tuxm \, W, \, (parched)$ nīne Pš, talxâ P, put S, pišt W, (remaining on threshing floor) rištalai Pš, (unthreshed) paixō Y Cf seed grain (of wheat) sepyak S grain-bin dubul P, čāro Y, ambār, yōv S, yūv W grandchild nwsai O1, nauâ P, novos S, nəpūs W granddaughter nwasai Pš. nowoso Y. nebēs S grandfather nīka Pš, zalpyē O, oiē O1, bâbâ, ghand bo, kattabāw P, pap Y, pūp W, bâb S, (paternal-) bōbō S; (great-) yarnīkə Pš. grandmother and Pš, zalmāwo O¹, ghand mâčī P, māmo Y, bībī S, mūm W, Š grandson mlēsa Wn 162, nwasai Pš, oai O, nowisa Y, novos W, nebâs Š, (great-) karwasai Pš grant, to baš- O granting čin-ē S. grape měwá, syūy O, sy $\bar{\nu}$ y O¹, d $\hat{\nu}$ râk P, angūr P, Y, S, agrdro Y, angūr W, angūrd S, (wild) hwar Pš. grape-juice buymoz Y grapes, cluster of yoro Y grasp gir P. Cf seize grass ušə Wn 167, marya, uāšə Pš, ywâšī O, ywāsī O¹, gihâī P, sauza P, W, wuš Y, giā, savza S, wiš W, wâš S, (a kind of) sābah Pš, alafī P, sevurzuk Y, alaf S.

grasshopper, v locust. gratis wir lā Pš gravel žyal Pš, xnīz W graveyard qabristân O, P graze, to caredal (v car), powul Pš, ceraw-, pay- O, čarew- P, bičiron-, loū- Y, čarā ken-, čarān- S, (abrade) blosedal Pš. grazing ground tobală W Cf pasture. greasy čarbi P Cf fat great, v big. greater (elder) xušči Y green šīn Pš, šīn O, sābz, sauz P, sauze Y. savz S. W. sauja, savi S. Cf. blue green plant growing in ponds obraī Pš Cf. slime grey spera, xar Pš, yurūirang Y, bor S, $b\bar{u}r$ W, (blueish) xing S, (greenish) xaki Y, xōki W griddle tāvē S grief zawr Pš, armân P grieve, to pawsedal Pš griud, to anal (ora) Pš. mar- O, el- O1, yān- Y, yūn- S, [yăn- S] grindstone andra O1, yurzuyo Y. millstone grip gir P grizzled yex W. groan əkək Y. groan, to kyof- Y groin myāna Pš, yoyut W groom mhētar P. ground bummă O, khen, dharam P earth. ground (hollow piece of-) pūwa O ground (open) dašt S Cf plain. ground, ptc hinl-yek O ground, to be sūledəl Pš grow, to waxš- Y, (intr.) gūkən- S, gē car- W

gnaid paira P. guard, to dharew-P, puy-W. Cf protect, watch. guardian pairadâr P guest mēlmūn Wn 162, melma Pš, mēmân O, Š, mehmān P, S, mi° Y. guest-house kösxâna P, mīmânxâna W guilty nâya P gnitar rubâb P, tubăi Y gum šelmək S gums oraī Pš, urīyē O¹, yūš-e danânıka, pındar, pendar, wirā P, $\circ_{\overline{\epsilon}}$ S, sotke, zombo Y, dan-podf S, žendik, wēra W, kom S. gun maltey O, miltey O1, tofang P, tfak Y, miltog S, moo W, can S, (European) farang tfak Y, (German) jarmani P, (canuou) tūp P gun-powder dârū P, S, dārui Y, dârē w, š guts kulma Pš, lirā, yīš'i, wor O', rūī Y, guhrū, rūda, šəngər W. Cf entrails

H

gutter nāwa Pš.

hail žalaī Pš, °iē O¹, jālī O, °a P, Š, šengerī P, mōyiki, žīlo, žālabārān Y, žāla S, W, mužek, šaxək W, mašak Š hair ūšt Wn 159, weštə Pš, drī O, d(ə)rə O¹, dōš, gīnō, jāl, mūi P, yunia, kužke Y, yenōk S, yanī, šafš W, yūnj Š, (single) tār P, târa Y, mūi Š, (cut) yōš P, (long) puyo, *stūy Y, (plaited) ngašai Pš, (fringe of) pal 4 Pš, (on the body) yūna, zumba Pš, mūi, rip W, (of the pubes) dērf W, (woman's) čunīē O¹. Cf. lock of hair hair (goat's), v goat's hair. half nemai Pš, nīm P, W. nesp P, anīməf, parkand Y, kānd Š

half-full lomalen, malen, nimkālo, nīmopir Y, nēmē S half rupee kirân, ihuš P halter kamand P, ingut Y. halting-place manzil W hammer čukūš O, čakēk O¹, bâlukā P, baleko, kotine Y, baleke S, bolega, xeyaz W, pulk S Cf sledge-hammer hamstring š³ta-žezikan Y, čangiling S. hand lās, pl lāstə Wn 162, lās Pš, dest O, dis O1, döst P, last Y, döst S, dast, lâst W, dust S, (back of) čamba Wn 167 (< S1)handful muttai O, farxam, bamča P, (double) mič W handkerchief rūimâl, dösmâl P handle lāstai (v lās) Pš, destā O, oai, kabzai P, desto, laste Y, uad W, dastā Š, (of a spinning wheel) čarxānuk Y. hand-mill mečan Pši, oin Oi, mučin O, garāt P, bandux, lingon, yurzuyo Y, karksang S; (small, for salt) yexio Y, (wooden, for pounding gun-powder) banduxčuxo Y hang, to jaredel, zangel Pš, lala- O1. žirov- W hang up, to lamew- P hanging $auz\hat{a}n(d)$ O, $\bar{a}w\bar{e}z\bar{a}n$ P, S, $lam\bar{e}d$ tâla P, ouezon Y, awejan S happiness xušâlī O, xušwaxtī O, P, xušāne Y. happy xūš, xušâl O, xušhâl P, xušwaxt P, W, xušān Ţ, xoš W hard ney, šax Pš, ting O', yaweri P, saxt P, Y, S, šax Y, kullax, šox S, šux, tun W, xaš Š hardness saxtī P hare soe Pš, xargoš O, odš P, ūš Y, W, sıkak O, sa° O', khörəgü, sahök P, sĩy Y, sūi S, sii W, šitum [š°] S.

harlot kančanī- O, P, yar P, kumā Y. harsh bož Pš. harvest $d \ni r y \ni k$ S, $c \hat{a} w$, $k \bar{\imath} \nmid t$ Š, (wheat) yadəm lərovo Y hash kurma P hashish čars P haste bīwarī P hat topie O1. hate $k\bar{\imath}na$ S, °a W hate, to $b\partial_{\gamma}z$ $k\partial n$. S. $b\partial_{\gamma}z$ $c\bar{a}i$. W have, to larel Pš, dar- O, der- P, lar- Y, dēr - S, wider - W, bēr - Š haversack nâxta S hawk bâšă O, P, °ē S, bašə, bāz, kırzyal, lumcit O1, šāyīn, sayūrž Y, cācui S, čup W, karčapai Š. hay wāša Pš, xēr P, yorj (?) Š hay-stack xērdân P, uščeno Y, uštīn S, uušdon W head sar Pš, O, O¹, P, W, kal, sor P, pusur Y, sor S, kāl Š head, top of v. top. headman ausakâl, malek P, arbab, čārw > l Yheadstall avzāl S healthy 10y Pš, bal O, jor O, O', salámat P, tandrust, tāzo Y, bēfirišta, sihat W, jor Š heap kat Pš, rāš Y, (of grain) riyāša, wāņa Pš Cf stack heap (of sheaves) sose Y. heap up grain, to ser ken- Š hear, to aur- Wn 167, ārwedəl Pš, amar-O, O', harw-P, neyuy-Y, apaxš-, šud S, kšuv- W, šen- S. Cf listen heart zro Pš, zli O, O¹, zur P, zil Y, ovzui S, dil, pəzov W, zârd Š heat brās, yarma Pš, garmi, šundrī W heat, to tâb- P heaven beist S, behist W Cf sky. heavy drund Pš, wazmīnd O, grān O',

girân P, yary Y, wazmīn S, y rūng W, wazmen S hedge wara Pš, (thoin-) paržini Y hedgehog zižgai (v ziž) Pš. jarya O, sızgaı O1, xarpuštal P, šū, šayur Y, šayor S, W, xarpuštak Š Cf porcupine heel punda Pš, os O1, pāšna O, ono Y, khurt, pēšpā P, paņio Y, pašne S, pošna W, pērnak Š heel-rope pul wāša Pš heifer yunāji O, rəqūm W height gadd P height-sickness suby W hell dozax Pš, dū° S. W helmet tay, xol Pš help kumak i) P. S. yāre Y help to kumak car- W helpless nâilâj P, bīčâra Y, bē° Š hem laman, mayzai Pš, dāmən O¹, °an S, avland, damene, lamdo, madırı Y hem, to nimil- W hemp čars P hen čirga Pš, kirži O, zī O, kury P, kirio Y, kuičūn, māhək S, keik, mōk W, ča∢ S, 'wild') kury-e dhârĩ P henchman *jellât* P hence indawū O, mēn O¹, ečend, enhākī P hen-house yöst W herd ramma O, P, romo Y, (of cows) pâda O, cārvā, galagāu S, (of goats) ramē S, (of horses) galla O, P herd cattle, to čarān- S here dele, rā Pš, ında O, ēk(enhāk), ehestak, enhāk P, molo Y, $m\delta\delta(ak)$ S, d³r³m W, ude, yūdand Š hermaphrodite šajūnak (v. šaja) Pš. hero maranai Pš, pālawân P heron tažīa Y hiccough silgie O1 38 - Kulturforskning

hidden yalar Pš, $\gamma \partial l\bar{e}$, $\gamma \bar{u}n(d)$ O, $\gamma arb\bar{i}$, pet P hide, to fotana- Y, pāš va ken- S, (oneself) raz P hide, v. skin high hask, lwai, učat Pš, čig O, O1, pabēga O, beland(i), rust, wakhē P, biland Y, oand S, W, wûč W, andē∂(?) S hill bok, tapa S Cf mountain hillside sasto Y, pušta W, (steep) parfar, viščo Y himself xusör P hinderance ar Pš hindmost, the peštīna P hindpart (of animals) špačkera Y. hinge, of a door v doorhinge hip sužī O, suno O1, sēbžī P, pēro Y, šəužī S, gūyək, marsī (?), šūjīš, šūnj W. sēvje, šūn S hip-bone šna Pš, hadd-e mēnikā P, mižiste, brok, da piščan blok Y hire kerâ P, ki° Š hit zaib P hither iā Pš, idal O', mū-bō S, tərəm W. yıda S hoar-frost asaī Pš, pərx Y, šak W hoe kašaī, saspār (v spāra), Pš, kulang O, P, kafan O', šašpār P, kaland S °do Y hold, to larel Ps ūr-uk O, dēr- P. uidər- W Cf have hole kōžak Wn 168, sūrai Pš, kō O, thốr P, surv Y, rus, sērv W, câh, $k\bar{\sigma}^{u}_{\chi j}$ S, (of the ear) $\gamma \bar{a}i$ O', $isi\,\bar{\sigma}x$, səmbök S hollow čīw O, gox Y, (below the sternum) kafčī Y hollow piece of ground pūwa O holly oak banj Y home kālə (v. kəlai) Pš

honest muxlis S, ət kən kin, mălūmdor W, honey angin Wn 159, gabina Pš, pin O, O', xīra i zambūrika P, agimīn Y, šāt Y, S, W, asăl S, W, Š honey comb pyāsa (v žmanj) Pš¹, piāco O^1 honour ezzat P hoof swa Pš, sumb O, P, Y, S, kanawo O1, čoguli, šefloč Y, səmb S, səm W, (cloven) šongarai Pš. šilč W hook šaště Y hoopoe denula S hope $\bar{u}m\bar{e}d$ P, Y, $am\bar{e}\delta/d$ S, W hopeful båwar S, amēdvor W. hopper of a mill dal P, Y horn šukár Wn 162, kai Pš, šāx O, P. S. W. sukar O1, šī P. šū Y. šou S. . ion W, xâs S horse ās Pš, vāsp O, yāsp O¹, osp P, yasp Y, v²rok S, yaš W, vâr²j S, (red) jēran P Cf. mare, stallion horse clothing prigin W horse dung, v dung horse's load (half of) buy S horseman, v. rider horse-neck škyui V horse-race paga Y horseshoe nâl O, Š hospitality melmastyā (v. melm) Pš hostage yošt W hot tầu Wn 160, tod Pš, tōh O, tɔk O¹. Y, S, W, yōrm S, šundr, Đĩn W, kaš Š hour sât O, P, Š, garī P, sōat W houri hūr P house borjal, kor, mena, mešta, xūna Pš, $h^{y} \in Y$, $x \bar{a} n S$, $x \bar{u} n W$, $\bar{c} i d S$, (two | storied) sind Y housewife merman (v mena Pš, ceštena O1)

houseowner, position of a katxudâi S how [cərang Pš], carang O, zanēng P, čamin Y, cenā S however wale P how much/many? $c\bar{o}$ Pš, $c\bar{u}n(d)$ O, $c\hat{a}$, čeka P, čand, čamin Y, comond S, cum W, cūnd S howl, to varuy- W humble-bee bobuse Y, zavolog S hump kwab Pš, kopân P, huifo Y, kif S, kap W hump backed čŭyar Pš hundred sī Wn 160, sal Pš, sō O, sū O1, ponž yuštah, so P, sad P, Y, W, Š, pānžwist, šī Y, sāb S, īsad S hunger livaža 1'š, gušnagi O, yur čagī P, žondoki S , hungry wurža Wn 161, wažai Pš, xrunuk O, xuranak O1, yurča P, waharay, (w)ušiyo Y, žuondok S. mərz W, mazjanj S hunter pālawān S, pālawān W hunting *škar O, šekar P, *šhūr, waīna Y, žīu Š hurt augar, jak O hurt, to mac P husband maro Wn 159, meio (v. maranai), caštan Pš, ce° O, mālī O, O¹, $\alpha \hat{a}(\bar{i})$ P, Sife Y, māl $(\bar{o}k)$ S, $\delta \tilde{u}i$, šauhar W, câr, šūmā (19) Š husks poky, sabūstaf Y dam, tapo P, pic, suzon Y, garm | hut (on a mountain pasture) xaivo Y, ktīč W, krīč S hyena kož Pš

I

nēr O, nai O¹, yus, kala, xâna P, İ I mā, rā, zə Pš, az O, O¹, S, mun O, P, ân P, mon, zo Y, mak S, wuz W, Š ibex uzžīk, yukš W. male) naxčīr Y. Š. žumane Y, rang W, female navčīr-

vəzo Y, buz, merg W Cf. mountainice yax O, O1, S, harran O1, ix P, laxsara Y, yax S, yıx, yaz W ice-house yaxdân P idiot lew S idol but P, bet S idol-temple butxâna P. bado S idolatry butparasti P. if agar P, Y, ha O, wahgam Y. if not në če P ignoble bisi P ignorant jel Pš ıll (sıck) nājor O, P, Š, ranjūr O', bēstő, bīmâr P, bē° S, Š, charő P, lurve Y, (from fever) huft S ill-advised nažuxt W illness lorovo Y, bēmarī, kassal S, bēmōrī W immediately psāt Y immersed srūp O impale, to čörmīx P ımpatient biwar P impatience biwari P impendent bilayâm l' impolite bēadab S. impossible šanda Pš imprisoned bandi P ın & Wn 161, k'e Pš, nê O, tar P, S, S. ba Y, da Y, W, ma S, dar W in all xullas P incite, to ažiyil Pš indigestion ayer Pš in front of, v before in order that tā Y ın tıme bajái P inch, an baméa P inconsiderate bīrauri P incrustation krox Y

indeed xu P

independent xudextiyâr P

individual žawai Pš, nofs Y inflamed xurīn Pš Kūm, xrīnd O inflammation phundo P, (of the lungs) šūš-dard W. Cf swelling inflated skin, v mussuck informed xabar O, P, Y information xabar Y inheritance mīros S. W injustice haif P, zulm W inkhorn dewet P innocent bēyaib S, bēgunā S, W innumerable askarâr, bihisâb P insect, n of an wangū O, čalkirmo Y. xəuzit W inside zdare Wn 169, [danana Pš], darūn P, S, (n)adram Y, darūnya Š. insipid škat Y ınstead of hewaz P ınstep rašan, šfīna Y, puband, pušt-i pā S, ve (pwd kaf), pēš i-pâ, təsken W intelligence wūš O, aql P. intelligent poh Pš, ušyar O Cf w19e intention benû, gast, mudâ, xâtir P into kī O, dar P, darnn, tro Y intoxication karf P mundation v flood investigation bībāsxāst, surāy P invisible raibl, raibat P invocation duuâ P rron öspende Wn 161, ospina Pš. Pš1, âin O, 20 O, O1, âhen, rũ P, rispen Y, åhan, espon S, tiš (?), yīšn W, sepen S, (made of) ahenī P, Y, ahanīn S. iris margas Y, (of the eye' cammərdikia S rrecognisable nažan Y rerigate, to čād- Y, (vēki) deh- S, wərəu - W irrigated varob Pš

nrigation avzīno Y, vī-dīdīk S, (first) xāhova Y, xâhâv Š, (second) dūdīva, līvde Y, dâhâv Š
irrigation-channel uāla PŠ, jāt O, rūāt O¹, trog-welīko, welīko wolo Y, jovūn, nār S, čirmu, wâd W, wēd Š Of stream irrigation furrow k'īž Š irritate, to zoizl PŠ is, v. be itch, to hēl W itching būxâr O, garg P, lyoxe, xūn, xāniše Y, xūnūš S

jackal gidar [Pš], O, O1, šazâl O, P, jacket kurti O, P, korče Š, (woollen) mâwar P jar kūza Y, kōzē S, nəlūd W, (carthen) kəlâlī P, sofo Y jaw wāca Wn 169, zāma Pš, alažā O, P, W, zāmbo O¹, kyeliko Y, alašē S, lišá Š jaw-bone kelidak P jay menākā O1 joint mer W, band S joke wašta Pš, mazāk P journey plā Pš, safar Y jowar, v maize joy šâdgârî P Cf mennent Judas-tree v arghawan judge mumaiz P, qûzi P, W, kåzi S jujube-tree səziyo Y Cf Senjet Darra P jump yər, trap Pš, xēz O, top O1 jump, to wrātel (v wurzedel) Pš, xīst kan- P, ustušč Y, araz- S juniper yovurso Y, arča, uəst S, yāis W, hamba c Š just insafdar S, ödil W justice adâlat P, insåf S, ādl, insöf W

K

keep, to sātəl Pš, ūr- O, dharēw- P kernel zanar Pš, mayz P, Š, žirmale Y, (pine-nut) $zuay^ak$ O, (rice) $\check{s}am\hat{a}x$ O kettle sofo tāl Y Cf cooking-pot kettle (porridge) kankato Y key kilī O, kiliyāšt P, kvelēn Y, uškoz S, uušik W. khan xân, xâuân P kick, a *připát* P kid pšarlai, naryūmai Pš buzyala O, gurū O, O', čey W, gīč Š, (newborn) čana Y, štonok S, (one year old) sēr lui [Pš], O¹, takačār, žusaja P, čānoyo, frayomiy, narčan Y, rižuk, take S, (female during first year) išten P, (female, one year old) frayingo, prenjio Y, fəryəm S, (two years old) dusa! a, taka P, (three years old) šusaja P kidney [badodai Wn], pušta-uarga Pš, gurda O, P, W, yulhah, zlihak(?) O1, wulya Y, gul, wolk S, walth W, ūuj (wūšč) Š kill, to wezen. Wn 160/6, wa-žlol (v. °žəl) Pš, užnaw- O, wazn- O¹, u.-, mēr- P, moz Y, kal-, žan- S, čax-, šay. W, kaž. S kılled kušta P kıln *wzən* Pš kind, sort qism S kındle, to šilau- O. bala, sil- O¹, lagëw-, thew P, tofor Y, pedin-S, picev W. peden- S kıng bâdšû O, pâdšâ P, Y, S, W, mıštor Y kıngdom pâdš $\hat{a}(h)$ ı P, məlk Y kingfisher macixor Y kınsman ulus, xīš P, xēš S, vēš S kiss, n mača Pš, poč O, mači P, boh S, bā, bām W

kiss, to kšul Pš, čūš- P, boh-, gof- Y kite cår, kalmury, kai če, ai W kitten piškeze Y, pošbažgī S, pišzomān W knead, to āyažəl, (kše) mandəl Pš, mar-, mušaw- O, gūy- Y, tum-, uert- W Cf 1ub knee zūng Wn 169, zangūn Pš, zanyak (v zânū) O, zânū O, P, gēndī O', zīk Y, zung S, bərīn, zonū W, zūnə S knee cap parvažin Y, yēnak Š kneeling duzânū P knife čāra Pš, čârthar O, hâli(yak) O, O' čākū O1, W, hūčanok, pīškaus P, kero Y, kī/ēl S, kəž, tasma-kaš W. čēd Š knit, to jora. O', wor Y knock, to braxā- Y knock against, to štrax- W knocking at the door taxtax () knot giriya O, yundə O', gerê P, qəro, yurež Y, gorē S, juea, žeiāž W, quē S know, to pazun- O, pân- P, dis, vozān- Y, wozūn Š Cf recognize know thou bedân P knowing âgâ O, âmuxta, dâninda, hi lata P knowledge elm P known zda Pš, mâlūm O, ayân l', mālām P, W, māləm Y knuckle brok, čote, ki ox(i)-yaste Y, mer W knuckle bone (used in a game) aryund kran (com) huân P

L

labourer (agricultural) duhqán Y
ladder xarxac O¹, sulân, šoj P, zīnă
P, S. afsinyo Y, šātūn S, uaxāi W,
narvūnd Š Cf stairs

ladder, rung of a pokor Y. ladle avzano, avzaniko, narkafči Y, kāfē S, wezūm W Cf spoon lagging behind frind, partaui S Cf left lake dand O, hauz P, S, haud Y, zov'e Y, W, kūl S Cf pond lakh, 100 000 lak P lamb wai Pš, O1, brai O, lyērai O1, yaro(čuča) P, narī, nūrk W, wārg Š, new born- was ya Y, female wesak S, f one year old uorro, uorraho Y, male worok S, m one year old naruorya, prasilane ware Y lame xūž Pš, gut O, gudai [Pš], O1, kutto P, šut(t) P, Š, lang P, S, W, šel Y, šal S lament fejûn P lamp palta [wick] O, čer ûy, fânūs P, čir ūy Y, cira, dan S, cərâu S Cf lantern land, v country, field landslip šot W lane čála (v kəlai). Pš language lauz P vážen Y, zevůk S Cf tongue lap yēž Pš, dâmen P lapis lazuli *lāžvər* Y large, v big lasso kamand P last âxii O, âxerî P last year [parēša Wn], paros Pš, prasul O, ³əl O¹, pa_l âsu_l P, prasāl Y, pərsāļ S, pārd W, pârsâl, perwâs S, belonging to parδingi W, -but one inzəsəl can O1 1 late der O, năwaxt [Pš], O, O¹, Y, yīr P, dəš S, deš W later bē O, ga Š laugh, to aandal Pš, san- O, khan P, xoud Y, xānd-S, kānd-W, šānd-S

laughing khandi P

kanda W

laughter xandā (v. xandəl) Pš, xanī O, O1,

Iess dūs S

ław šeriet Y, gånūn W lawful rauâ P, halāl, halar Y lawless bitamīz P lawn savza S lazy kahal Y lead surup Pš, surb P, arzīz Y, sərb S lead, to rā w- Wn 166, kutāl- Š lead away, to botlel Pš lead down, to un- P leaf pāna, paxa Pš, bărg O, Y, S, Š, pat, puxa O1, pon P, ponek Y, palč W Iean narai Pš, dangar [Pš], O, O1, larai P, dolk Y, xarâb Y, W, Š, °bē S, lâia W Iean against, to putruz- W leaning on takia P learn, to- yuxs- Y, pozin- S learned zda Pš Iearning hilata P leather žūu Y, pūst S, mandīth W skın leather belt karapči Š leave n nuxsat(1) P, Y, W, roo S, rux-1 sat Y leave, to $\bar{a}n$ Wn 160/1, $(pre-)^{z}odal$ (v prā-) Pš, g- O, ž- O¹, wāst- Y, la ken-Y, S, la cer- W leaving rawân P, rahī Y leech žawara Pš, šuluk O left (hand) kin Ps, cop O, P, S, W, S, cēla C, čīelo O1, čop Y left behind pāte Pš, ozuk O, mânda P left behind, to be ūzeh-, daruzeh- P, for is- S Cf. 1emain leg šānga Pš, leng P, ling S, of a bed ženpaliko Y lentil nask P leopard prang Ps, palang O, P, Y, S, W, S, prong O', paron P, azadapolang Y, (a kind of) var-polang Y, white pos W leprosy prang Pš

lesson sabak P lest bâdâ, bâdâi, ne če P let loose xalâs O, ēlā, yalā P, haţe, yalē S let loose, to an-aret Wn 160/1, la ken-Y Cf leave, release. letter xatt O, P, kâyaz P, W har daryal Pš, durūygūī P, oyī W, durorgü S hberated, v let loose hck, to cat- [Pš], O, las-vēk O, līs- P, nerīz- Y, lēs- S, liž- W, dak Š heking čata O Ind baryolar Pš, (of wooden trough) xūno Y he n daroy Pš, drišī O, drēši O', durūy P, S, W, čőpī, fyeli Y he down, to cemul. Wn 160, camlāstəl, yazedəl Pš, nw(astak) O, dugur. rhīz- P, ləyn, nəliv- Y, nesi- W life žwāk, žwandūn Pš, umi O, P, əmy W. lift up, to riyawdəl Pš, ¿kōb- Y, zenz- S ligature on bow pāð W light (adj), v bright light (not heavy) (9) spuk Pš, O, subuk O, P, sa° Y, S, Š si° W, aluhai O¹, rānjh W light n sunā Wn 161, ranā (v rūn) Pš, nūr O, P, S runai O1, rhinė P, ărunyo Y, sušān(ī) Y, S, čonāī S, nır, 1 ošanai, voin W, meden Š, (lamp) čirāy S Cf brightness light a fire, to v kindle lightning brešnā Pš, barq O, Y, S, bruš O1, balk, jabalak P, veliwo Y, åtašek S, âte° Š, âtešak W like yūnde, laka Pš, padak O, dhīr(ang) P, -gnik S Cf resembling like, to šāyəl Pš

limb hadamə Y lime čuna Y limp, to ngīšedəl Pš line karša Pš lined qalami W linen son, z³yēr S, kodnok W linseed imoyō Y, katānak S lion šēr P, S, W, šīr Y, babi S lip sū, sūn Wn 161, šund 1 Pš, lab O, P, S, W, sundo O1, lauč P, poršik Y, nīvlav S, lafč W, šand S list chera P, of names pešk P listen, to nyutal Pš little, a lož Pš, duški O, kop, vila Y, čov, wokłak S, andak, kam W little, too yēso P little finger v finger live, to zindəgöni kən- S, zindəgöni car- W livelihood guzərân P, guzarān Y liver yina Pš, jāši Ot, jigāi P, Y, S, W, S, yeyon Y hving, v alive lizard [samsara, karbojai Pš], kiruās, latəh, šūšmâr O, samserī O¹, karwaš, šiland P, harbesa, šalāku, yančilja Y, kərvisik S, karbāš, vot W, [carbask (Sk) S load bâr O load, to lešəl (v ležəl) Pš, daž-yēk O, vii a- Y lobe of the ear hank O' lock jandra (v žaranda, Pš. hulf O. P, S, kəlf Y, S, kulp W lock, of hair wurbal Pš, kâkul P locked qul O, šox S locust malax Pš, O, P, Y, S, mo W, mēx O, O1, fusfesīya, yaspa Y, mūr(?) W, čidžsk, žid° Š log pəžō Y loins pəšt S

long ūžd Pš, drāy O, O¹, bīštō P, vaņ Y, daråz S, S, rəžduk S, vərz W long way frax W. longing cwab Pš, armân, yōra P look, to has S, deδι∞- W Cf see, regard. look here ma S looking about diāre Y loom saxt(ərəm)(?) Y loose yarand, vor 2 Pš, valus P, S loosen, to aratel (arat) Pš, mož- O, myūz- O1, lasēu P, wien-, yuu an- Y, uušūy W loosened hate S, xalâs S. lose, to harew-P, gyıbö-Y, apanıs-S, nis- W, benes- S lose the way, to rapic- W loss talaf O lost wruk Pš, barbât, $\gamma \bar{u}n(d)$, γark O, gum P, gyıb Y, (in gambling) pəy Pš lost, to be har P, apt-S louse zyānzi Wn 169, spaža (-ž-) Pš, spot O, spūī O1, ispo P, spūo Y, ispol S, šiš W, sapaž Š, (small, rod) wraje O1 Cf tick love mīna Pš, ûšuqī, ešy, döstī, mahabat, meher P love, to bilar- \ lover mayan (v mīna) Pš, âšuq(bâz) P low post Pš, Y, landai, tūt O¹, načhan, xamba P, past S, W, ned?) Š lower lara Pš. toru Y, *bîr Š lucerne špešta Pš. 117070, pitio Y, yurūk S, uržerk W, vorj (?) Š lungs šəža Wn 161, parpūs, səžai Pš, šuš O, dad O¹, papō P, pāpəs, šuš Y, γūl, šəš S, čžš W, Š lupine *šaftal* Y lying down mlāst Wn 162, Pš, gal, nwastak O¹ lying on back stūn Pš, stīnyo Y

M

m, the letter mim P mad leuanai (v leuv) Pš, dīwana O, P, tag P, devone, lew S Cf stupid madness mastī P magic jâdăe, seher P magpie kyunyo Y, kyevžāk/g S, kiržepč W, kišēbs Š maid peyla Pš, čimitkeryo Y Cf girl maize [juāi Pš], šuta O, dujāi O1, jouari O, P, juo Y, zītai P, eas of lūtaki P, straw of kuso Y, beard of bamboli Y majesty huzūr W make, to rez- P, gax- S Cf do make water, to v urinate male nar Pš, P, Y, W, nerinā O, nērok P, vəš W male child jura P malice yârat, šaitânī P malicious *ĕaitân* P man saiai Pš, O, O¹, âdam P, W, Š, manes, mer P, mara, meg Y, adam, mālok S, dai, merdīna W, ma° Š, xălg W, cânk, mardina S mane ōwī, wraž Pš, yâl O, P, Y, S, W, Š, čalo Y manger auxus O, ăxăs Ot, P, Y, os S, rūz āxur W, ienīr Š mangy paman (v pam) Pš manner šān Pš, zail P, in this hēi angī P, in what carang O, kerangi P mantilla, a woman's pakol S manure, v. dung many zut O, dal, yalaba P, žahānd Y, fai S, təki W, bāz Š Cf much many, how $c\tilde{u}n(d)$ O many, so on O marching kūč P mare aspa (v ās) Pš, myāndēm O¹, i meeting jalsa S

madiâna P, mayoyo Y, baital S, W, mådıyån S, madāž W, vērī Š markhor fem $m\hat{a}_1x\bar{v}r$ O, $b\bar{u}z$, c^{\flat}_1vuq v²zo, mažoγo Y, male c²raū Y, januar, žuok S, svi xã W. Cf mountain-goat marmot dala(?), wūn Y, winck, wundok Cf weasel marriage nikâ O, W, nekâ P, wāda S, katxudâī Š marriage prosession wrā Pš marriageable age wāda S marrow māγzə Pš, măγz O¹, Y, W, Š, moyz S Cf brain. marsh šūra O' Cf bog marten (pine-), v pine-marten master caštan Pš, bādâr, čēštan O, sâheb, xâwân, xâu and P, ound Y mastigate, to v chew match ququrd Y, of a gun pilta S matchless bīazīmī P match maker rebār Pš, dallâl P matter hâl P, trīk Y matter, v pus mattock, v hoe mattress tošak P, xaran Y, hupačā W, filled with cotton purum Y Cf bedding may be $f \ni r m \tilde{\epsilon} Y$ meadow wuršo Pš, tâla, maryuzâr, ulang P, mīryo Y, mēry, sarza S, gŏz W Cf pasture measure (of grain) ožai Pš measure, to $m\bar{a}$ - Y, $ka\dot{c}$ - O¹, (liquids, etc.) pyaməl Pš meat [ywaše, "zaráh" Wn], ywaša Pš, gāka O, ° O O¹, γŭš P, Y, gušt S, W, $p \partial f S$, $\gamma \bar{\imath} \dot{s} t W$, $g \bar{u} \dot{s}(w) t \dot{S}$, reast $hab \hat{a} p P$, -or fish ngolar Pš medicine dawâ O, elâj P, i° Y, dârū P. °u Y, darmân, dâuaī P

°būz Š melt, to fro- Y, *au sāw- Š memory yād O, Y, dētər, yöd W mending mahalam Y merchant saudagar O, P, oager Y, oogar S, W, saudager Y, bāzārgān S. merriment xušáli O, masti, xušwaxti P, waly Y Cf feast, joy. merry xušuaxt P. Cf happy. messenger astojai (āstawul) Pš, kâset P middle myanj (v. mlā) Pš, manz O, nesp P, miyān(e), nosm S, molung W, in themakhār P midnight nīmišō O, barābai xšovo Y, nīmšab, nesmešav S, brobarnājd W milk šov Wn 160, pat, šaudo Pš, pâh O, šīpī O, O¹, pē P, xšīra Y, xôm S, žārž W, šūvd Š, (sour) šamže Wn 169, trošp S, trig, triš W, maska (incorr for butter) S Cf. buttermilk, curds milk, to cēk- Wn 161, lwašal Pš, duš- O, dus O1, dūč- P, lūž Y, dēš- S, δic W, δūη. S milk cup, 'wooden, xšīn-kycsa Y milk-pail lauayūna (v. lwašəl) Pš, kīzarē P, lipča, vašč W milk-rice čirgrinj Y "Milky Way" čarx i falak, wārwan Y, kākašon W mill žaranda Pš, āsya O, jendre O', xēra P, xīryo Y, zudāri S, xədörg W, xedârj S Cf handmill mill-broom fāru, rəfiho Y mill-race trobî Wn 169, xolānī O1, nawoyd Y, naudh S, niu W mill-stone pal Pš, O1, xēragir P, xursago Y, xədong yar, wirt W mill wheel carx O1, wirdan W millet (Panicum miliaceum) ēždən Wn 161, ždan Pš. arzan O, ažan O¹, anzen I',

melon khörəbuj P, larū Y, xarbəz(a) Y, S,

yurzon Y, wuždan S, arzan, yīrzn W, pinj Š, (Panieum italieum) yōšt (āyažəl) Pš, gâš P, yavarso Y, [jawaus Sk, S] mimic, to putinui- W mind həš S mine žūnan W minister uazīr P, Y, S mınt (plant) welanaı Pš mirior ăina O, O1, P, W, âhēna, šiša I'. âino, šišoyo Y, ainek S, looking glass šīša S miser baxil S, bəyəl(?) W miscarrying speyāza Pš missing bijá P mist dund, laja Pš, manyar P, S, miž ayıko Y, ar-tagâv yat ("it came down''?) Š mistress bībī P mix, to lar - [Pš], O, vadār Y, alalas kən- S, a° car-, šănd- W mixed gat P, katī Y moat xandak P mockery tâna P mode zail P modesty hayâ P moist, v wet moisten thoroughly, to nicod- Y moisture nab Y mole xâl P moment lāza P, fasl S money $h\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ Y, paisā Y, S, $\gamma n n\bar{\iota}$, $p\bar{u}l$ S, pil W monkey maimūn S month māst Wn 159, myāst Pš, māi O, mēhī P, mö, moa Y, mā S, Š, my W, mēst S month, n of a hamal P, asad, simbulā, təmis W. kaus S monthly mehin P moon mıyāst, uažmaī Pš, spožmaī Pš, O1, maryok, mātau O, mahok P, imoyo Y,

matou, wulmek S, motob, žomak W. mīst Š, the new hēlâl P moonless night taiožmai (v spožmai, Pš, trožinai O' moonlight rabana Pš morame åbūya Y, ambol S, šur W, heap. more digarī S. of stones xones Y moreover balkim O morning sāi O, P, saxai Oi, ručân P, sahar P, Y, S, subəliyo, sarpaga, wūšč Y, rašt, sub S, rux, sārake, Š, in the subdamik W Cf. dawn morning-meal pizvāni W morsel nwa? aī Pš, norī O, tok P mortar oyur P moslem musulmán P mosque mazdik O, mažit Y mosquito mēsa Wn 159, yumašā v yuā, māšai (v mač) Pš, paša O, P, po W, myāsar O', gyīblenīke Y, kurpaša Y, S, maxšc, paše Y. joz S, kanek, pīdu W, čangin S moth parwana P, Y, W, parumekog S, wić W mother mor Pš, máuă O, o O1, aī, mâ(čī), mâma P, nīno Y, mã 8/dar S. nãn S, W, S, mâd S mother and daughter mawehâ P mother-in-law xuāša Pš, syūy, xušui O, sydy, xucīšiē O1, xuš P, xušo Y, xoš S, xušdoman, žas W, xīs Š motor-car motar P mount, to dak- P Cf rise mountain yar Pš, Y, girī, kō O, grī Ot, dhâr, khandi P, jar Y, kũ Y, W. Š, ålax, kūh, šaxa-yer S, tār Š Cf Inll mountain-ash tūr Y mountain-goat yarcanai Pš, āū O, yiicanai O', mēšak, naxčīi S, female sur P, jonuār W, male toy P Cf deer, ibex, markhor.

mouse mažak Pš, balū, kauar, dananuaro P, pary Y, mūš S, W, pork S purk W, pung & Cf rat moustache by t Wn 159, bret [Pš], O1, brūt O, Y, bu ' P, boo S, wrott O1, vrut Y, šābrut S, brit W, birut S. large brutčapar W mouth xūla Pš, dán, pōz O, pyōz O1, šond P, pekore, yurv Y, foc S, yak W, mouthful inda Pš, teka P. mouthpiece of bellows bolulo Y move, to xucajedol Pš, c(h'im P, muž Y, tač- W , move, to v tr. čīmēw-, jukēw- P, muža- Y movement yūn Pš, arakat O, malak, šūr P moving rauan S much zut O, ferimân, yulū, yalaba P, ambox, boh, tipe, žahānd Y, fai, lip, ziāt S, bisyār, foi, jafāi, jafči W, on O, so-mind, yenda Y, complete binās Y mucus 19ma Pš, balyam Y, qat, liep W, (from nose) nezyo Y, xolm S, (from month) balyām S mud gel, matta P, jerīv (?, W muddy xər Pš, aatralog Y mulberry tāua Wn 160, tāt O, O', Y, S, W, ti P, morec, tûi Y, tūb Š mulberries, dried mais P, kitori Y mulberry-flour pist S Cf flour mule kačar O', gater, yabū P, kačīr Y, Š mulla mulla O, P multicoloured, v piebald multitude zalabagī, zulūgī P murderer âdamkuš P, žaduk S, šitk W murmur šuršur P mushroom xomba Pš cigyere Y, (a kiud of) pufanek Y, (white) sarpust Y | music sur P, mailis Y, sazinge S

musk tâtâr, mušk P mussuck, v skin, inflated mutilating nasak P muzzle fruše Y my jmā Pš, manân P, mən Y, S, žu W myself maxsör P mystery ramūz, serr P

N

nail mex O, O1, P, S, Š, kūk P, mīx Y. W, wooden δârg Š, (finger-) nūk Pš, taxt ta angušt O, naxk O', nork P, anaxno Y, nâxăn Y, S, no W, nar $x\overline{v}k/g$ S, $d\partial g\varepsilon r$ W. naked "oon" Wn $[= \bar{u}n < *bagna-],$ layar [barband] Pš, lūč O. P, šilex Y, °ax S, W, °ah Š name nom Wn 158, num Pš, S, nam O, P, Y, nim S, nong W narrow narat Pš, O, tang O, S, W, S, tan O', čino, lundu P, togo, trok Y, būr'k, tan'k S, street tangi P natural xudâi P nature šin Pš, condition tab P navel nov Wn 159, nu,m) Pš, nefak O, nấf P, S, S, nif Y, nof W near paxe Wn 168, zarma Wu 169, caxa, naždē Pš, boy O, boi O¹, da, dâl P, karīb P, S, S q' Y, nəzdīh P, na° Y, tarī, tartar P, volo, šut Y, šiš W. nearest to the village warbot Pš necessary lâzım, munâsıb O, wajıp P. zarūr P, Y, bakor S, W, 18- boya Pš, bâyad S necessity zarūri Y neck yāra (v. yarəl) Pš. O, mayzai (v māyzə, warmez Pš, gardan O, makandar O', mando P, škyur, šile Y, gardak, yor ök S. qer ban W, māk W, Š, tor W

necklace ožai Pš, ghana P, garai, madraye, xafabande Y, perg W, silver muštĭ Y neckrope of yoke sabəranj, samlasıko Y, ripk W need, to žirevin W. needle sunzen Wn 162, sten Pš, šinī (), so O', sičin P, šinjo Y, ošton S, sic W, sej Š, (packing-) yorsəm Wn 168. sparxai Pš, tēbana O, xaišižn, juā/dūz Y, ooz S needy šilar S Cf poor, naked Negro habašī P neigh, n [šašnai, han Pš], ingas O, hengas P neigh, to sisin. O', ušun. Y neighbour hamsâya P, a° S, jar P, amsāyo, grambešu Y, amāsyē S neither-nor nai-nai S nephew (brother's son) wrāra Pš rāsat O, rāšī O1, biyāyurök P, viaipūr, vrēni Y, vorūzo man S, vorītpoli W, (sister's son) xorayaı (v. xor) Pš, xīyui ök P, xurī Y, xīr S, xanyōn W uerve pala, wuža Pš nest manžolo, tan O1, yežio Y, parenda xãn, yeca S, you W, yēd S, bee's šon Pš. net widz Wn 169, tor Pš, dam O, P, alke S, tor W, ped S Cf snare, trap nettle xulxadī Y never hec kala (na) v hala) Pš, h)ičwast W new nawai Pš, nūw O, nyow O', no P, nowozo Y, nuwok S, soyd W, nū S news xabara O1, auhâl P, xabar P, Y. W, Š, good zerai Pš New-Year festival nauroz(c) S

next year žâsar P.

next world, finally axerat Y

mece (brother s daughter) usera (v wrāsa) Pš, iūšra O, rāšro O¹, vrēnigo Y, (sister's daughter) xorja (v. xor) Pš, xurīgo Y nice, to look yicaiš yek O night špa Pš, šō O, š $y\bar{b}u$ O¹, $w(\imath)y\hat{a}\imath$, ranân P, xºšovo Y, fəršon, šab S. na, δ S, W, šāb Š, part of šūma Pš, - shalt šūp W, this very uyûrau yûr P nightingale, v bulbul nightmare vapasa Pš, vžýd S, W nine noh Pš, na O, no O1, no P, nou Y, S, nău W, nâu Š nineteen nulas (v. noh) Pš, nes O, anës O¹, nams, nužda P, nūzda Y, nou εδ/dos S, dasnab W ninety nawe Pš, niue O, nawād S uipple, v breast (female) nit rica Pš, roko O¹, riško Y, žăng W no na O, nâ P, noi W, (adj.) hār Y noble hohi P nobleman mirzâ P noise čiya, yaw, žaval, žay, zuaž Pš, šūr/į P, awāz Y nook carda Pš. noon yār ma/ə Pš, °ə O¹, nīmī ož O, °ōz P, °ūz W, mixen Y, čášt, maikēnī S noose paxwandai Pš. noon mədir W north šamâlī O, P, °ūl W nose přiza Wn 159, paza Pš. oak O.; old (hving things) zo Pš. zál O. O. nīnī O, O1, damây, nēšt P, fisko Y, 1 fusek, nic S, mis S, W, nej S noseless, etc būjai Pš nose ring pezwan (v paza). Pš, natī P nostril šemže Wn 169, spažma Pš, parxâna O, sužmī O1, binīxân, damâxal P, f3skafsur V Y, dimåy, f3s7k-poačē S not na Pš. P, S, S, nak O, či, če, ču, č, no, no, Y, ne W, is not ništa Pš, + olive-coloured spišć Y češ Y, nest S, nīst Š Cf don't

nothing čuwa Y. nourish, to nmānjal Pš now os (osedəl), no (v. nan) [< nor] Pš. pērī O, O', badī, yē, yarr P, wos Y, diga, ingē, naksē, psāt, sē(?) S, niv W, šič Š. numb kuya Y number sumâr P, ımāl Y nurse dāya S nurturing parvariš S

O

O' ai O, â, ai, ō, âyâ, wō, yâ P, ai Y, e, o, wa S, allo, ēi, wai W oak bālūt O, S, yan P oar fe S. Cf spade oath ywar O O', kasam O, qo P, Y, S, quiân P, nor Y Cf swear oats jaudar O1, desin S, leso Y obey, to nyutəl, manəl Pš observe, to thâr- P obtain, to v get object maxsad P occupied mangir 1' occult knowledge panjbed P of ra Wn 163, da Pš, tar O, ta O1 off, away badar Y officer hafsar S oal tēl P katto P, zor Y, ayan W, pir Š, (manimate things) kona P, koc W, kuhno, telt Y, (man) čhatadhári P mūisafēd S, W, safēban S, (woman) pīrazāl, pīrakī, zāl P, zōro Y, kam $p\bar{\imath}r$ S old age kattor P. olive-tree [šona, šauana Pš], šouan O1 ' on minde Wn 163, bande, pa Pš, S, jeī, sar O,

zar O1, ba P, bar P, Y, po, sko, tro Y, vū, sor S, da, rū-1, sok W, pr Š, at the top of $s\ddot{o}(r)$ P once jal, kala Pš, waxtī W one yau Pš, šē O, so O¹, žu P, yū Y, wok, yak S, īu W, yīw Š, (of several) yūyo, yukyego Y one another (h)alamān W one each igon igon W omon pāāz O, S, pī(y)āz, tekai P, pīv Y, prūk, pryoz W only quj O, fakat P oorial mēš-i kiškor S, (male) miya, naxčīrpozaže Y, kuško, mon, wār W (cf ram), (female) saža Pš, sūša O, mēšak W open arat, wit [< *wi-šita] Pš, αē P, uulai Y, hət S, ət W, yet S open, to prānatel, spaj del Pš, gabdā- V, (the eyes) varaw O opened xor 2 Pš, yalē S or yã P, Y, Š, žĩ(?) Y orange naranj Y order, to v command order, in-that tā Y onole, golden- čkalpio Y ornament [anjor Pš], fazl P, sarfarāže Y orphan yatīm O sarīr Y, sa W, sarer S other bī, bəl Wn 160, bəl, nor [< *antāra- Pš bē, bēga O, bī O1, žâ P, dīr Y, digar S, W, yan W otter sanglaŭ Y, saglavī S, sagâwī, šāpiš(?) W out panēšta O out of breath honadry Y out of place $b\bar{\imath}\check{\jmath}\hat{a}$ P outery čia P outside panēšta O, nēšta Ot, bor, bērūn, mabor P, biavān S, baār, vičung W, varza Š oven tanūr O

over par Pš
overflowed toe Pš
overturned, to be parzedel Pš
overturning čapa S
Ovis Ammon yâryalī Š (v mountain goat)
Ovis Poli rūš W, male viokš W.
owl lagō O¹, bīf P, būm P, W, Š, bū Y
qīm W.
own xpal Pš, xin O, xinai O¹, xikân P,
xoy Y, xē S, xūnen W, xii Š
own, to dai- O Cf have
owner bādâr O, sâheb P Cf mastel

P

pace pal Pš, wyang W, gåm, gadam S pack-saddle, v saddle pad nyojai, namla (v lamcai) Pš padlock jandra (v žaranda) Pš Cf lock pain zaur Pš. dard P, S. Š. ram, tab P, in the ribs brisiek O1 pain, to dim- O, bes- P palace dargâ, sarāi P palate kūmai Pš, kām O, P, Y, S, kom W pale rangzärd S palm (of hand) warzouar Pš, oue, taluī O', kaf O, P, haf-e döst P, odest S, °dast W, peno Y, p'ū(v)n W, bēn Š paradise behešt, jannad P parched, v grain (parched) parents-in-law qədă W pairot toti O1, toti P, tūti S, sauztūti W partner šarik P partridge tanzarai, zaika Pš, kauk O, sāc(?), zrəj O¹, bödana, žīrež P, žoržo Y, uužižir S, čkor W, zarij Š parturition stam Pš party ferkā P pass n hân P, kutal P, S, yar Y, punnk S, wiyin W

pass, to v cross passed ter Pš, O, O¹ passing quian P passion cuab Pš pasteboard novnozo Y passtime sâattēr P pasture car Pš, mountain gâz Š, summeryēl S Cf meadow patch of cloth paspon Y patience sabr l' patient sabi S, togatdor W path sīma l'š Cf road pay muzdur() peas maruk P. čerty (?), hišer, pateko, xurmujo Y, karāš, mužik, raxes, patok S, koroš, patek, šaž W Cf beans, lentils peace quāš Pš, âštī, sulu P peach šaftālū O, O1, P, Š, °le Y, °ālū S, W, šadrav P peacock myaur Pš, myaumu yān O' peak peza (v paza) Pš khandi P pear náh P. nášpāti P. W. e Š. abruo. ambroz, nərowi čoggō, kyoqō, našpotry, tok Y, pešu W, marod, nok S pearl marvalara Pš pedal (on a loom) paliko Y pedestrian palar (v pal) Pš, piyasa Š pedlar, v merchant. peg možai, sparxai Pš, maživai O1, čūr, max Y, mex S, (wooden, on pelletbow) zangiāk S pellet-bow, v bow pen kalam P penis yēn Pš, yēnd O, yīn O1, čol, lāusi P, yžky Y, čūl, dŭr S, yōr S, W, pat W, čūlak (?), jus S maxluk S, xalq W perfection kamâl P. perfume xužbūī P, a kind of kalânfâr P

perhaps šāyī Pš, magam P, albatt S, W perishable fâni P period mausum P period of two years lohsaxo Y peritoneum spešta Pš permission ruxsat Y permit, to lam dah- P perplexed han an P person žawai Pš, nafai P, W Š, tan S, xălg W, (a certain) felâna/ī P perspiration xwala Pš, arăq O, Y, S, W, vola O, anlo O', arak P, S, xul Y, xaır S, xil W pestle lawar Ps, yursang O, bayric. molai Q1 pheasant pātačūr Y pice paisa P pick, to būž- O, čū- Y, čen- S, čip- W pick up, to orew, therew. I' pick-axe kulang P, giže Y picture negâr P piebald gaž (v āyažel), prāng v piang) Pš. ablaq P, kaš Y, čol, rangā-1 gūnagūn S, ar xēl, cūy, dard W piece tok P Cf morsel pieces, in small 172a P pierce, to kif- S pierced, to be suvedel Pš pig mato, [sarkūzai] Pš, nâlat O, vūg S, S, xiq W pigeon kauntai Pš, kaftar O, kabūtar I', kovio Y, kovis S, kibit W, čebād Š pilan palâu P, palau Y pillaw (a kind of) damphok P pile up, to yåδ- W, tâž-? Š pilgrimage markad P pillar, v post people xalag O, mardum P, Š, ralk P, S, pillow takyā O, bālišt O', bānapaī, taisori P, tagio, virzane, vrazidine Y, tok-sarī, vozd S, təkiyā, vorz W, mutaka, vīžjēj Š

pin (of a spindle) češo Y pincers ambūr O, W, S, mo Y, or S, cepio Y. pinch škulak O1 pinch, to ceb- Y, cerup W pine cone, edible zānyezai (v Ρš pine udzina Y, deram, nāstai S, pit ?, yirya W, edible bedr W pine-maiten luū Y, yūn>k (prob marmot) S pine-nut, keinel of the zivayak O pistachio pista O', pestă Y, S pit cayul Y, glac W; 'for storing butter' hanjūr W pit-ceal kemur S place yālai, 'tūn Pš, jāt O, P, Y, Š, jāk O', žava Y, jā S, (to this) ēken hāk P, (in that very) ökân P, for putting pots) yif W, (where the horse is bound) pēš āxər S place, to (kše' šodal Pš, g., nīw O, , uh, lam dah-, nhēn P. wāst-Y, nezdav-W, lā k- š Cf put plain v au arī O, maidan O, O', P, S, on W, mero, samo O', dak, pusta P, dašk' Y, dašt S, W, dašt medan, pu-ta S plat n bray Pš plant, to tân · 1', parrouf W Cf weave plan taqbīr P, Y plane, oriental v chenai planet waxs(" S plank frum, tax-ru, taxta S plant buta P. nabat S, nabot W, cubm S, n of a) wayuna Wn 169, ome, xerywaž (v .car) Pš, pičili, šiyiko, šax V. Cf. shrub plant, to niatel, zanel Pš, niyā. Y, nënd-8 nund W plaster, to axeral v xaj Pš, šift- Y plastering šəqā) S

plate kāsa O, & S, šayı O, majma P, tâvčak S platform čārsīr, raža Y, rež S, raž W platoon turp P play loba Pš, bâzī O, e S, štomi O' xediya Y, nat S, štīk W play, to nivaz- S. please, to šāyəl Pš, rīm. Y, befår. S please God emšalla P pleased xũš () Cf agreeable. , pleasure awand Ps, rubi O, ars P. xušāne Y Pleiades ["pairmoni" Wn], perune Pš bol (?) Y plenty yalabagi P Cf much plough yaxt(a) Wn 169, yaue Pš, 'spâr, yūx O, spāro, yuwe O1, kulba 1', kugo, kišča, katā, sporo Y, kəlbu, kīrūg S, kirən W, səpâr S, (peg in the) saryāj Y, (part of) takyc Y Cf ploughing, ploughshare, plough, to karəl Pš, kár- O¹, Y, mēlēw P, kīr- S, wīžd Š plough-bullock gažōī O plough-handle hostaganu Y, volák S, ıjīšək W ploughing kīriš S, čērij Š ploughman čērijgār Š plough pole awusp Y, aurop S, hest, wəšp W plongh-share spāra, tīyāšə Pš, sarīspār O, karkie O', kando Y, spor S, sopundr. sipor, stārs W plough wedge acardine, yuvazqo Y plug mūņai (not niūnai) Pš plum ālū Y plunder ulja P pocket jībak P podex yara, kūna Pš, kūn O, kunatai O', lunč-e kuturika, töngök P, yumina pero, šaškot Y, šen S Cf anus

poet šâher P poetry šâher i P point (of a knife) $n\bar{u}k$ O, P, $n\bar{e}\tilde{s}$ P, $n\bar{u}l$ Š poison was Ps, zār O, P, S, W, Š, tarkai P, sankiyo, zahar, žaio Y Polar Star qath W polish, to zdoyal Pš, say- O Cf rub polite, v courtcous polo-ball kyrpo Y polo-stick hālo Y pomegranate anâr P, Y, punduk O', alāno Y pommel of a saddle ngūbar'v kuab) Pš pond wasta (v wandanai) Pš, auz (), 1 dand O, O1, talān O1, hanz P Cf lake pony yābū Y poor yarīb O', P, Y, S, W, sâdaī P, âjiz Y, bēcora S, nātuān W, ouan S poplar gulramen, rameno, tarik Y. safē/idor S, W, wurmēk S, piyar, 11zabarg W porcupine sungūn Wn 162, škon Pš, sukal O, O1, šuyur P Cf hedgehog porridge joz, xastāj O1, atrle Y, oš Y W, pačār, sodik, vašpa S, aš, vušpa Š, (barley-) daılē S portion jurē O, baxš S possessor xâu and P post stan Pš, sutun O, se° Š, styān O', ustūn P, ustuno Y, stīn S, 15° W posteen postin O, Š, postaki P, betak S pot xumb S, (large, earthen) mat O1 Cf. cooking pot pouch (for gunpowder) kamar, kutiā Y pound, thump tak O pound, to tikaw- O pour, to z²vai- Y, (into) kat- W, (out) sanjel Pš, andaz-, yurzēw- P, dri-, na-, zuy- Y poverty varibi P

power hoquf, jabr, quuat, tâb, xudiat. zūrī P, (having this much) hawekaī P Cf strength powerful jabar, quwatdar, onak, mutabar, zīvāwar P Cf strong praise, to stayel Pš, stau- W praising târif P prayer nmūng Pš, duwâ O, P, munājāt, numâž O, māz O1, salāt, nemâz P, na° Y, S, dua, nəmōz W precipice yulp Y. pregnant brālba, warla Pš, umīduār P, °varo Y, hamâl P, amēdvāi S, varenj W, (animal) auest P, vəzažo Y preparation zerma Pš, sarištu, tayârī l' prepare, to rez P, gax S prepared jo! O, jo!, puxta, 1 âst, tayâ! P presence nēla O present n, v gift present (adj.) hâzer P press down, to drabol Pš, wordenz W previous tarmâl P price baya O, bhâi, nirx P, kimat Y, gimmat, way W, (paid for bilde tūyâna P prince šázáda O princess bēgum, xanem P prison bandixâna P prisoner yasīr S. W proclaimed ayan P produce hâsel P produced paida P promise lauz O, ād, wâda P prop aram(ai), (ai) Pš propel, to nikiz-yek O proper munâsib P property mâl O, P, Y, S, daulat O, P, Y, Cf riches prophet paryumbar O, par' Y prostrated, to be par zedol Pš protect, to satel, zrorel Ps CI guard

protection parvariš S protector mgawan P proud sarferâz P pudenda šarm Y. puerperal langa, zaryāla Pš pull, to $k\bar{a}n$ - Wn 161, $k\tilde{s}\partial l$ Pš, $ka\tilde{s}$ kan- P, xoš- Y, xaš- S, xāš W; (out) ner- P, nig- Y, (up weeds) žimež- Y pulse (vein) mežâz P pulse (crop) vāmu Y, mašori Š pulverized hinl-yek O. pumpkin kadiw W. pungent tekku P pupil šâqird P, of the eye [kasai], torai (v tor) Pš, yrasī O, duko O', šūi S, mərdik W. puppy kūčuk O, °ek W, gurjī, kūčuk P, cokena, ckonake Y, oskonok S, seken W, čaxbuc(?) Š. pure nož Pš, pâkiza O purpose madlab, maxsūd, niyat P. pursuing $r\bar{u}f$ P pus zawa, raš Pš. zū O¹, rīm P, narzū Y pustule, v. blister. put, to ban., g., nīw- O, new- O1, ečēw- P, fəcinā- Y, nūš-, wēd- S, dā-, nēv- S Cf place, make to sit put fire to, to, v. kindle. put on, to, v dress put to flight, to tišaw-ōk O, v flight puttees partauo Y

0

quail nwaraz Pš, baţiēr O¹, uojyo Y, worc S, wŏlč W
quarrel dâwâ, guftigū P
question puštana (v. pustedəl) Pš, pəštan(n)a O, puṛsân P, pursān W
quick zyar Wn 169, žir Pš, čabuk O, sēr(ə) O¹, tūnd, zak P, jald S
quickly dastī, rau, raw, talwasa P, zūt Š
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quiet ēman Pš, karâr, tat P quilt zope Y Cf clothes quince beht P. quite xūb S quiver šwalai Pš, nadun W

\boldsymbol{R}

radish turb O, sārb Š rafter, v. roof beam rag n yūnį O, latai P, lūg W rain [wor], pašakāl Pš, bārān [Pš], O, O1, P, Y, S, Š, auyār, yâr P, nīv, wariyo Y, novok S, boron, wūr W, dinyâ (cf Skold dinya) S. (heavy-) šeba Pš. rain, to uarēž- Wn 166, woredal Pš, vor-O, yâr-, wāš P, nov- Y, bōr-, nav- S rainbow [da budaī tāl, sra-u šna Pš], kamân-ı Rustam O, S, W, Š, sūršino O1, kamânī, nāxčurī, tofang-i Rustam P, mīra-avlasto Y, nerau W. ramy ozgū P, (season) pašakāl Pš raise, to riyawdəl Pš, wustaw- O, uštēw- P, škob- Y rake namurzg W ram maž Pš, aurai O, kuča, manok P, pozeži Y, jandar, koškar(?) S, vošk'ela, k'ala, pŭs, tux, watox W. mežīj, nīr Š, sheep, male nārk S ram in, to lub. W. ramchikor žəiz W ransack, to šanel Pš rat maža (v mažak) Pš, golak O, gio O1, gurbamūš P, mirmušān Y ration jure O raven vi dy [Afr wroy] Pš, xun Y, xarn, zūy S, šend W ravine pal3, xwar Pš, kurri P, yor, karum, žirāv W, darra Š Cf valley raw om Pš, xāmē O, yām O1, hâmo P, xăm P, Y, S, ying W.

ray mārīj, paloša Pš razor pâki O reach, to awas- O, O1 read, to lwastel 1 Ps, aw- O, ywos, haw-O1, xân- P, buxon- Y, belav- S, joy- W, (žoy- Sk] Š ready hâzer P, tayâr P, Y, S reap, to reb- Wn 167, rawdəl 1 Pš, dir- O, lərī- Y, deray- S, drāw- W reaping lau Pš, drau O, lorovo Y, dəryok S, dırau W, câw S reason sabap/b P, S, šâen P recent yand W Cf new, young recite, to xân P reciter (of tales) qessaxân P, (of prayers) fâtehaxân P reckoning isāb O, O¹ Cf calculation recognize, to [pēzn- Wn], (pe-)žandəl Pš, pazan- O, pazdan- W Cf know red sūr Pš, šūš O, sūšr O¹, hīnčakoī, surkh(o) P, qulgūn, surx Y, sərx S, səkr W, rūšt Š, light. vūr Y reed šar-yašar Pš, nar O, P, Y, S, dumb P, nol, ašilenijo Y, niyok S. nālčik W, kırūšt Š. reflection yaur P refreshed tâza P refutation radd P regard, to (par-), thâr- P Cf. look regarding pari, sail P regiment paltan P regret pežmân P, pšaimānī S regretful pošarmon W. reject, to šayəl Pš relation, blood [xpul, xēš Pš], xēš S, release, to xalāsa O1, hēl kan. P released, v let loose religion dīn S remain, to ūzeh- P, fəris- S, tōž-, wərəč- W Cf left behind

remaining pāte Pš, $\sigma zuk = 0, b\hat{a}k\bar{\imath},$ mânda P remedy elâj, darmân P. remembering awē P repair adel P, petuin W reproof malamat P repulsion radd P request ara Pš requesting dâdxân P. resemble, to mono kan- S, mono car- W resembling mesl, misâl P, gnik S hke resin žāwla Pš, šīrxēšt P, čirwašk, waziya Y, šelmək S respite mātal, thāl P rest of a matchlock degazaye Y resting karâr P. restless biuar P retirement stana Pš return byarž Pš return, to tos. Wn 167, jār-watəl Pš, čəγū· Y, pıšεw- W returned stūn (v. stana) Pš revetting wall wask W. revolve, to šar. O reward mujiâ P. rheum z³kōm W Cf mucus rhubarb cukrī O, čugure, šiiko Y, rūv S. rib puštaž Pš, °iē O¹, kabəryā O, °uryâ P, °arye S, hadd e kaburyāīkā P, alixa, per seye Y, ostok, kamar, wolow, parik S, °ək, purs W, pērs S ribs, the place under and between sar 1-d1l Y rice wriže Pš, rezan O, rizon O1, bei enj P, S, raho P, burinj Y, boo W, bio S, gorīni Y, (unhusked) mai Pš, šole Pš, O¹, šōl O, šēl P, šāle Y, (a small grain of) mahin P, (kernel of) šamâx O, (milk-) čirgrinj Y, (with dhal) xuško Y, (with meat) šulo Y

rich dâk O, daulatmand, mutabar P, akābur, bāi, dauladâr, kuatin Y, māldār S, bāi S, W riches (wordly) dunyâ P. Cf property ride, to viδāw- W. rider swor Pš, s(u)war O, Y, W, so P, sa° Š, suvār S. riding suwarī P ridge lerai (v loi 2) Pš, (between irrigation plots) wirg W Cf border, embankment ridicule peše Pš rifle, v. gun. rifles, fighting with tofangjangī P rifleman $tufan(g)d\hat{a}r$ P. right durust O, adel P, rast P, S, rawâ P, urzuy Y right (hand) šica Wn 169, šai Pš, xuai, xwarinca O, xurēnco O1, urzvy Y, rost S, W, wurzg(2) W. rightly raste Y. ring harkâra P, murdik S; (finger-) calai (v cəlai), gūta Pš, nguštrī O¹, anguštarī O, P, S, yuštī P, pargušče Y, čelik, ingitok S, anguštara, plongošt W, čila Š ring dove paxtak O, fâxtar P, fâxtaga, mıgya Y, fāxtē S, °a Š rıng-worm sponaı Pš rinse, to puru- W rip up, to riz- W ripe pox Wn 168, pox, xurin Pš, alzok, puxōk O, kikyn, pšaī, šām Y, pēx, sēr Š iipen, to peš- W. ripple maks W ripped čīr P rise, to xatəl Pš, wust- O, dak, ušt-, xīst kan P, žib-Y, xaz-S, giz-W, andez- S. rıval sīāl Pš

°āi S, wōkxâna O, daryāb dəryō W rivulet laštai (v. lašta) Pš, žī P Cf road lār Pš, C, rāī O, O¹, panân P, pādo Y, rā, sarāk, šoval S, vodek W, pūnd Š, (steep) paranyiko Y roar, to arras jan- P roast, to alwoyal, teyal, wrītawul (v wrīt) Pš, para O', vroč Y. roasted writ Ps. rob, to čūr- P robber rahzan S, rah-zan W rock parša Pš, kamar O¹, P, S, y31 S rock crystal belaur, kūtī S. rod šipk W roll, to layar- O, wahew P, yaltan Y roll down, to ryaštel (v. yajel) Pš, dugur P roll together, to palēw- P roll up, to yārəl (v yarəl) Pš, zuāy- W rolling yēl P rolling-pin zifkyan Y. roof čat [Pš], O1, čīw, pon O, pon O1, ko P, iščių Y, kiskūd S, iskakut, kūt W, dišīt S Cf ceiling roof-beam bamš (v weša), weša Pš, °2 O1, destak O, da° S, xar, mowēši, tırraı O¹, wē P, gat, frāspiy, naxdaru, pārse, patare, wār Y, tīr, walč, uāl S, boin, pərwās, patari, sipask, uas W, sepâcc, wūs S roof board mitxon O1, destak P, lovoro Y, taxta S, bit, tauric W roof-gutter $n\hat{a}x$ P room xũna Pš, yaza Y room, to find- uuc- S root wex Pš, bēx O, W, myūcan, wuliē O¹, bīx, γīx, kōrdi P, vən Y, wēx S, unīx W, wrēša(?), viēš S

river toe Pš, daryā O, P, Y, Š, oāb O1,

root-fibre wiye Wn 160, zela, wula Pš, nišā P, Y, woxo Y, roštē S, rišta, wāsn W rope wandar, biyāsta, wāš (v. uandanai) Pš, bēš O, bēs, piriē O¹, bâš P, tanou Y, rasan, võš S, šiven W, váš Š, (fastening plough-pole) čēr W, (made of willow-bark) tivo Y. Cf

yoke-rope rose gulâb P, (white) phul-wārai Pš rot, to pu-S

rotten sxā, wrost Pš, šrī-būk O, līu, pio Y, pusida S, pitk W.

rough zeraž Wn 159, laye, lwār, ziž Pš, dīž O1, drušč Y, derušt S, dirišt, skurf W

round yund Pš, girdai O1, girdo ·Y, pet W

rub, to muršen. Wn 161, mušal, zdoyal Pš. mušaw, say. O, muxa-, xaž- O', astar-, menth. P, ləmön-, măgy-, sā. Y, māṇd-, saw-, šak S, mānd-, siw-, sux- W. Cf smear

rub to powder vizam- W

rubbing (of a new-born child) waryānai (āyažəl) Pš

ruby lâl P

rue spānda (v. spalanai) Pš, (seed of) spalanai Pš

rug (knitted) kâlin P, palās P, W, pe° S, kalıyo, qālın Y, peles Š, (woven) gılım O, S, cam P, S

rum jazir Y

ruined pər Pš, yīran P.

rumour gap P

rump, of horse seyari W run, to zyāstel, paredel Pš, dang-ok O, dhâw dah, hala(i) kan-, halka kan- P, bədaway, γāz- Y, araz-, γuz-, zīδ- S, gafs- W, (nâstīj-), žâz- Š, make todhâuēw- P, yazavd- Y

run away, to v flee rung of a ladder surbidak S running trap O1. rupee rīpē O, čhataī, rūpai P, °ayo Y, °ē S, °īā W, °iya Š. rust zangar Y, zang W.

S

sacrifice qurbán, satka P.

saddle zīn Pš, O, P, Y, S, zīnd O¹, palan Y, pāling S, poon W, bəbān S, (donkey-) koriān S, mūlā, təqūm W, (-cloth) jaley; laštokum Y, telik Š, (-girth) trok Y

safe salâmat O, P

safety amân P.

saint buzurg, pīr P.

saline efflorescence rezg W

saliva lara, tūk, u užgyē Pš, putu O1, âw-ı ğundıka P, tuf P, W, S, pixoyo, tfə Y, təf S, yižg W

salt mālga Pš, nīmēk O, nomēk, mēk O1, namâ P, nəmālyo Y, nəmēyd S, nə muk W, namak S

salutation salâm P, Y, W, salāmat Y, mūbarak W

sand səga Wn 159, šəga Pš, rēg O, S, W, S, sigo O1, riq, seya P, seyio Y, luwâre W, šâš Š, (grain of) sistə Wn 169

sandal caplī O1

satan, v. devil

satisfied mor Pš, dak O1, str P, ser S, satk W

satisfied, to be bar Y

savoury mazadār Y

saw n. aro O1, arra Y, Š, gir Y, arrē S sew, to gand- O1

say, to, v speak.

scab pam, pax Pš, garg P; (of a wound) war, xež Pš Cf scar

scabbard yəlâft O, yelâf P, S, heno. tupiya Y. scales tarāzū Y, ozē S, Š, tarāzū W scar dây P, hork Y, work W. Cf scab scare away, to putrum(b)- W. scarf lungi P. scatter, to lwastal 2 Pš, phiš- P scissors ka(i)tt P, qačio Y, qaiči S Cf shears scold, to huwâš- P, vron- S scorpion laram Pš, O¹, gaždum O, P, Š, oumba Y, čayardum P, kurmo, škrafla Y, gāzdəmb S, gıždım, yəndāl W scrape, to skoyəl Pš, kawēr - P, zərend- W scratch, to skoyəl Pš, gəraw- O, khâ-, kawēr P, drup W, (oneself) xūr S scream bayāra (v. yaredəl) Pš, nāra P scream, to žirty- Y. scrotum [xota Pš], laura O, xōyâ P, dyurya Y, $x\bar{a}y\bar{\epsilon}$ S, yum n c > k W, varīn S scum, v foam. scurf xwar Pš sea daryâ O. sea-monster nahāng S seam ngīnda, skoe Pš search, to šanəl Pš, luj. P, kōs. Y, čalg W. Cf seek searching talab P season mausom S, oim, fasl W second (adj) bal Pš, dīm O second irrigation, v irrigation. secret râz P security amân P see, to kas- Wn 167, goral, katal, līdal Pš, wīn- Pš, Y, S, W, Š, juš- O, jūn- O1, buch-, dhör, tul P, kas-S, ces-S. seed toma, zanai Pš, tuxm P, tiev(2)m S, δeng, tayom W, toym S Cf grain. seek, to dhew-, lur- P, tela-, wuskuj- Y, škarr-, təlap- S, škūrg- W, talāb- Š Cf. search.

seer (weight) sir P. seize, to na Wn 160, nīwul Pš. nas. O. âleš-, gurī- P, fār-, txot-, yurv-, ptromd-o Y, nas-, zenz- S, durz- W, anjā- S Cf take select, to, v choose. self xpal (jān) Pš, jan O, P, xui O, xwai O1, xud, (xu)xu P, xoyo Y, xadak (v xē) S, žăt W, xu Š Cf own selfwilled xudrūya P sell, to prolal Pš, pray- O, praw- O1, pharât P, plār- Y, par δē-S, pūrind-W, parδā· Š send, to āstawul, ležəl Pš, šičaw- O, wesej- P, škor-, xuzd- Y, āstay- S, s³tıy. W, bâz. Š. sense agl O, huš P separate byal Pš, alâhida, judâ, žahī P, wodyo Y, jidā W separate, to wār- Y separation judái P sepulchre markad P serpent, v snake. servant nūkar O, P, nau° S, W, mazdūr P, šadar Y, yəlom, marām W service xizmat O, P, xed° P, xis° Y, nūkarī P, muzdur(2) Y sesamum kunzala Pš. set, to (about the sun) viš- Y, wis- W settled taī P seven owo Pš, hō O1, wō O, hōt P, avdo Y, ovo S, hub W, ūvo Š seven months, a period of afmah \bar{a} S. seventeen awēs O, O', habda, hattos P, avda Y, ovdados S. seventy awiā Pš, awailu O, awāi O1, šīnīm yuštak P, (h)aftād S. severe yâweri P

sew, to [gandəl Pš], undərəw- O, andarf P,

°2rv-S, žŭy-Y, d2rev-W, ancāv-Š,

(with large needle) yundr iēcan(?) O1. Cf. darn shabby, tattered telt Y shade sıyā, sōraı (v sıyā) Pš, syâkă O, °o O', sēy P, sayo Y, såye S, sâya W shady side of a valley nisor P, nicar, nusiy Y, nišorm S, oirm W shake, to drabel, šanedel Pš, xultaw-ōk O, jukēw, jumbew- P, °ēn- Š, firšon-, muža- Y, tap- W, (apricots) uvlun- W, (dust) cwan- O, O¹, (the head) $cuk\bar{c}w$ - P, (a sieve) parīč- P shaking n dagas, jūlē P shallow rangar Pš, tunuk Y shame šarəm O', šarm P, Y, S, W, fšarm Y, ayå S, šarmindagī W shame, to put to šarmēw. P shameless binango P shampoo, to muta- O1. share hisâb P, asē S sharp tera Pš, tendura P, tez P, S, S, triy Y tiz Y, W, teyd W, ciš, nēza Š sharpness bruž O shave, to tožel (v taršaj), xriyel Pš, rīn- O, thâ- P, tuyd, xird- Y, tūl- S, tiš- W, tēš- Š shawl šāl O, P, sariē O' Cf blanket. sheaf cațai, tăngai O¹, larze, mišča Y shear, to skastəl Pš, kurta- O¹, fxa- Y, varīn- W shears bastiko Y. sheath, v. scabbard sheep yard P, gespand W, jaendar S, (ewe) mež (v maž) Pš, mēī O, mai O1, W, mo/âyorūk P, mūo Y, mēl S, $ma\check{z}$ Š, (fat-tailed) $gh\bar{a}n(d)$ $\gamma ar\bar{o}$, guspand P Cf ram sheep, wild, v. oorial sheepskin munyo Y sheep pen špol Pš, paržin Y Cf goatpen

sheepskin coat, v posteen shelf run W shepherd špa Pš, čupân O, Y, Š, ča° S, šwān O, špon O1, xuwân P, xəš(u)wān Y, špūn W, šibone Š shield kangal O1, separ P, kere Y shin-bone *wozai (v. wāzə) Pš, wōzēi O1, neliko Y, kâh e ling Š shirt këš O, kës O1 kâz P, pīrahān, yəktaha Y, iai S, piran, yaktă W, korče, kurta (?) Š shirtband girvān Y, kaitan P shivering paryaz Pš Cf tremble shoe $d\bar{\imath}c\bar{\imath}$ O, $du\bar{c}\bar{e}$ O¹, jasta, $kausaj\hat{a}$, moza, paizār P, oar W, kofše Y, kăfš S, W, kāvš Š, (Kafir) tačinge Y. shoe string yursiliko Y, bānd S shoot, a young nehâl P shoot, to wištel Pš, tefek daha Y shooting, v hunting shooting-ground šekârjâi P. shooting star likeyahā O1 shop dukân P shopkeeper dŭkändâr O, P, Y shore, v bank. short land [Pš], O, O', yanoho, kot, lundu P, kūkya Y, kot S, kət W, k'ut, pašt S short breathed fšai Y shoulder wuže Wn 161, oža Pš, doš O, galy O, O1, šână O, P, 5žo, wulai O1, pēšāna P, suvdo Y, sīvo S, šona, yīsp W, sīvδ Š, (-blade) walar Pš, uulyor, $y\bar{a}$ me Y, $fi\bar{u}k$, šona S, fiak W, (back of) fyak S, (top of) iskacusk W shouting kiči O, žayie O1, yauyâ P shovel, v spade (wooden) show n saila Y show, to wīyār- Wn 167, šowul Pš, nišān dah. P, nišāž- Y, nəmay S, δīsιv- W

showing $\tilde{s}\tilde{o}m$ O, $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}m$ O¹, $n\tilde{e}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}n$ S, nišon W shroud kafan O shrub buta P, (n. of a) balak P, âričo, ašasto, bām-sezīo (jujuhe?), larīva, vuryakondi, wulyeyo, xio, yūmena Y shut, to xamben-S, (one's eye) numul-S shuttle respuk W. sky, to bugnēdal Pš, žurox- Y, with in- W sick, v ill sickle lor 1 Pš, das O, daš O, deš P, Pruyus Y, dūr S, Sitr W, Serf S side zarma Wn 169, carma (v carman), lor 2, xwā Pš, palau O, dūbara, kenára P, pālū S, (from that) phârī P, (from this) $phy\hat{a}ii P$, (to that) $p\bar{u} P$, vračova Y, (to this) pī P, mīr čova Y sieve pezna (v pezəl) Pš, čeyel O, yalbēl O1, S, Š, prazen O1, elak, parīčon P, frāybīl, yarbīl, hīlak Y, frazbīz, yalbīl W sieve, to parwīž- Y sigh [aswelat < *ā-s(u)wāhtta-ka· Pš], sā O', âhū P, hāzer Y sigh, to kašēw- P sight nandāra Pš. sign išárat, nemáyán, nišán P silence xap S, garor W silent valar Pš, harâr O, čub P silk wrešam (v wrešal) Pš, aurušum O, pilo O1, birīšum P, vrī° Y, abrī° W, fəršəme, kač Y, arvēšum S, abrēšum Š sılk-worm kač-kurma Y silver [spīn zar Pš], nohra O, no W, spīu-zar O1, čhaţaī, nuqra P, no° Š, sīm P, droxum, nukrâ Y, nok ${}^{9}r_{\overline{\epsilon}}$ S sımılar cer Pš, mesl P sın gunā O, P, Y sinew wuža Pš, lagge O1, rag S, yer W sınful qeğ P singing darkūp(?) P.

single wir W. sink, to gyıbō- Y sinner qunagâr O, P sip, to šām O Cf drink sister xor 1 Pš, xwār O, O1, xī P, 1xō, ıxıko Y, yəxtai S, xun W, yax S sister-in-law xījinjek P, antorč W, (brother's wife) wi andar Pš. oer O. O'. biyājinj P, zinio Y, vrūdkuč S, vrithand W, xiūn Š, (husband's brother's wife) yor Pš, ja O¹, ixčogo, yūr wulo, yana Y, yūδ S, bakš-kənd W, (husband's sister) nandror Pš, xšīnī O^1 , nanū P, dəxtandār(?) S, xuyun W, (wife's husband's sister) xuyēyeno Y, (sister's brother's wife) xušdāuman S, (wife's sister) xošīna Pš, bâjâ O, xuyeyeno Y, xasırz W sit down, to cī-n- Wn 160, nāstal Pš, spūcaw- O, n- O, O1, nhīn- P, niž- Y, nīd-S, nezd W, nev Š sit down! yāl(?) W sit down, to make cinaw- Wn 166, naw- O, na O1, nhēn- P, nailā- Y, bəšān- S six špož Wn 158, špaž Pš, šū O, šō O1, xī P, uxšo Y, xuāļ S, šād W, xåuš Š sixteen špāras (v špaž) Pš. šūlēs O. šwalēs O1, šāzda, xudos P, šonzda Y, xuāledos S sixty špeta Pš, šūštu O, šwēštū O¹, ši yuštak P, šast P, S, žuroiwist Y sixth day xuručīna P. skin carman Pš, oun O1, xwai Pš, post O, Š, wzAn O¹, pūst, pūšt, xâm P, karăst Y, korost, pāsk S, pĭst W Cf goatskin skin, inflated žai Pš, iz O1, mašk, sandarā P, dril, maška Y, dēcāk, wuznuk, xēčē S dock, obī-sənoc, kəlvår,

yāzn W, zenâc Š Cf

skin-bag (for flour) xalfan Y, (small) laxčio Y, kulvår S, pitvår W. skull [kaparaī Pš], kyemalyo Y, kal, kapāl S skull-cap, v cap sky āsmān O, O¹, P, S, falah O, āyēš P, asmino Y, osmån W, âs° Š sky, clear, v clear sky slander, to šār- W. slate sūī Y slave mrayaı Pš, mig O, mret O1, yulâm P, bande, hade, ida Y, andag W Cf servant slave-girl wīnja [*bandači] Pš. wīnza O1, uliko Y, indigunj W. slaughter, to, v. kill. sledge hammer badīr Y Cf. hammer sleep $x\bar{u}b$ ($x\bar{v}b$) Pš, xau O, $xw\bar{a}b$ O¹, xom P, xūbun Y, minduk, misūk, xāb S, yunuk (v yınōt) rəxupəm W, xdud, xūdm Š sleep, to min-, mis- S, režup- W sleep, to go to nw-astak O, rhīz- P sleeve lastūņai (v lās) Pš, avlāsto Y, zol S, drost W. slender narai Pš, $b\hat{a}i\,tk(\delta k)$ P slide, to, v slip slime, green—on standing water yobnaduk S Cf. green plant growing in ponds sling mačovna Pš, falaxmān S, škupn W slip, to šmuš-vēk O, laxš- P, suxuy- Y, ləxč- S, līv- W, zenēid Š slip, to make to belišmān- S slippery šwai Pš, šwaya O¹, lhano P, rińga, soxauk Y Cf smooth sloe amaxno Y slope pecumai, zauar Pš. Cf hillside sloping down of a field lamerz W. slowly wro Pš, dēr O, wrīkye O¹, maršk

P, məlān Y, āstia S

small konkai, wur Pš, zait O, zērt O', čīno P, rīza Y, čət, čov, maida, rızyāk S, zəkalaı W, yəlik, hatrāik S. Cf tiny small-pox gul Y smear, to axeral Pš, mar, menth- P, da-, labakow- Y, mâl- Š Cf rub smeared with yark P. smearing axer O'. smell but O, P, Y, W, S, bhâm P, vul W, (good) būr S, xužbūr Y, (bad) gandabūi P, wah S Cf stinking smile tabasum O, pūsxand, tamassum P smoke dund, lū Pš, dūd O, lugar O1, dhī P, kušūn, lūi Y, dīb S, bīt W, bud Š smoke, to cing- (not č-1) Wn 167, čilim xaš W, čaž- Š smoke-hole darwačá O, rižy, sārdo O1, rūčon P, rūžen Y, wurcūn S, rīcn W, rūz Š, (covering of) darxufto Y smooth post Pš, rińga, s²xauk Y, suδγ W, širn Š Cf. slippery snake mangār Pš, or O', már O, haždâr, kirm P, īž Y, woxs S, fuks, mor W, devūsk Š, (black & white) kapča mar O, (slightly poisonous) šuturmâr O snare lūma Pš, O¹, lwīna [< mlūna?], tor 2 Pš, lomago, paš, pežiko Y, alkē S, δung W, pēθ Š Cf net, trap. sneeze nžai Pš, čiya O¹, atsa, pan P, yənīgo Y, axse, sakāu S, aqsa W, aksan, piršak Š sneeze, to kyirf- Y, təriš- S, feix-, porš, štref W. snipe novuže Y. snore, to xorud- W. snout wurbūz Pš snow uāwra Pš, yōš O, yōšr O¹, yarp P, warfo Y, baif S, W, warf, Im(?), zem W, žənij S

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snow-storm šūriš 'P
suuff naswār Y.
so much do mra (v. mra) Pš, hega,
   höweka P, ala(?), ind, mind Y, dunda S.
soap sābūn S
sod, v. clod of earth
soft post Pš, nārm O, S, Š, nōšr O'.
   maro P, polem Y, melāim, sust S,
   mulaim, narm, xošk W, melāyim Š
softly marok P
soil khen P. šət S
soldier supâ O, fauj, nūkar, sipâi P,
   spāhī Y, fauji S, sallot S, W, pel-
   tanē Š
sole of the foot kafe pâ P, S, štanan
   polo Y, nūlsor S, šatta W, kaf-e-
   pâ8 S.
some c\partial, j\partial ne (v. co) Pš, c\bar{u}n(d) O, \delta\hat{a},
   čâwar, khâm P, čand Y, S, Š
somebody kūi W.
something ca O, zâ P, čēi, ištiva Y,
   čīzī S, W.
somewhere kâwun P
son zoe (v. zowul) Pš, klán O, kulán O1,
   puš, zây P, pūr Y, zōt S, pətr W,
   puc Š, (only-) kašai (v kaši) Pš. Cf
   step-son.
son-in-law zom Wn 158, züm Pš, O¹,
   dâmâd O, W, Š, nâsai O, zâm P,
   zamai Y, domod, zəmüð S
song badela O, oila O', bait O, P,
   fagyıke, naxš Y, sâz-lūf (1mper?) Š
soot kaləy Y, katoit, vizəm W
soothing dilâsâ(ī) P
sorcerer jâdūgar P
sorcery jâdū P.
sore, v boil.
sore-eyed ləč Pš
sorrel selxiko Y
sorrow nūl, paxsāk (v paxsedəl) Pš, jām
   S. W. k'in S.
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sorrow(ful) yamgin S
sort qısm S, šəyd W
soul jân P, S, nəfs Y, jōn W
sound n, žay Pš, awaz O, yax P, (of
   falling water) yaryarā P
sound (adj ), v. health, in
soup zwamna Pš, širwa O, sio O1, šuo P,
   šə° S, ša° Š, pławā P, šurvāi Y,
   °vâ W.
sour tərəw Wn 169, trīw Pš, trūš O,
   tof O1, sit, turš P, trišp Y, teroš S,
   teresp W, tušp Š.
sour milk, v milk.
south junūb O, jn° S, jan° W
sow, to [kor. Wn], karəl Pš, kar. O,
   nikiz· O¹, phīš· P, (tēym) deh· S, žoδ· W,
space (below the ribs) tusak O', (between
   fingers) grut Pš, gruft O1
spade kroz Wn 168 [cf. 'korotung' to dig],
   yūm Pš, Pš<sup>1</sup>, bēl O, S, W, Š, kurāžī
   O', pī P, bīl, bilčo Y, (wooden)
   bhambī P, fīa, fīyiko, kyarazo, sunīko
   Y, fī S, W, pēi W.
span [gəttī Wn], wlešt Pš, jusp O, jbasp,
   zbast O', belišt, kučok P, wuleyo,
   wojou Y, wubīt S, wajab S, W, avārt,
   haret, wulet, xarek W, wided S, (from
   thumb to fore-finger) gekü Wn 168
   [< Lhd \(\bar{q}\)okh\(\alpha\)], wuzar [alang, langor

    *ā-∂anga ] Pš, gur bizak O¹, loho-
   guščo, pīx Y, belis, čārangešt, pēx S
spark skarwata (v skor) Pš, bacıraı O1,
   colox Y, °ax W, trāxnik Y, čilyazek,
   ša'la S
sparkle, to lapon Y
sparrow muryat (v marya) Pš, gunjišk O,
   gio S, mırga O, oo O1, murčē P,
   brayıko Y, məryök S, mingas W,
   videč [w 1] Š
sparrow-hawk, v hawk
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speak, to way wai Wn 160/7, lawdal, wayəl Pš, yuš O, ywəs- O¹, jaj- P, (gab) daha-, \check{z} - Y, (gab) deh-, $y\bar{e}\check{z}$ - S. žān· W, lūv- Š spear sāng O1, naiza P, naizo Y special nature xâsiatân P spectacle sails Y, tamâšâ Š spectacles amake P speech wrāša Pš. lavz S spicery masâla P. spider yana Pš, buzwa O, O1, jola O, °âk, dīwurūk, yafak P, dorzkuryuz, ustada, zariškyo Y, jilayok S, ustodek, sup. šāmbāf W. gilimbōf W, Š, yandāl W, va°, tanābak, tanīzak Š Cf tarantula spike (of grain) laša Pš, kišār Y spill, to $ha_{\gamma} \ kan \cdot P$ spin, to yarəl, wresəl Pš, ras O. O'. muza O1, yī- Y, yev S, žip- W. spindle cāšai Pš, čarxā, wahēwalo P, čarč Y, ifč S, citr W, žib Š, (pin of the) carmak Y; (wheel of) duk Y. spinning-wheel carx Y, S, W, S, ox(a) O, tis O1, (piece of wood on the footboard of) pūsura Y, (side plank of) zīgaki Y, (threads on) tandeneū Y, (wheel of) parwaxin Y -V Ill. spine murā i put P, harko yaste kamak S, pērs Š spit n čamursū Y, kababsēx Š apit, to fors. Y Cf saliva splash, to šilāp W splashed up, to be strās- W. spleen torar Pš, yrās, spužak O¹, ninamāšče, sporzo, šišpāzok(?) Y, siporz, sūyūk S, sik, sipurz W splendid wakho P splendour jali O, juluâ P splint in the leg of a horse oba Pš split dara Pš, koj či O

split, to čāwul (v čāwd) Pš, tār. P Cf burst spoil tāj Pš spoil, to natel Ps. spoke of a wheel špištai Pš spoon kâšuk O, camco O1, čamčá, durē P, kafčio Y, kapč W, čīb Š Cf ladle spot (place) žaya Y spots (of leopard) *virs* W spout cošai Pš spread, to ywaredel Pš, (manure) urīz- Y spring (season) suarla Wn 159, psarlas Pš, worai O, i hayâm P, bohor, fsidro Y, baār S, °hōr W, °hâr Š, (early) [cərmūna Wn], *carmūnai Pš. cizmūnai O1, (late) worai O1, sombolā S spring (source) $k\bar{a}n$, $x\bar{o}z\bar{\imath}$ Wn 168/9, [čīna Pš], cimī O, xāko O1, čišma P, °e S, tech P, xūyo Y, kik, žūw W, čašma, šac Š, (hot) čašma W Cf well spring from one seed, to peterδ. W. sprinkle, to prusnau, páždaw. O, čai- Y sprinkling pūž Pš, aupoši O, čarfandegi S squatting dizo Y squeeze out, to naštejol Pš, spilaw O, wezem. W squeezed pendi P squirrel xarpāndai O1 stab, to zanel Pš stablesturga O, âxur, kamand P, aspəlan Y, ăxtaxâna Y, W, °xūna Š, axtxāna S, tawil, wuner, žabd (?) W, pasāk Š Cf manger stable-boy mīrâxūr W stack [dalaī Pš], yelu Y, δm i W, čâšvīs S (Notes on Shgh incorr owis) heap staff, v stick stag (elk) gauazn Pš stair šəl Pš, sulân, šor, zīnā P Cf ladder staircase nayūl P

stale baranaı (v. parūn), spor Pš stallion narāsp P, ynain, narasp S stand, to daredel Pš, ašt. O, O', dar O, $fs\bar{a}(y)$ - Y, ast-, wəröfs- S, wərəfs- W, urrūvd Š standing wəlar Wn 159, walar Pš, apâ, papâ P, aletk (v āl-) W standing, to be t- O, vrInd- Y, al- S star storai Pš, sitara O, P, oar W, starrak O1, estec P, stare Y, ustarūk S, šətērz Š, (evening-) ustur žovo Y, (morning-) karvonkuš Y. starling maind P, Y, činulyo Y, badxarak(?), mayun(?) W starting răhi P, Y, rawān P, S stature gadd P. stay, to dhar. P. steal, to torif. Y, torof. S, doviy. W steam wažm Pš, tafta O, barās, tāu O1, $t\tilde{a}f$ P, S, W, tux Y, $t\partial x tx\bar{\epsilon}$ (?) S, teš W, manyar Š. steel polâd O, pū° Y, fūlăd P, S, pūlod W, kârč Š steep čund P, pasmīnaka Y, tond S. lašn(?) Š Cf slippery stem (of a tree) monza O, mundū O1, gandā P, kundē S, tana Š stench, v smell. step yūn Pš, qadam P, W, ko Y, layat S steppe, v plain. step father plandar (v. plāi) Pš step mother maira Pš, måendar P step-son bən-zai (v bən) Pš, bačandar, winjok O, wen kulān O1 stick n largai, lašta Pš, gon O, O' bhönt, döstikor, dezbhönt, kor P. ki insar, može Y, aså, durk, vond S, ason, band W, darg, mad Š stick, to no sel- Wn 166, buštēdal, no atal Pš, časp-, lag, mač- P stiff ziž Pš Cf rough

still (adv) la Pš, mēn O, digarī S still more fai S sting laša Pš sting, to gas- P stinking šrībūk O, O1, wachanbhâm P, būrgen Y, badbūl Š stir, to lar O, kəršav- Y, pirkit- W stirring-stick tiwaniy Y, mül Y, W stirrup rekâb O, re° P, ri° S, Š, krēb O1, čaulii, rikau Y, rikob W stirrup strap tasma-rikáb S stitch skoe Pš, v seam stitch, to pezəl Pš stocks of offenders kunda P. stockings kufčiliy, žirabe Y, jerāb S, ji° W, jarīb Š stolen yəlē O stomach (of kid) siyalar Pš Cf. belly stone sāzə, zyar Wn 169, kāṇai, sīāja, tīža Pš, gap O, O¹, gir P, yar, kūiko Y, song, yer S, yar W, k'imb, žīr Š, (crushing.) yurzuyo Y. stonelid (for the čāro), čār-payalyo Y stool, to xapel (v xer) Pš, ferx- Y. stop, to mān- Wn 166, āredəl (ar) Pš stopping band P, karār S. store room gudom S, zedūn Š, (on a roof) māra W stork laklak P story nagl Y stout čâk, lāndà P Cf. fat, thick straight sat Pš, durust O, do S, rast O. sīx O', rost S straight (to be) daw- P strait, v. narrow straitness tangi P strange nažan Y strap piārma Pš, tazma P, svy Y, kasyok, tasma S, rndāg W, (of pellet bow) pukara Y, (for binding bull to plough) sarali 0

straw kaf O1, drlmrl, pale, xāste Y, wuš S, wiš W, (of maize) patti O1, (of wheat or maize) ganaske Y. Cf grass stream toe, trai, wāla Pš, tāk O, O¹, sınd O¹, ži P, baxšıyo, šōxōv Y, šåxåb, xarav S street kučio. sūv Y strength bram Pš, qūwat, sitam, tâb, $t\hat{a}_{y}at$ P, (of the arm) $b\hat{a}z\bar{u}\bar{\imath}$ P stretch, to yazedəl Pš, kaš kan- P, urzu-Y, sur. W, (the warp on the loom) wär- Y. strew, to, v. scatter strike, to, v beat string spaņsai Pš, sarbān Š, (of an instrument) jel W. Cf. bow string string, to pewdəl Pš, pi-yēk O strip cīra Pš striped naxšīn S Cf piebald stroke n hawâla P strong mazai Pš, qābəl Y, bāquivwat, qwatdar S, zūr W Cf powerful stubble drūza Pš, druja O¹, ayām Y stubble(-field) istau Y stumble, to blavsedəl (v blos) Pš, yožī-Y stump of a tree $kvnd\bar{\epsilon}$ S Cf stem stupid jaban Pš, bēagl O, bīo, nadan, sada P, biagel Y, ablā, axmag S, aho, mūq W successful war Pš such hēkezm P, zi S suck, to jbešəl, rawdəl Pš, lip fšūv-, šuv Y, šāp-W, (trans.) šuvā Y suddenly bixabar P suffer, to zyamal Pš suffocation (bleeding from the nose) aspa Pš sugar qănd O, P, šokor Y suitable barâbar P sulphur gügurt Y, gögərd S, pilta(?) Š

sultan sultân O, P summer dobai (v tod), worai Pš, tamūs, tâwistân O, tāve° S, tâbi° S, Š, xâra P, tōvistōn Y, tōbə° W, wāro Y summon, to, v call summons to prayer azân O, sun mīr Wn 162, yarma, nwar Pš, mēš, toa O, mēšr O1, ruč P, mīra Y, ormāzd S, aftāb, yīr W, xīr S sunny side of a valley partowar Pš, paratâf P, pitou Y, °āv S, °au W sun-rise poloftuk S Cf dawn. sunshine towo O1. supine stūn Pš, stinyo Y supper šūma Pš, xšėma Y, šot W surprise dučár P. surrounding žer Y. suspicion gumân P swaddle, to bleždol Pš Cf wrap swallow mindelie W. swallow, to nyardəl Pš, wangēw P, yurıca-, nuyoz- Y, nezyar- W swallow-wort spalmai Pš swear, to ywaž. O sweat, v perspiration sweep, to ruy- P, stor- Y, astar-, zdar-S, višiv- W, zedār- S Cf wipe sweeper(s) makân rūyak(ân) P sweepings repk W sweet xū ž Wn 161, xož Pš, xwâš O, xwašr O1, xīrð P, šīrīn P, S, W, Š, xušuvd Y, xažok S, xūžg W, xīž S sweetness xwasrawi O1 sweets xīraī P, haluâ P, Y; (given at a feast) bat S swell, to šus- O, pedameš- W swelling parsob Pš, phundo P Cf inflammation. swollen arind O, lemoira Y swift, v quick swim, to zonay. Y.

swimmer n. aubáz O swimming [lămbō, v nūnd Pš], aubâzī O, P, āvo S, lambo O1, šənowarē W, šená° Š. swine, v pig swing, to zangal Pš sword tey, tūra Pš, °o O¹, selāba (?), talwâr P, šamšēr P, Y, S, xugor Y, xıngār, xamxēr W, šap Š, (doubleedged) bēbidi W Cf dagger swordsman šamšērī P syrup zoša Pš

T

table mēz O1, P, S, Š, mžz Y, W, $m\bar{e}x(?)$ S tadpole kauležik S tail lom Pš, dumb O, P, W, likie, lakandım (?) O1, dera (?), doyund P, lum Y, damb S, bicka W, dum S, (of fat-tailed sheep) mudyāl O, (end of) curcun W take, to wu-ns- Wn 167, āxistəl, nīwul Pš, wur. O1, nas. S, durz. W, parjiv., zēz- Š take away, to wr- Wn 167, wrol Pš, g- O, gl- O1, zend- W, yâs- S take on one's back, to derz- P, zenz- S take out, to nawar- O, O1, nis-, navor- Y, zewēδ- S. take eare xabardâr Š tale kissi O, qissa, naql P, Y, suyiko Y, žinda W, nakl Š. tallow wost S talon, v claw. tamarisk [yaz Pš], henju Y, gāz S tambourine $d\bar{a}f$ S tame watani P tar rānjara Pš tarantula sizalyo Y

target nišán P, nomon Y taste xwand Pš, mazāi P, maza P, Y, W, $x\bar{a}l Y$ taste, to čaš- P tasteless bolmang (not beo!) (v mālga) Pš, waxān Y. tasting nūš S. tasty mazanák P, mazadár Y. tanght âmuxta P, yašk W ten cát P, Y, Š teach, to sowul Pš teacher, religious xâja S tea-kettle čāržuš Y tear oša Pš, hēncčī O, yēscak O¹, âwə-i dīdaika, audīda P, awe° Š, yāšk Y, āšīk S, yašk W, yūšk Š tear, to (v1) luaredol, wraredol Pš, (v tr.) ray- O, cir- O1, dalēw- P, f(2)čī-, pətišā- Y, kundāi ken- S, čiit car- W. šičend. Š. Cf break. teat, v breast tedious zaq W tell, to nagl kin-S, nagl car-W, (one's beads) šuāw- W Cf speak temperament mežáz P tempest tufân O temple bodxåna S temples (anat) lueganda, məryai Pš. kılıāk O, yrās ə spieu O1, čūkī, šakıkata P, yurpakə, poxayak, šâxek-ı-·sar Y, čakka W ten las Pš, das O, O¹, dös P, da, los Y, dos S, das W, dis S. tendon pala Pš, par S, rāg W tent kıždaī Pš, xaıma O, P, čatīr Y. tenth dösumi P. terrace, upper, of a house pon O. terrify, v frighten test *âzmâi*š P test, to 12maw- O tether, horse's škel Pš

than kade (az kade) Š thanks (to God) šukur P that $(h)a\gamma a$ Wn 194, $ha\gamma a$ Pš, $af\sigma$ O, afa O^1 , $\hat{a}n$, hu, $h\bar{o}w\bar{i}$, $mund\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}k\bar{u}$, $ud\bar{e}$, $\bar{\sigma}$ P, $y\bar{o}$, wo Y, $a\delta(a)$, $\bar{\sigma}$ S, $ay\bar{a}u$, yau W, yū Š, (-very) hawī, mundhēk, udhēk, ok(e)wiyak P; (rel pron) ka O that (conj) ce Wn, či Pš, ka O, če P, ke Y, Š, ki S, W, (not-) nēče P that way, in howerang P theft [ylā Pš], čūrī, jutī P, yūδι W then $n\bar{o}(r)$ Wn 162, man O, $\bar{e}ka$ P, was Y, bāz, dīga, tīngē, psāt S, bād W, dase, tam S. thence učend, unhākī P there halta (v dole) Pš, wwal O, ok, okčī, okistak, unhak P, huro, olo, woko Y, wō& S, dra W, yēmand Š therefore joka (v j) Pš, nakma sabab S, cəm jənib W thick lwar, tat Ps, estoro P, vazok S, $b\bar{a}j$ W Cf fat, stout. thick milk, v milk thief yol, tor Pš, ylī O, čūr P, duzd Y, W, yal Y, dozd S, yūs W, duzd Š thigh rūn, patūn Pš, rân O, P, (yuf-) langar O', mundarân P, piščan Y, potūn S, ron S, W, bištūn Š thigh bone mižiste Y thin rangai Pš, mahin, tunuk P, bārik, təndar, xarâb Y, būrik, tanik S, sənor W, nâzuk Š thing čīz O, P, šai O, O1, zâ P, trīh Y, čīzī S think, to dis-Y third šīomī P. third day of the week šuručina P thirsty tərža Wn 161, tažar Pš, trunuk O, trənak O1, tan(a), thân P, kāk, trušne Y, təšna S, taž W, tušna Š thirsty, to be tan- P, z²y2riy- Y

thirteen darlas Wn 159, dyarlas (v. dre) Pš, šēs O, šrēs O¹, šidos P, sēzda Y thirty ders Wn, derš Pš, šīstu O, šro O1, šus P, yūvistolos Y, sī Y, W, Š, 1US S this ai, $ind\bar{i}$, $d\bar{a}$, $da_{i'}a$ Wn 164/5, $d\bar{a}$ Pš, a, ara O, ē, edē, he, hawē, mendē P, ma Y, t, am(a), amin, in S, ami, yem, yet W, de, ho, ikme, me, yam S; (from) acet W, (very) ečendhēk, edhēk, ēkc, ekwiyak, hewyak, mendhēk P, amdak S, īyam W this year saž Pš, asul O, asəl cān O1, âsur, emsar P, asāl Y, asāl S, imsōl S, W, wuserd W, (of.) sērdingī W this way, in haiverang P thistle xāxo Y thither uwal O, uval O¹, $uv\bar{u}\cdot b\bar{o}$ S, tərä W thorn $a_{\gamma}za_{\imath}$ Pš, $s\bar{u}g$, $z\bar{e}\check{s}$ O, $zy\bar{e}\check{s}^{r}$ O¹, kačo P, akade Y, kandak S, zaž W, šar Š Cf bramble thou de, to Pš, tŭ O, O1, P, Y, S, W, Š, -a, -au P, -t Y, fak S thought fikr O, W, oər, xıyâl P, andıša, xiāle Y, fekr S thousand zər Pš, āzâr O, ha° O¹, P, Y, S, zār O1, azōr S thread mazar (< *mazja- cf ma γzar), spansai Pš, târ O, O¹, P, čičaintār, rištan P, loso, unž Y, rismon, yivδōk S, dārč, žītr W, pedyac, wūrž Š, (cotton) paxtaī, uušūles, wizinga Y, นอัรเ S, (goat's hair-) yīs W threads on spinning-wheel tandeneū Y thread, to peudol Pš three dre Pš, šo O, šrī O1, šī P, žuroi Y, roi S, trui W, arai, se Š three days ago, hence, v day. three hundred ter sü Wn [Pš] 163

thresh, to $x\bar{a}$ - Y, $x\bar{u}y$ - S, $k\bar{a}s$ - W

threshing zunga Wn 169, yobal Pš (v $\gamma u \bar{a}$), O¹, ču $\gamma u l$ O, khamởr P, $x \hat{a} j$ Š threshing-floor xarmanjāī O, šramend O1, xırman-ı bībāt(?), xurom Y, xormon S, čerām W threshing-fork cār yaš iē, dyū jaš iē O1, čuano Y. threshing-sledge kulča O threshold $p\bar{a} \tilde{s}^r \tilde{i}$ O¹, (tahe)alarsine Y, painte S, ytšir W throat yajaī (v yajəl), maraī, slūnai Pš, gulūn, kākurtak O, kurrār, marie O1, $k\bar{a}h\bar{\imath}$, $kam\bar{a}$ P, $\bar{a}lq$, ustuya, yuvo, kâyəko Y, yā! S, alqūm, kəlītŏq W, nâi Š through (prep) ze P, tar S throw, to āč-, či ost Wn 166, āčawul, pre-yastəl (v. prā-), tayawul, wištəl Pš, ban-ōk, g O, andâz-, ečēw-, γūh P, čad-, $w\bar{u}l$ - Y, $n\bar{u}\check{s}$ -, purta(u)- S, (gār)kaţ- W, wēδ- S throw away, to yastəl Pš, ləyan-Y, savand cor- W throw down, to nikiz- O, but- W throwing šut P, awāle S thumb n²gută Wn 161/8, [yața gūta Pš], γuţţa-ngušt O1, šast P, usturoguščo, narangušč Y, katta narxåk, narang•št, šast-ingit S, yəšiyängəl, puluk W, xedār S. thunder yarā (v yaredəl), tanā Pš, tandar O, O1, °ŭr Y, S, W, bumburū, yarambas P, doldorok S, bumberiš, kampīrak W, tundur Š. thunder, to yrambəl Pš, yozomb- P thus dayal Wn 160, dāse Pš, guša O, hēwezail P, malmīn Y tick kon, wrāja Pš, kunai O¹, k²i oyunu Y, xaməndək S, kuvend W tickling taxa Pš tie, to, v bind

tigei [mza'ra Wn], mzarai (cf. mazai strong) Pš, šērəzmaraı O, muzaraı O1, šēr P, S tighten, to vezb- Y tightening-stick čaxt Y. till pore Pš, (now) yal Š time wār Pš, sât O, waxt O, P, S, Š, gâhī, gašt, kâl, mausum, nūbat, wil P, augât, var Y, wâda, wagt W time, in sarwaxt P tımıdıty stāra Pš Cf fear tınder xwa Pš. šaxeq Y tıny xarmandaı Pš Cf. small. tıred staraı, stomān Pš, stor O, stirai O1, mânda P, ferind, yami, partawi S, monda W. tired, to be- wuzā- Y, to get- pxuf- Y to la3, lara, ta Pš, kī O, da, kun, pa P, tar P, S, Š, nă Y, be S, Š, ma S, ke W, ar, be S. tobacco tamākū Y, okū W to-day nan Pš, šan O, san O¹, nī(hēk) P, dür Y, nēr S, wūdg W, nur Š toe pale ogūščo Y, pu-narxåk(?) S together jabla (v bəl) Pš together with hum, jabla (v j.), sara Pš, gidi O, gol, yol S, mešen W. Cf with. toıl xârī P tomb kab(ə)r O, gür P, W, qabr P, S, $x \hat{a} k \, S, \, q \hat{a} b i \, W$, (of a saint) $m a z \hat{a} i \, P$ to-morrow sabā O, O1, P, Y, sahār S, Š, sārak, varāk W, ašīb, šumnē Š, (morning) page S tong, v pincers tongue z(i)bə Wn 162, žaba Pš, zubān O, P, zbān O1, bân P, z²vīy Y, zəvūk S, zīk, zubon, zevī W, z v Š too little dus S tooth yāš Pš, gišī O, gas O¹, danân P, lad Y, dand S, dendik, land W, δındūn S. Cf back-tooth

top of the head tâlâk O, kakarıē O', fark P, kāka, tō-1-sar Y, tåo, farx-1sur, tå-1-sar S, kasa-e-sar W top, of a hill sor Y top, of a wall parcal P torch rhīnēko, P, dīwčūw, lavaxče, pelitorn čir O, P, kərči O, xâr P. ado W Cf tear, to. torrent, v. stream tortoise kašap Pš, škautatie O¹, girbaka, kasabaha P, sambaka S, sangbuqă W totter, to yoži. Y, gač. W touch blos Pš. towards zarma Wn 169, -wand, rux ba P towards that mahak P tower burj P, burž Y, (loopholed) usdûn W. town šar O, šar P, S, W, šahər Y trace, v. foot print trading saudăqari O, P. transform, to pherew- P trap pāš, tūr Y Cf snare. travel šūm S, ročom(?) W traveller musåfer S tray tâvčak Š, (copper-) tasa Y, (wooden-) paško Y. tread down, to naspar- W treasure sâmân P treasury xazâna P tree wana Pš, d(a)raxt O, Y, S, W, Š, wuno O1, bhīn P, (n of a) yuštūra, xenjak P, sawīr, tavdoyo, xerišče Y, yārī S, arār W, (stem of a-) kundē S trefoil, v. clover tremble, to reždedel, šanedel, taredel (v tarhedəl) Pš, larz-P, (to make-) larzânuk O, larzēw- P, belarzān- S trembling paryaz Pš, larză O, Y, lazja W, layja Š, (-fit) larye Pš trench kandrag Y

tribe xel Pš, ēl, kom P. trick čal, rēw P. trip, to skaf- W tripod cayan O1, šīpāī P trotting dagadag S, dogdog W. trouble zahmat P troubled ranjo P Cf distressed trough tarnāw Pš, yuve Y, putžårm W Cf trav. troughs, maker of kārga Y trousers partūk O, puro O', patlūn O, bazu, yušawal, paltūn, tamban P, woro Y, šavol, wāl S, patlūn, təmbūn W, šawâlak Š trouser string warwaden Y, welvoš S. true rištūnai Pš, rast O, P, urzuy, moyāw Y, rost W trunk, v. stem truth rištiyā (v. rištūnai) Pš, râxa O, rax O1, haqq, tāqīq, râsti P, rōsk S truthful råstgū S, röstgūi W try, to kwažel Pš, izmaw- O tube nāwa Pš tulip lâla P, (-bed) lâlazâr P turban dustâr O, patkar O¹, langota P, čadūr, kalpič Y, salā Š turn daur, gašt, gerde, nūbat P turn, to avuštol Pš, girz-, šar- O, šar-O1, pher-, rēm- P, nēž- Š Cf transturn over, to uāraw- Wn 166 turn round, to gord- Y, yīr- W turnip šalyām S tusk waranai Pš twelve dwalas (v dwa) Pš, dwās O, O¹, P, dwāzda P, dwō° Y, dīδūs S twenty šwī Wn 160, šil [and wšel] Pš, jīstu O, O¹, yušt P, bīst Y, W, Š, uisto Y, wišt S, wist W, dodis Š; (-one) sawijistu O1, (-two) dawišt S, (-four) čērwust Wn 160, cerījīstu O1,

(-five) p∂njijīstu O¹, (-six) šəwijīstu O^1 , (-seven) $h \Delta w i j \bar{i} s t u O^1$, (-eight) aštajīstu O1, (-nine) newijīstu O1 tweezers mūi čino Y Cf pincers twig šāx S, yaž W twigs, dry $dy\bar{u}r^a$ O. twin brayūnas (v bray) Pš, dūgăns O, P, dəgöm, luaneke Y, juftaki S, yüm W twist tāw Pš. twist, to gal- O1, zive- Y Cf spin twisted, to be maz-yek O two dwa Pš, $d\bar{o}$ O, $dy\bar{o}$ O¹, $d\bar{\imath}$, du P, loh Y, dou S, būr W, dīown Š two-hundred dwē sū Wn 163, loswist Y, desad S. Sosad S

U

udder ywalanz Wn 159, (yu)lanja Pš, pīstan Y, pēšten S, lox, pezīn W ugly bodrui Y. ulcer dâna P Cf sore umpire mumaiz P unaccustomed nâwalāt P unbridled bilayâm P uncle kākā O, bai Y, (paternal) tra Pš, audur O, tā O¹, amū, petē P, amək, boči S, boč W, bâb Š, (maternal) nūe Pš, māmā, nīyāk O, nyāk O¹, kâkī, mâuul P, tāyō, xōlək S, yanga S, (father's sister's husband) $b\bar{o}j\bar{a}$ S unconscious bidel, bihuš P unconsciousness bihušī P, Y unexpected meeting dučar P. under lände (v lar) Pš, zer P, štāhan Y, biš S, bun S Cf below under-bailiff nausb S understand, to pahēž Wn 166, [pohedəl Pš], fâm- P, pəzīn- S, fām- Š understanding poī O, poē O1, po P. unhappy zurgīr P. 40 - Kulturforskning

unirrigated lalmī Pš. united jift Y unjust zolim W unknown nâwalāt P unless yaira, magam P. unmarried, to be soy- W unmixed nož Pš. unripe, fruit wozak Wn 169 untie, to, v loosen until tâ P, Y, S, zân P untimely bijái P. unwell, v ill. up wakhē P, vəlyo Y, wuč S uphill šiδ W upon bānde, par Pš. upper bar Pš, siri, woru Y. uproar yauyâ P upside down naskor Pš up, to tu manak O. upwards pataráj S. urine mətrā Wn 168, mitiyāzai (v mītəl) Pš, mizī O, mižī O¹, mīz, šáša P, čkyūgo, mīzyo Y, čīš S, mīzg, pēšāu W, mıšc Š urinate, to mītəl Pš, mīz- Y, šōše kən- S us, v. we useful bakâr P

V

very zut O, P, yulū P, fai S, yaf, yafčī W, lap S. verily magam Y vessel lošai Pš, (wooden-) kāra Pš. (large, for grain) $kand\bar{u}$ O, (water-) vudāra S vestibule dâliz O, dâlân P, astano, piš $w\bar{o}z\bar{i}$ Y, $n\bar{\epsilon}x$, $p\hat{a}iga$ S Cf veranda victorious bar Pš. victory fata P vigorous čák P village wagura Wn 169 [= Pš wugarai person, people], kalar Pš, grâm O, kılaı O¹, deât, sâţ P, lāmo Y, q'šlåq, wulāt S, dror W, kršlák Š. vine melawa Pš, tâk P, šendik W violence haif P violent zūl Y violet (n) benafšā P, banafšo Y. violin rabáb Š voice âwâz, yax P, sadâ P, Š, (h)âuâz Š vomit, to girza- O1, kušm- Y vomiting kängem (corr I vomit) O1, bok S vulture kargas P, šiž Y, koryos S. vulva kus [Pš], O1, Y, S, būn, dewet P, šīno Y, kuš S, kiš W, dam Š

W

waist mlā Pš, biyān O, O¹, mēn P, məlān Y, mēδ S, mād, məlung, miyōn W, mīδ Š
waist-band 'mēnd Š Cf. belt
waistcoat wâskəṭ O, °aṭ P, woshāt ¡W. wait, to āl- W.
wait! dhar P
waiting udrâk P, karār S
walk, to γərz- Wn 167, šar- O¹, č(h)īm-, ram- P, tōγd S.
walk about, to girz- O, gudar-, pal- P,

zəyŭ- Y, fəryənt-, yart-, wənīž- S Cf. go, turn walking čhổ, čĩmổ, guzar, guzərân P, sail P, W, gam, qadam S. wall $j\bar{a}r$ Wn 168, $d\bar{\imath}w\hat{a}l$ O, de° O¹, S, Š, dušt P, haule, xeyo Y, diwol, diz W. Cf back-wall. wallow, to layar- O walnut $\bar{u}_{\gamma}z$ Pš, $\check{c}\hat{a}rm\hat{a}_{\gamma}s$ O, S, watk O, O', deže P, oyuzo Y, čormāyz, tor W, $b\hat{a}jak \, \dot{S}$, (-tree) $y\bar{v}z \, \dot{S}$, (-shell) $bayale \, Y$ wandering kūč P want, to xōəš kən- S, for- W, far- S Cf wish wanting, to be daruzeh. P war jang O, P, S, W, žang Y, δēd S, (belonging to the) jangi P ward kandaı (v kandəl) Pš warm, v hot warm, to tapew-P, (the hands) vedo-Y warrior *pālawân* P wart kanayiko Y wash, to winzen- wā Wn 160/6, (pre-) $w\bar{\imath}n\jmath\partial l$ ($\nabla pr\bar{a}$ -), $wl\partial l$ Pš, $\gamma u\bar{\imath}a\imath o\cdot \bar{\imath}k$ O, ywašra. O1, suni- P, wuzd- Y, zonē- S, wuzdi- W, zenē- S. watch paira P watch man kašai Pš, pairadar P. guardian wasp yalbuz Wn, zambūr O, P, S, W, bamburië, dambur O1, bhambur, kāftek P, voribombur, wofšio Y, dus, vizvizak W, cevinj S, (red) surxbobure Y water obe Pš, $w\bar{o}k$ O, wak O¹, $\hat{a}u$ ∂ P, $ydu_{\gamma}o$ Y, vēk S. yupk W, šac Š [*xšudrā] water, to make, v urinate watercourse, v irrigation channel waterfall yaryarā, šaršarā P, °rε S, šifčiko Y, åbšår S, jūš, širširā W,

าเร็นิพ S

water-fowl (n. of a) waryijin, kutān, jīkya Y. watering, v irrigation, water-melon phyöbuj P, tarbəz S, oiz W, °ūz Š water-mill, v mill waterpipe čilim Y, S, em P water-pot garai O1 Cf bucket. way, v road way (in this) hawerang P, (in that) howerang P. wave zēi W. we moš Wn 164, mū, mūž Pš, māx O, O1, mâ, mâhhân, -an P, max Y, amax, mič S, sak W, māš S weak naza, sâdaī P wear, to psolal Pš weasel dala P, dela S weave, to $\bar{u}d\partial l$ Pš, qal- O, γaf - O, O¹, P, wāf- Y, īf- S, ūf- W, wâf- Š weaver dūr O1, jolā P, gilambāf S, dorzkuryuz Y weaving dorz Y. web londa Pš. wedding xudba Y, nikā S, tūi S, W, serištā, sūr Š Cf marriage wedding guest wreza (v wrā) Pš wedge špešta Pš, pərsīf W, (for ploughshare) šin W Wednesday čáršambē P weeding lalūn Pš, oān O1, xešâwa P, šov S, neždun W, šūč Š week afta O, S, aščomiž Y, yaftā W weep, to žarol Pš, šū- O, šrow- O', ruh- P, xšī- Y, šid- S, nev- W, nav- S. weeping rhīnto P weigh, to tal- O1 weight girângi, tối P. well (adj) roy Pš, jūr O, O¹, wor O, yē, jor, xair P, xāb P, S, Š, jor Š well (n) sparγa Pš, čâ O, P, Š, kuwar, xāko O1, čukurī P, sardawo Y

west kıblaru O, åftåb nıšastan S, mayııb S, W. wet nåu Wn 160, nūnd, xušt Pš, šūr O, šūr, tānd O¹, phyö P, xalōu, xusto Y, čal S, namb S, Š, namnåk, šəlok, tar S, nam, tarī, xašč W, xest Š wetch muyo Y. what ca Pš, O, cen O, zaneng [*zanahya kahya] P, če P, Y, išti, ce, comin, ces Y, ce, ceci, čīz S, čīz W, ca-, čī, čīr S, (of-kind)-min Y, zanēngī P, (manner in) kērangi P whatever harči P, čes Y. wheat yandəm Wn 161, yanəm Pš, ganum O. P. quo O', afsirne yādəm, paīzane Y, yondəm S, yıdim W, zındam S. wheel arâba O, čarxak Š when kala Pš, ka, kon O, kabī P, kəla Y, ki, kadi S, ce waxt W whence khânjâi, kujēnd P, žukū Y where carta Pš, guda O, khânjâi P, kū P, Y, kužā Y, kunjā S, kumjei W, k'ā Š wherever harkū P whet-stone psān Pš, muzai O¹, afseno Y. vəsīn S, pisön W whey xinj S. Cf. buttermilk which kam Pš, če, khân, khâin P, kyem Y, kudum S. Cf who. while (n) garī, lāza, wil P whip kamčin P, činto, čawuk Y, rešip W, kamče S. whip, to has kan- P whirlpool yernānu Y. whirlwind gulbåd(%), yərðāv S whistle špelai Pš, šxēlān W. white spīn Pš, spēw O, spīu O1, čhačo, čhato P, spī Y, safēd S, Š, (e)spēδ, surxūn S, ruxn W, (of the eye) *spēwī ta cimī O, (of an egg) čhafaī ēxīka P

whitebeard chatadhâri P

white muzzled rūisafēd S whittle shavings, to tal- Y. who čok Wn 161, cok Pš, ka O, P, kok O, kī P, hōi Y, S, kədī Y, kūi W, codam S. Cf which, whole tamâm P why wale Pš, kyē O, čâ, čekun P, nakou Y, cē-ba, čṣ bā, kīrā S, cerak W, čīr Š wicked, v. bad wide ["wurlun" Wn < *fravana?], arat, plan, wit [< *wi-š(i)ta] Pš, ārat O, O¹, pan O, hāšrat O¹, pažəy, wosa Y, pām, wasē S, kšâd W, yulā, kešâd Š widow beiva O, S, W, S, biwo, wosor wo Y, bərdoq W widower beh'and W. wife korma (v. kor), šəja Pš, $n\bar{a}k$ O, O¹, jinč P, wulo Y, kuč(i), wuzinjak S, kend W, žin Š. wild sor xaš S, (animal) dhâr ī P willow wazā Wn 160, wala Pš, bēd O, W, wuld O1, ył P, awusto, čilikyč, mažnum-bit, wiya Y, bēd, šikar bēd, šůrmůk bēd, wēd S, tik, wonok W, wēd, wān Š willow's bark (strip of) lenju Y win, to bušā- Y. wind wagā Wn 160, wo Pš, bād O, O1, dhamān, yâ, yâphunē, xunuk P, šamāl S, $\circ \bar{o}l$ W, $w\bar{u}i$ Y, $b\bar{a}d(\bar{i})$ S, dəma, xūz W, šūj Š, (autumn- or winter) ayos W, (cold blast) sūz W windless bībāt Y winding sheet kafan O windpipe, v throat. window urst O, calandure, derbaco, rizl³vora Y, rauzan, vōrok S, panjara, tâk (niche?) Š wine mai, šai ab P, araq Y

wing wazar Pš, bâl O, P, S, W, parai O', varzeyo Y, tap W wink, to zambol Pš. sparaw yek O, jam-, xurta- O1, cipō- Y winking čmak O, nomiz Y, camok S winning warāna, war Pš winnow, to lwastel Pš, lebān- Y, devīn- S, būn-, gān car- W. winnowing farmâl O, devēnic S winnowing-fork xurom-fia Y, apčūn S, W, būn W winter zimai Pš, zemāk O, zimak O1, z³mâ P, z³mīstān Y, zem° S, zemīstōn W, zemistån S, (the coldest part of) čilē S. wipe, to astar-, menth- P wire sim P wisdom aql O, xirāt P wise âqel, aqlī P, dânâ, hušyâr P, S, $d\bar{a}na$, $l\bar{a}nawo$, $u\check{s}i(y)\bar{a}r$ Y, $b\bar{a}ql$ S, bafiki, ušyor W, ušyar Š wish xâeš P wish, to yoštal Pš, xāi- P, kamay-, talap-, xōəs kən-S, kəmi-, xŏhəs car W with la Pš, gidi, nēla O, ba, pen P, la, sko, šəlo Y, pa S, pu W together with. wither(ed), v fade(d) within men P without bi P, (-chief) bisor, bitamiz P, (-fighting) bijang P, (-head) bisör P, (-reward) bimujrâ P witness šâid O, šâhed P wolf lēu Wn 168, lew, šarmaš Pš, dâmī O, lēwū O1, yury P, wury Y, work S, šapt W, wūrj S. woman šəja Pš, zarkā O, jarkə O¹, zaīf P, žinko, žinkiko Y, janj S. kend W, žēmh Š, (married) maroša (v majanai) Pš, mâlidari O, (unmarried) waserwo, wosorwo Y

womb vəzaxo Y, rām S wonderful ajab O, P, ažep Y wood largai Pš, gon O, O¹, skut Y, čūb, durk S, šūng W, darg S, (chip of) froi Y wooden korin P wood-carving areyevde Y woof wawana (ūdəl) Pš wool warai Pš, pom O, O', poč P, pam Y, pām S, yer, pašm W, woon S, (carded) mykić Y, (a kind of) yolās O, (lamba') krabeje Y; (yak's) yerob W woollen jacket, v jacket word $q\bar{a}(i)$ Wn 168 [$< q\bar{a}\vartheta\bar{a}$ -], kissi O, âwâz, harf, sūy P, gap P, Y, S, W, Š, lauz, roi Y, lavz S, sexan W work čār Pš, kār O, O1, ker P, hory Y, arī S, yark W, k'ar Š. world dinyâ O, âlam P, S, dunyâ P, doo S, jehân P, jio S; (the lower) tā duniā Y, (next-) āxerat Y worm kirm O, kirmāk P, počuk S, porič. pat W, čīrəm S worry, to yus- Y worse battar P worth *lâyıq* O. worthless binango P wound parhar, zam Pš, zaxm P, Y, S, W wounded *paraželai, žobal, xūž Pš, jak O, zaxmī O, S, sâr P, zâr Š wrap up, to nyaštel (v. yaštel) Pš, yaj-O¹, pəlarz- Y, pēž- S wrestling kuštī P wrestling-ground harkâra P. wring, to 'spilaw-, palašt- O, žumānd- W. wrinkles kalakəri Y. wrist marwand Pš, omand O', bănd e döst P, °dest S, Š, °dast W, last-bot, wuški-ostia Y, pərsəngəl W, lakak (corr middle finger) S

write, to liken. Wn 166, pis. O, like O', nuviš. Y, ne S, W, newiš. Š witten nimišta O, nuvišta P

Y

yak juy W yard, v. ell yarn ancai Pš yawn [aswelar Pš], arjumar O¹, fâza P, maske Y, damfāžek S, oje, zim W, fâža S yawo, to hašēw- P, zōm- Y, (axse) deh- S, ıstınd. W year [hāl Pš], čân, °sul O, cān O¹, sâl P, Y, S, W, S, sar P, (of drought) ušksāl Y. year, last, v last year, this, v this year year before last tətvārt W. year, three—s ago čurmosāl, žīrasāl Y. year, one-old yusaxo Y years, period of two- lohsaxo Y. yearly arsol S, W yeast varvaden Y yellow ziyar Pš, zyēr O, O¹, zītō P, spišč, zit Y, zāl, zard S, zart W, zīrd S yes woya O, hā P, on S, bale S, W, yān W, amá S yesterday [pārənd Wn], parūn Pš, prān O, O¹, aze P, wuzīr Y, karēr, parūzd, wəcərin S, yez W, beyar S, (evening) bēgâ O, iziko Y yesterday, two days before yo, etc, v. day yesternight nēr-fəršou S yet, v. still yoke yūy-luṇḍa O, ziy O¹, jauza, žūy P,

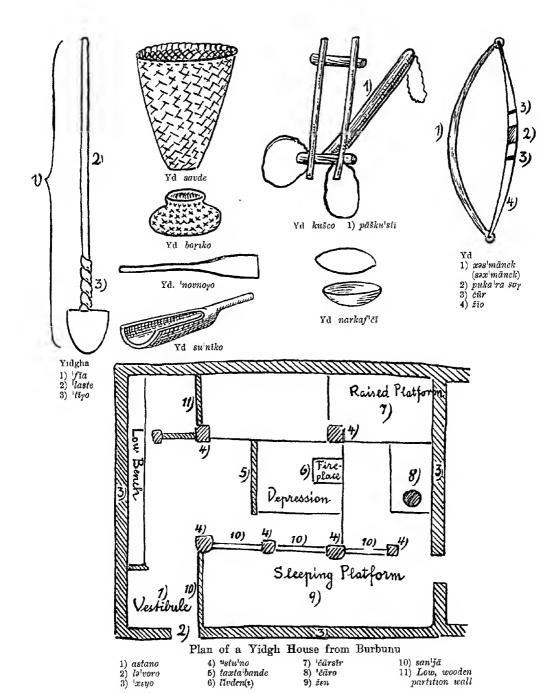
 $y\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ Y, W, $f \ni rya_{\gamma}$, $y \ni_{\gamma}$ S, $s \ni mv \ni r$ W

yoke peg kāriak, sām Y, kelī W.

yoke-rope sar-wāndē (v wandanai) Pš, saralī O, frāιγο, γūelo Y, yelγārband S.

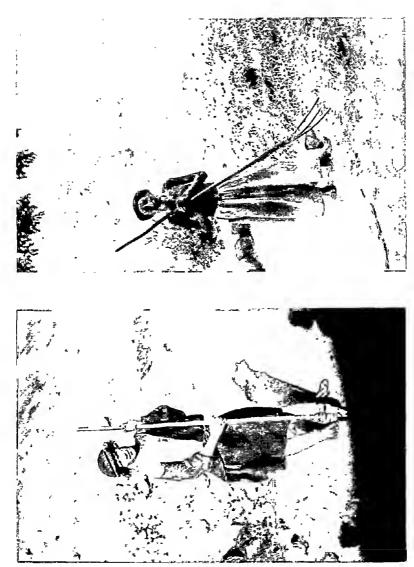
yolk of egg zīta i ēxika P you tās Wn 164, tāsu, mū Pš, tōs O, wâ, wâkhân, -ō(u) P, maf Y, təmox S, sāišt W, tama Š young workai (v wur) Pš, bīlö P, juwân P, S, W, ž° Y, nauča P, (man) zalmai Pš

young of an animal zārai Pš, čuča P. younger kašr Pš, kvamder Y youth juwânī, nojuwânī P youthful xišrūl Š.





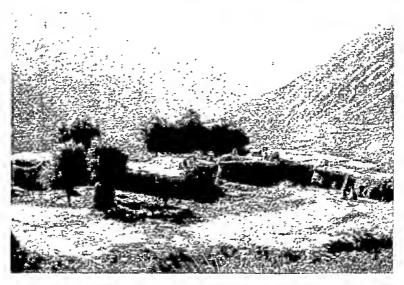
Mahmad from Zhitr in Lutkuh



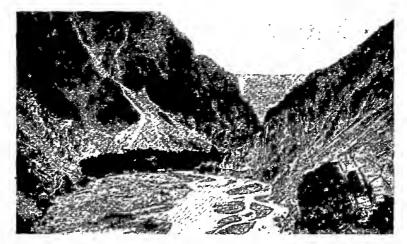
Yidgh peasants from Lutkuh



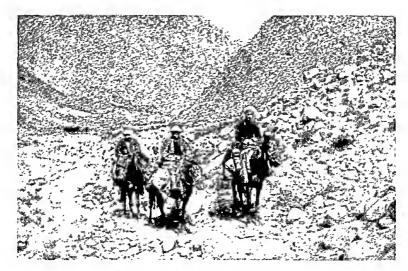
From the Parabek Plam in Lutkuh



Village at the head of the Lutkuh Valley



Cliffs above Shoghor, Lower Lutkuh



On the road from the Dorah Pass